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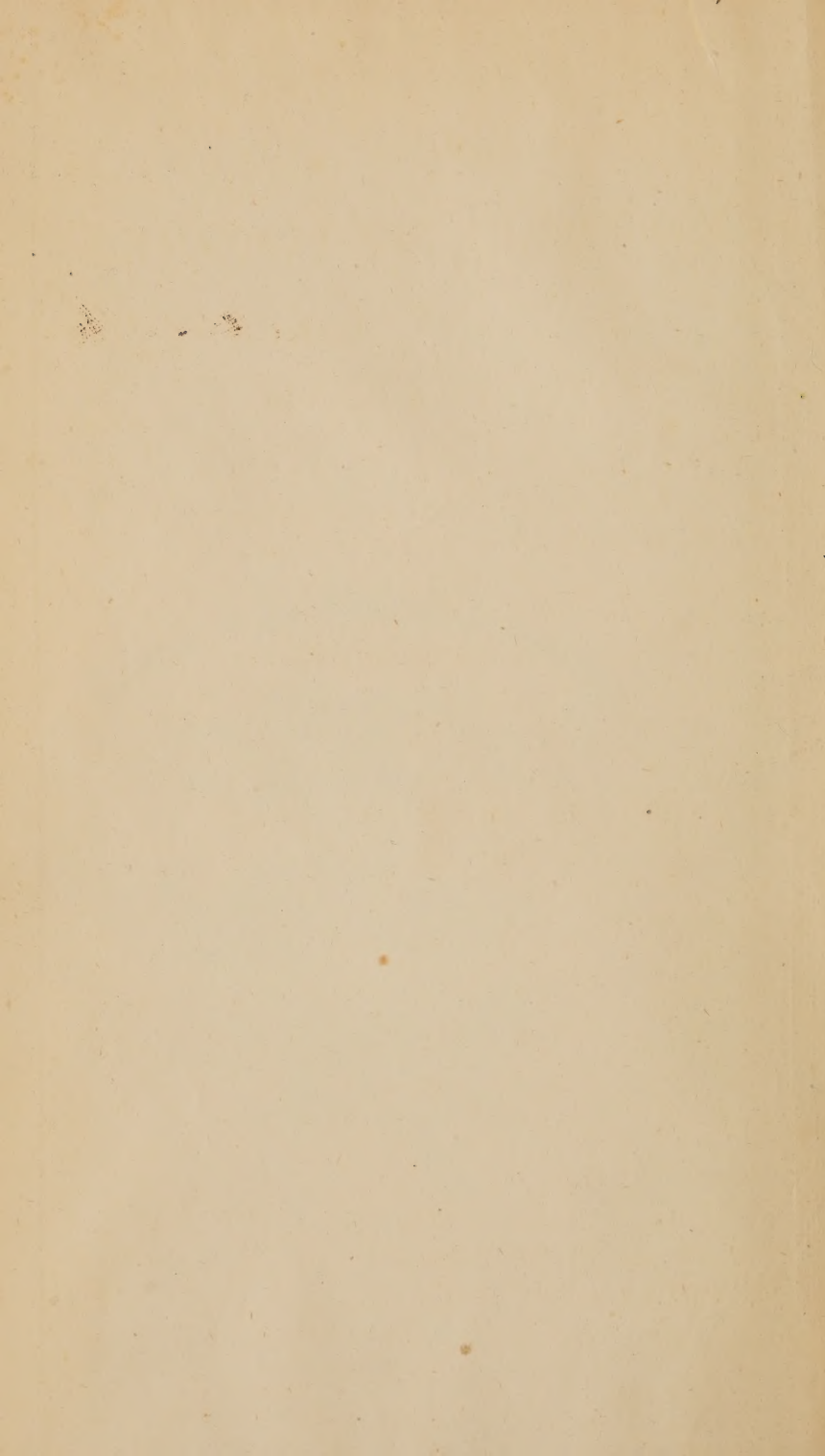
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The Scripture testimony to
the Messiah







THE

SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY

TO

Samuel Woolch

THE MESSIAH:

AN

*INQUIRY WITH A VIEW TO A SATISFACTORY DETERMINATION
OF THE DOCTRINE TAUGHT IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES*

CONCERNING

THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

BY

✓
JOHN PYE SMITH, D.D., F.R.S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

SIXTH EDITION.

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“A Deo discendum est quid de Deo intelligendum sit : quia non nisi se
auctore cognoscitur.”—HILARIUS.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN again bringing before the public the work on which I rest my chief hope of usefulness, my first duty is an humble and grateful acknowledgment to the Almighty and most Merciful One, for the degree of acceptance with which it has been favoured. That the faith of some Christians has been strengthened, and that others have been preserved from falling into the system of error whose plausibility had nearly imposed upon them, cannot but be to me a subject of the most encouraging reflection.

It would be affectation to say, that I deem this book a small and feeble contribution to the cause of religious knowledge. Had I thought it such, I should have been highly culpable for troubling the public with it. In the subject which it treats, I was led by personal circumstances and connexions to take much interest, from an early period of life. Its composition and improvement, notwithstanding many interruptions, have been a principal occupation during many of my best years. It was begun with an apprehensiveness against irrational prepossessions, over-statement of premises, and excess in conclusions, amounting to jealousy, and by some censured as a blameable timidity. Of this caution, however, even if it has been redun-

dant, I do not repent. In proportion to the solicitude and tardiness of the process, has been the satisfactory character of the result. I should be faithless to the most serious convictions, were I not to profess my belief that these volumes contain a body of proof, not invented by an erring mortal, but elicited from the records of Divine Revelation, in favour of the ancient and common faith of Christians; a body of proof, which can never be overthrown, and which time, so far from impairing, will but the more confirm and extend.

From the intellectual character of the age, and the tendency which Providence is manifestly giving to the minds of men, in our own and other countries, I venture to draw auspicious conclusions, with regard to the elucidation of religious truth, and its liberation from the combinations of weakness and illusion, by which its evidence has been obscured, its character mistaken, and the objections of its opponents clothed with apparent validity. Never has the principle been so well understood, never so extensively admitted, that, with regard to the concerns of religion, **AUTHORITY**, in the sense of dictating belief and commanding obedience, belongs to **GOD ALONE**; and that the declaration of this authority is to be found only in his revealed word.

The glorious Reformers, whatever might be their infirmities (for they were men, not angels), earned the gratitude of all future time, by their exhibition of this principle; and by their demonstration of another, which ought never to have been separated from it, that only by a rigorously faithful interpretation of the terms of Scripture, only by a pure and inflexible use of the common means for that interpretation, can religious truth be restored to its honours, and be recommended to universal acceptance. Learned and pious members of the Papal Church itself, are now openly proclaiming this principle, and are acting nobly upon it: thus encouraging the hope that the time is at hand when "the Lord Jesus will consume and

“destroy” the corruptions of that class of Christians, “with the spirit of his mouth and the brightness of his coming :” terms under which we have good reasons for understanding the study of his word and the power of his grace. The fact here referred to, and the expectation built upon it, may appear astonishing to those who are not already acquainted with the state of the Roman Catholic community in some parts of the continent of Europe, and especially in the south of Germany ; in particular, with the establishments of ecclesiastical learning at Munich, Dillingen, Mentz, and Frankfort ; and with the characters and labours of such men as Seiler, Brentano and Dereser, Fenneberg, Boos, Van Ess, Stolberg, Scholz, Klee, and a numerous host besides, in whose minds the superstitions and errors of their church, though not rejected, and even in some degree revered, yet occupy a very low place ; while their understandings are enlightened, and their vigorous piety is sustained, by clear views of the great scriptural doctrines concerning grace, redemption, and holiness, and the Divine Person by whom those blessings are communicated to men.

Of human authority in matters of faith, there is indeed a legitimate and very important use ; the correct understanding of which furnishes an adequate guard against its perversion. This is no other than what must of necessity take place, in all the communications of improved and improving knowledge. Few among mankind can personally make extensive observations, or repeat complicated and costly experiments, or witness the felicity of unexpected discovery. Yet the results of observation and experiment and discovery, upon the largest scale, are received and confided in ; because the character, the interest, and the number of the original labourers furnish an ample guarantee for fidelity. The same kind of reliance upon the fidelity and authority of men must be exercised by the generality of Christians, in their investigations of the doctrines and obligations of religion. Their conclusions must rest upon statements which themselves are not able to verify ; the state-

ments of translators, interpreters, and critics: but, as in the undeniable instances of science and art, so here, the confidence of society is exercised with entire safety, because of the number, the character, and the circumstances of the reporters. Thus intelligibly, rationally, and securely has human authority a place of high importance in the concerns of faith and religion: but it is an office purely ministerial; it is that of a witness, not a judge; it is only to be the more efficiently and certainly a guide to the proper basis of all genuine faith, "not the wisdom of men, but the power of God."

It has been to me a reason for deep gratitude that, in the rigorous revisal of these volumes, I have found not a single argument that I could retract; while to many, continued investigation has enabled me to give accessions of strength. This edition is increased by more than one fourth of new matter; besides innumerable modifications of words and paragraphs. On account of the interspersed character of these additions and alterations, it is impossible to print them separately, as a Supplement to the first edition. It has given me pain to think that the possessors of that edition must feel themselves thrown to a disadvantage. But a desire to prevent such a feeling would have been an insufficient motive for neglecting to institute a renewed examination of every part, or declining to use all the means in my power for the improvement of the whole. In the first instance, I had endeavoured to do the best that I could; and I was equally bound to put forth every subsequent effort for making some nearer approach to perfection. May God grant that this work may not only serve to advance a correct knowledge and just conviction of the truth, but may increase the influence of practical piety and universal benevolence, to the honour of his holy name!

HOMERTON, *Sept. 8, 1829.*

THIRD EDITION.—*July 25, 1837.* The present edition contains an increase of new matter scattered throughout the work to the extent of about one hundred and fifty pages. But in consequence of a much more condensed mode of printing having been adopted, the work is brought into a smaller compass than in the former edition.

FOURTH EDITION.—*May 25, 1847.* The Publishers have determined to bring out this edition in the most economical form that is practicable ; but nothing is omitted, except a disquisition upon the Song of Solomon, for which a shorter notice is substituted. Numerous additions have been inserted, in their requisite places ; and these are, with few and immaterial exceptions, in the NOTES.

FIFTH EDITION.—*February 1859.* This Edition is a careful and correct reprint of the Fourth. A Critical Sketch of the Author's Life and Labours, by Professor Eadie, of Glasgow, has been prefixed.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

PREFACES TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS book has been written with the hope of contributing, in some useful degree, to the assistance of serious inquirers after knowledge and certainty, in relation to one of the most important questions that can engage the mind of man. It pretends to no rivalry with other works on the same subject, ancient or modern; many of which have been, and long will continue to be, of extensive benefit to the Christian cause. In the field of truth there is room for every variety of honest exertion; and the harvest will be sufficient to reward every faithful labourer.

The design of this treatise was conceived before the publication of Mr Belsham's "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ." When that work appeared, the writer was urged to draw up a reply to it. It appeared, however, to him that such a reply might be best combined with the execution of his previous intention. This he has now attempted, upon the plan which, he conceives, is in accordance with the natural process of the human understanding in making itself acquainted with the evidence on any subject of interesting knowledge. If the cautiousness of the

proceeding should make it appear occasionally tedious, the reflecting and judicious reader will not estimate it so much by the trouble of the means, as by the value of the result.

To some readers, perhaps, the work may appear to contain a larger proportion of philological discussion than they may deem useful or edifying to themselves. Their candour will, however, call to mind, that the great object of this attempt is to ascertain by *full* and *conclusive* evidence the *REAL* sense of Scripture on the point under investigation: and if they will make the experiment, they will find that the critical part of the work, which is almost entirely confined to the Notes, is so expressed that the unlearned may in general form a rational judgment both of the grounds of each argument, and of the validity of its conclusion. It has been the author's particular endeavour to lay before his readers the whole materials for the formation of their own determinations; that, in every case, they may be able to judge for themselves, and may clearly see their way to an inference, before they are called to acquiesce in it. Citations from ancient or foreign authors are always translated, if they required or even admitted of it: and in many cases, for the sake of brevity, a translation alone is given, for the fidelity of which the writer is pledged; but this has been done only where it did not appear that any essential benefit would be derived from transcribing the original words.

He has occasionally, in the Notes, indulged in brief digressions: but these have been either to subjects possessing much importance, and closely connected with the great topic under consideration; or to principles of criticism and interpretation, the familiarising of which to young persons, and especially to theological students, is an object, in his opinion, so important as to justify these attempts for rendering them plain and interesting.

He has wished and sedulously laboured to be concise: but he fears that he may not have escaped from that kind of tediousness which is likely to accompany the continued use of the

two chief instruments by which he has prosecuted this inquiry; the patient investigating of the meaning of terms, and the elucidating of the connexion and scope of controverted passages. Whatever conviction he entertains of the truth of his own sentiments, he wishes for their adoption by others, only so far as the strength of evidence shall warrant. His anxious and constant endeavour has, therefore, been to lay down that evidence with impartiality and fulness; and thus to place before his readers the proper materials for the forming of their own conclusions.

With some diffidence the writer must acknowledge his opinion, that it was his duty to make his own translations of passages from the Holy Scripture. He has done so from no affectation of novelty or beauty, but solely from a persuasion of important expediency, not to say necessity. This is a controversy in which, more than in most others, a perpetual appeal is, on both sides, made to the original text of the Bible; with a demand for the closest minuteness of attention, and the severest rigour of scrutiny. On the correct interpretation of that text, every thing depends. If the passages, by the true sense of which the inquiry must be decided, were quoted from King James's authorized version, in numerous instances corrections and improvements must have been proposed and vindicated in the Notes; and upon those alterations, reasonings material to the argument would often have rested. These discussions would have occupied much space: but so tedious a proceeding is escaped, and we arrive by a direct course at our object, or at the nearest point to it, by the method which has been adopted; that of translating the passages with the closest fidelity from the original texts, according to the most critically established readings. The reasons of deviating from the common version are, in general, such as will present themselves to the attention of a scholar immediately on his consulting the original; but where those reasons are not obvious, they are briefly assigned in the Notes. In regard to translations from the Hebrew, the author has been anxious to avoid the affixing

of meanings to words from conjecture, plausible fancy, or mere analogy:¹ he has rigorously adhered to the signification of terms and phrases, as evinced by the fixed use of the language and its cognate dialects, so far as he has been enabled to ascertain that use.

It is conceived, also, that another advantage will hence accrue; namely, that it will, in a considerable degree, put the mere English reader into the situation of one who is critically acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. With this view the practice has been extended to the passages which are incidentally quoted, as well as to those which form the direct grounds of argument. In every instance, the reader will regard a departure from the terms of the authorized version, as an endeavour to express, with as close a conformity as the difference of languages will permit, the precise sense and the very turn and phrase of the original.

It is, however, the author's earnest hope that this expedient, to which he has resorted for the purpose of either entirely preventing or much abridging many critical remarks which would have been otherwise indispensable, will not be understood to imply any countenancing of certain extraordinary pretences to a new translation of the Scriptures, by which learning, taste, and religion, have been equally offended. A judicious and temperate revision of the established version, he cannot but think to be a most desirable work: but, were this object realized, he is far from supposing that it would be proper to use the explicatory and sometimes paraphrastic mode of expression, which has appeared to him necessary for the purposes of a theological discussion.

¹ —“Late critics, Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, De Wette, and others, —consent to take the text [Ps. xvi. 3], as it stands, instead of transforming it into something which we may conjecture it ought to be. I would that all who meddle with sacred criticism, might imitate their caution in this respect. Eichhorn long ago made the remark—that those who understand Hebrew the least, will most feel the [apprehended] need of changing the Masoretic text,—because it presents difficulties which they cannot solve: but those who understand it well, will seldom find any reason to depart from the reading given by the Masorites.” *Prof. Stuart in the Andover (American) Biblical Repos.* vol. i. p. 90.

With respect to the position of the Notes, some difficulty has been experienced. Their number and length would have made it inconvenient to place them at the foot of their respective pages; and to have relegated them to the end of each volume, would have been removing them too far from their points of reference. A middle course is therefore adopted: the smaller notes are put at the bottom of the pages, and the longer ones are annexed to the chapter or section to which they belong, with the title of Supplementary Notes.

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BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCH

OF

THE AUTHOR.

My object is not to compose a biography of a venerated and famous scholar and divine, but only to prefix such a critical sketch of his literary character and labours as may form a natural introduction to his greatest work. The students of the "Scripture Testimony" may desire to know somewhat of its author's history and accomplishments, and may not have access to Mr Medway's ample and interesting "Memoirs." Nor need I deny that the honour of having my name associated with that of John Pye Smith, mingles among the other motives which have urged me to the task.

Could the reader figure an astronomer not only occupying an observatory, but making it his home, living in it as well as watching from its towers, the duty of to-day the same as that of yesterday,—busy calculations based on anxious sweepings of the nocturnal sky, the uniformity varied or disturbed only by the discovery of a new star, or the solution of some intricate problem,—he will have no faint picture of the life and toil of Dr Pye Smith. Somewhat of a literary recluse from taste and habit, pastor of a church and tutor in philosophy and divinity in an academy, in which for many years his pupils lodged with himself under the same roof, his whole time—seven days a week—absorbed in the routine of duty, the monotony being relieved by an occasional tour, and marked into epochs by the publication of some sermon, tract, or volume—such was the even tenor of his course for half a century in Homerton College.

The incidents of his life may be briefly told. Born in Sheffield, 25th May 1774, he was, when sixteen years of age, apprenticed to his father, who was a bookseller in that town. The boy was naturally serious and reflective; and the youth appears to have been of a premature sedateness and composure. He does not seem to have

enjoyed any regular classical training, or any lengthened period of higher schooling. But he felt that his trade required some knowledge of other languages than English, and his father's minister taught him the rudiments of Latin, by way of acknowledgment for the privilege of a gratuitous glimpse into the periodicals that lay on the counter. His earliest occupation thus threw him among books, and many of these books of the higher class of Nonconformist literature. His immediate business was to understand their title, history, contents, and value, so as to satisfy a purchaser; but his cast of mind induced him to study them; and, as he mastered their ideas, he imbibed their spirit. There was Owen, in his ponderous and systematic fulness; Howe, in his serene grandeur; Baxter, in his subtlety, point, and close grapplings; Bunyan, picturing in his dream, what he proclaims in his terse and telling sermons; Poole, with his elaborate synopsis; Watts, with his logic and lyrics; Matthew Henry, with his quaint and racy remarkings; Doddridge, in his "simplicity and godly sincerity;" the rabbinical Ainsworth, and the silver-tongued Bates, "born to stand before kings;" including also the pleasant pages of Flavel, and the mighty tomes of Goodwin. The young man's heart was touched and distressed by reading "*Alleine's Alarm*;" and, after much musing and prayer, he joined a Congregational church in 1792. By a happy correspondence, his religious and intellectual development seems to have made equal progress. His thirst for learning was awakened, and it found ample means of gratification; for, ere the period of his indenture was run, he could not only construe with ease the ordinary Greek and Latin authors, but he had made copies of notes, emendations, and other critical minutiae, in a style of superior acuteness and industry. His mind was thus to a great extent self-moulded, and his learning self-acquired. Yet, the freedom and versatility inseparable from such a course, where the pupil is his own master, and is able to humour himself in choosing his own times, modes, and themes of study, did not induce superficial attainment; for, as his juvenile note-books show, his acquaintance with technical erudition was as correct and extensive as if he had passed with care through a formal academic curriculum. In youth, as in after life, he was not contented with outer observation, but longed to penetrate to the roots; and he spared no pains and grudged no sacrifice, to reach inner and ultimate principles in philology and science. His knowledge combined thoroughness with quantity; for he was well aware that, while gilding soon fades and disappears, the sterling ore never rusts or loses its value. It was one of his mental virtues, that he strove to master all that could be known on any subject; or rather, to exhaust all the means of mastering it, which at the time he possessed.

These early habits of extreme accuracy never forsook him. Thus we find him, in 1837, writing to Sir Charles Lyell, that his geological terms, Eocene and its cognates, should be otherwise spelled, considering their Greek derivation; at another time, as his letters show, he formally challenged the correctness of Robert Hall's English; the orthography of the Christian name of Sir Matthew Hale arrests him, and he can set a correspondent right about the use and position of the possessive apostrophe; nay, a few days before his death, as a relative pointed to one of the beautiful hymns of Gerhardt, he could not refrain from saying, "Some people spell that name erroneously." After the completion of his apprenticeship, finding that he had more interest in studying books than in selling them; conscious, too, that his tastes and inclinations—"very different from crude and transient vagaries," had for years been fixed on the Christian ministry; and having great objections to such characters as "preaching tradesmen," he entered, after much thought and consultation, the Dissenting Academy at Rotherham. This theological seminary was then presided over by Dr Williams, so well known for his able and cautious vindication of Calvinism—a system which the leanings of his piety had led him to adopt, and his searching and wary metaphysics, enabled him to illustrate and defend. On his admission to the seminary, the trustees cautioned the neophyte as to "too great openness and decision in political sentiments." The allusion was occasioned probably by the information, that he had been very recently engaged in editing a newspaper. James Montgomery, proprietor and editor of the "*Iris*," had been prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned in York Castle for a political offence, that offence being the editorial expression of an opinion, dictated alike by justice and humanity; and John Pye Smith became his substitute during his six months' incarceration. It is to his immortal honour that he made his first literary appearances in sympathy with, and on behalf of, the honest patriot, who could not but rebuke a reckless sacrifice of life on the streets of Sheffield; and of the Christian poet, who, if he has not reached the pathos and humour of Cowper, will always be admired for his fine taste and graceful imagery—for his love of the beautiful and fresh in nature, the holy and gentle in character, and the free and the true in public life. At this period, the aspiring youth was in correspondence also with Roscoe and Coleridge.

During his residence in Rotherham, young Smith,—as his comrades called him, passed for a kind of oracle,—had neither superior nor equal among the students, whom he astonished by his vast stores of miscellaneous information, and to whom he sometimes discoursed on anatomy, or gave a series of lectures on Metaphysics and Natural Theology. Such were his quickness of perception and facility of

acquisition, so faithful and prompt was his memory, and so pliant and active were all his powers, that he seemed to accumulate knowledge without effort, and dispense it without fatigue. He laboured, yet he never seemed to labour, never groaned under his tasks—for his heart was in them. Nay, as he says himself, and his experience is not singular, he found “change of pursuit a sufficient substitute for walking in the open air.” Such were his calmness and self-control, so “temperate” was he “in all things,” that his health was preserved to a good old age, and his life and his usefulness closed together. The specimens of his Latin orations made during this period of study are fluent, clever, and correct, though rather modern in style, as they were really in subject. Dr Williams gives us some characteristic traits of his distinguished pupil. “He prefers,” says his professor, “to read Euclid in Greek,” has an “active turn of mind,” construes “Hebrew into Greek freely;” “his prudence even in small matters is seldom impeachable”—adding, “as to his ability to communicate knowledge, I know no one of his age equal to him.” Before he left Rotherham, an attempt was made to secure him as one of the tutors of Wymondley Academy, but it failed; because he thought that sufficient means were not taken to ascertain the piety of the students, or get “satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God.” He might have been settled as a minister in Chester; but “the suitable qualifications of Mr Pye Smith” coming to the knowledge of the trustees of Homerton Academy, they elected him one of their tutors, he being at that time twenty-seven years of age.

On the 16th of January 1801, his inaugural address at Homerton was delivered; and, though it ranges over a field of wondrous breadth, he expected to be able to teach in order all its various themes—classics and science, mental philosophy, and even some portions of theology. Such a scheme was unkind to the tutor, and unjust to the pupils. It distracted his attention and theirs. It exacted too many things, and quality was apt to be forgotten in mere variety. The broadest are usually the shallowest channels. There is no doubt that such branches should be taught, and as little doubt that one man cannot do them equal justice, and that students cannot grasp the whole of them in four years. Were one man, instead of seven men, employed to make a pin, the labour would be tardy and fruitless. Mr Pye Smith did his best in the circumstances, and few could have excelled him—for his omnivorous mind had banqueted in every realm of knowledge. He had looked into botany, and was no stranger to anatomy; he had made experiments in chemistry, and toiled his way through fluxions and conic sections; he was at home in Reid and Locke; and his favourite Greek and Latin books were the “Odyssey and Æneid,” Xenophon’s “Memorabilia” and Quintilian’s “Insti-

tutes." Some subdivision of labour did afterwards take place, but the burden of duty always devolved on him even after he became principal tutor ; and, as if his hands had not been sufficiently filled and laden, he was, a few years afterwards, in accordance with his own plan and purpose, ordained minister over a church at Old Gravel Pit, in the vicinity of the College.

From this period to his death, his life was one of incessant labour. Nor did he repine. He held two most important offices—a preacher of the gospel, and a teacher of those who were qualifying “to teach others also.” His work was his happiness. He gave theological science the first place, and he regarded and taught other sciences in true and natural connection with it. He believed that theology transcends all the sciences,—that it brings us into immediate communion with Infinitude and Eternity,—and that it presents the noblest elements of reflection—since its themes are the essence and attributes of Jehovah, the truth which He has published and the works which He has wrought. His own faith preserved his heart from ossification, in the midst of his toils and researches. What he expounded was what he believed. The theme of his prelections was the source of his spiritual life. It was no dry analysis or commentary which he gave to his students—what came from the chair with scientific precision and compacted fulness, was also spoken from the pulpit, with popular breadth and personal application. In the one case, it was presented so as to be comprehended in its proofs and bearings as a system of truth ; in the other, it was delivered so as to be at once understood and believed as a means of salvation and a rule of life. While pursuing theological study, he never forgot that he was dealing with a divine revelation, which claims an influence over every man’s eternal interests. To Scripture he professed his willingness to bow, and to it he always bowed. His only question was, What does God say ? He might hesitate as to the right meaning, but he never refused to accept what, in his judgment, was the genuine sense, for he knew that the highest act of reason was the obedience of faith. He might long and labour to feel every portion of revealed truth to be consonant to right reason,—as indeed it must be, though we may not always succeed in the demonstration,—but still he did not confound what is above reason, with what is contrary to it. To him scripture was of sole and supreme authority—“coming home to man’s business and bosom.” It matters not indeed to us, so far as our duty or our destiny is concerned, what the spots on the sun are, or what Saturn’s ring is, what is the order of the Egyptian dynasties, or how long the coal-beds were in process of formation. But in defending or expounding a book professing to come from God, and to be the only one having such an origin,

Dr Smith felt that its statements should be handled with solemn spirit and devout acknowledgment. He never for a moment forgot that it was God's truth with which he was dealing. While he dwelt on the structure and symmetry, or pointed out the veins and vessels of the tree of life, he uniformly insisted that its fruits were for the sustenance, and its leaves for the healing of the nations.

For, he was a "devout man," as his conversation and correspondence abundantly show. Many small books of devotion, not usually known, had a favourite place in his library. His prayers were remarkable, as intense in feeling, as if he saw Him to whom they were offered, and bowed before the unspeakable glory. His awe and rapture were expressed in rich, felicitous, and glowing language—the words of a sanctified spirit in living communion with the Father of Spirits. It is related of him, after he was beyond "threescore years and ten," that he wished to show some friends how stiff and cramped his fingers had become, and for this purpose wrote for a few seconds on a stray slip of paper. On that slip, when it chanced to be taken up and read, were found traced the words—"To be with Him, and to see Him as He is"—the ruling passion of his soul had given expression to itself even in this incidental form. Eternity was ever before him, and all things were seen in its light and measured by its scale. His letters are not fringed with religious commonplaces, but they are imbued with a religious spirit. Religion is not the inlaid ornament, but the soul of them. He did not set himself to say pious things, in the fitting place, but he said all things in a pious frame. From the calm depths of his bosom there welled out those devout ascriptions and humble thanksgivings, those fervent prayers for others, with that cordial salutation to every friend which wished above all things that his soul "might prosper and be in health." He saw God in all things, and all things in God; enjoyed God in all things, and all things in God. Religion never became a mere professional thing to him. It filled his soul, and shed a hallowing and ennobling brightness over his path. It governed his motives and shaped his plans. In its spirit he moved, and its promotion was his life-work. Conscious of being in Christ, his struggle was to be like Christ; and he realised a growing conformity.

This devoutness was the true spirit in which to carry on theological study. This feeling of dependence on the enlightening and sustaining influence of the Holy Spirit is the sure guidance and strength, for "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him." Grammatical skill without sanctified discernment is often beguiled into superficial and barren exegesis. Learning without piety has been the parent of the German Rationalism; Christianity was given over in that country to the keeping of its enemies who kissed, and then betrayed. Suspi-

cions were sometimes thrown out against Dr Smith, as if he had been influenced rather much by German speculations. But may not a man take advantage of the scholarship of Rationalism without imbibing its spirit or being tainted by its example? Believe and study was Dr Smith's motto, and it kept him from contamination. He has himself exposed the "false fundamental principles," and "dreadful errors" of Neology. For the best way to understand the words of Christ is to have His mind, and to be His is the best qualification for knowing what is His. Dr Smith's piety gave him an appreciation of the holy beauties, while he admired the literary excellencies, of the Divine Book, and brought a freer scope and a purer atmosphere to his intellectual powers. His chief work, to which this sketch is prefixed, treats of "the deep things of God"—the mystery and personality of the Divine nature; and his humble and subdued heart adoring while it sought to discern, was kept from profane and forward hypothesis. With unsandaled feet he approached the scene of discovery, and waited for Divine direction, keeping true to his motto—" *A Deo discendum est quid de Deo intelligendum sit, quia nonnisi se auctore cognoscitur.*" And his own confession, towards the close of his life, is—"There is not a doctrine, or promise, or precept, or warning, contained in the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, and generally understood under the term orthodoxy, which I do not believe with the fullest conviction, and as I am enabled, both obey and teach."

Few men have been so utterly unselfish, either as to money or fame. To be good was his aim; to do good his ambition. Thanks and honours were heaped upon him, and he took them, but laid them at the foot of the cross. The servant ascribed all the glory to the Master, as he acted out the motto of the great Lord Somers—*prodesse quàm prospici*. His character was marked by a noble simplicity—a high style of manhood. He scorned the petty artifices which are sometimes employed to get a name, whether they be singularity or affected originality, pompous titles or flashy style—the foliage of the fruitless fig-tree. "Artful management, burnish and varnish in the things of God I have always abhorred." This was his language on one trying occasion; but it expressed also his uniform feeling. Any one who saw him saw through him. His adherence to principle was unflinching; and he would rather have cut off his right arm than have given an erroneous impression of men or measures, or in any way tampered with the interests of truth. He would have kept his oath, though he had sworn to his hurt. Yet he was very catholic, though he was very conscientious; attached to his own tribe, he loved the entire Israel of God. His reading of the life of Dr Arnold filled him with intense admiration. "What love," he exclaimed, "what zeal, and diligence."

To appear to be what he was not—to put on the semblance without the reality, or to appropriate without acknowledgment—were hollow-nesses at which his nature revolted. He would not trample on a weak opponent, and he could bear with a sincere though erring one; but his generous indignation was roused at negligence, pretence, or moral obliquity. His last contribution to the *Eclectic Review* was a thorough exposure of a literary quack; its calmness being its severity; the knife cutting the more keenly, that it is not flourished prior to the dissection. His elevated literary position might gratify him; but the gratification was more than equalled by his sense of responsibility, and by his anxiety lest his influence should not be productive of the utmost possible good. If he had the ten talents, he did not glory in the awful possession, nor pause to count and admire them, but hastened to trade with them, afraid lest any of them should not be laid out to the best advantage, for he ever anticipated the coming of the Lord, and his “heart’s desire and prayer” was to be approved and welcomed by Him as a “good and faithful servant.” He had none of that moral littleness, which in some makes a show of its humility, and in others, is for ever assuming or asserting a conscious superiority. He would at once ask pardon of a servant if he had happened to blame him without cause, and think of this as a matter of equity, and not of condescension. His mind was not elated, though he corresponded with scholars and learned societies, with fellows of the universities and dignitaries of the Episcopal bench. He delighted to place himself on a level with the humblest of his brethren, and did not “mind high things.” His heart overflowed with sympathy and his tongue with kindness. He could indeed speak freely when necessity required, but ever with “the meekness of wisdom,” as when, in 1816, he wrote in respectful but manly terms to the Vicar of Hackney, who had warned him that street preaching, which he had practised for two previous Sabbath evenings, was an “irregularity,” and “contrary to the laws of the country.”

The larger portion of Dr Pye Smith’s publications were issued at the call of duty, and to oppose either bold or prevailing errors. But his was not the dash of a partizan, throwing himself into the fray; it was the sober and earnest assault of one who confronted error, because he loved and valued the truth, and walked in it. There was no acerbity, no supercilious rebuke, no bitter taunt, no profuse anathemas—nothing of that impetuous fury which cries in its pride, “Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord.” Few men so engaged in controversy have yielded less to its temptations. That theological rancour, whose intensity is proverbial, had no place in him. He resisted the devil and he fled. He rose above provocation;

and, "when reviled, he reviled not again." If hard things were said of him, he would not retort, but rather pray for such as "despitefully used" him. Yet he would not flinch, nor retreat a hair's-breadth from his convictions, no matter how virulent might be the onset. His candour was rare, and was sometimes carried to excess; his friends, he admits, called it "a blameable timidity." But he put in this answer, "Of this caution, even if it has been redundant, I do not repent." No man ever excelled him in the punctilious correctness, nay, the delicate fairness with which he stated an opponent's argument, or adjusted the terms of discussion. He would not take an undue advantage, either by overstating an objection, so as to destroy its credit and cast ridicule upon it; or, by understating it, so as the more easily to scorn its silliness or expose its unsoundness. Oftentimes he admits or yields more than there is really any need for; but this incautious charity, as one might call it, sprang from his confidence in the truth, and his assurance that it needed not to be guarded by dubious outworks, or fought for on debateable territory. Thus he frankly and without regret surrenders the oft quoted clause, "but not for Himself," in Daniel ix. 26—as a proof of the vicarious nature of Christ's death, because the Hebrew words cannot, as he thinks, bear such a reference. His conclusions were so carefully drawn, that usually they did not exceed what the premises warranted. The profusion of learning, strewn over his pages and foot-notes, arose from no ostentation, but from a characteristic anxiety, that the minutest reference might be easily verified, and that all collateral helps might be found in their due order, and estimated according to their respective value.

But his transparent nature sometimes brought him into difficulties. When he had doubts, he did not conceal them. There might be no occasion for this self-exposure; but it came naturally to him. Out of this propensity arose one of the great trials of his life. In the year 1812, he happened to expound from the pulpit, 2 Cor. v. 1-4,—a passage in the course of lecture. In his discourse he diverged from the common view taken of the paragraph, and from the common doctrine based upon it. Surmises were at once excited, hints passed into rumours, and rumours darkened into positive charges of error and heresy. Complaints immediately arose among the friends and supporters of the College, and, feeling that he was wounded in the house of his friends, he at once undertook the "unwelcome office" of self-vindication, and most successfully discharged it. Still, the primary ground of suspicion might have been avoided,—for, according to his own account, his mind had not been made up about the intermediate state when he preached about it; and, after six weeks of careful and prayerful scrutiny and

labour, he finally fixed upon the current interpretation, and the orthodox belief. Few would have cared to show the world the process of doubt, search, and final finding, for it is so liable to be misunderstood; but he feared not to "be seen and read of all men." Or to take another example. In the second edition of his *Letters to Belsham*, he admits without evasion or any effort at self-defence, that "he had egregiously misapprehended Mr Belsham's meaning in a passage of his sermon animadverted upon," and "he gratefully acknowledges his obligation to his opponent for the correction of that error." So, too, in the well-known controversy with Dr Bennett, on the canonicity of the Song of Solomon, after the expenditure of no little learning, ingenuity, and argument, he at once retracted his opinion, on being convinced that his objections had rested on no sure historical foundation.

Dr Smith's generosity was known to all his friends. Money, for its own sake, he could not value, nor did he desire to accumulate it. When in earlier life, he had acquired some freehold property in Yorkshire, he lamented the anxiety which it cost him. "I now," he writes to his father, "especially find the need of more spirituality, watchfulness, and prayer, lest these worldly cares corrode and destroy the vitals of religion." The amount of money which he gave away was large in proportion to his means,—“perhaps more,” as he says, in a private note, “than human prudence will justify.” From 1833 to 1850 he parted with from a sixth to a fourth of his yearly income. He presented to New College a large portion of his library, above two thousand volumes, and of his collection of minerals and fossils, the gathering of which had been the pleasure of his life. But he did not give to religion or benevolence, and then blazon it, either by boasting of it or professing to regret it; he never made his generosity painful, by expatiating on it, or his patronage burdensome, by dwelling on its advantages. When he wrote to the Trustees of the College, in 1840, offering to resign a hundred pounds of his salary, he asked “their forgiveness in this obtruding his private matters upon them,” and besought and enjoined them to carry his proposal into effect. He said what he thought, for it was no ostentation; and he thought what he said, for he had calmly weighed the matter, which was “no sudden impulse or hasty resolution.”

Dr Pye Smith was not so absorbed in literature or academic business as to forget his country. He was a politician; but only in so far as every Christian man must love to see truth, justice, and liberty, presiding over legislation, or embodied in it. “What are politics,” he asks, “but the knowledge and practice of the claims of right, and the obligations of duty, which belong to men as members of society?” He held it to be wrong for any man to mingle in the mere strife of

factions; but quite as wrong to stand aloof with folded arms and refuse his vote or influence, when great interests were at stake, and solemn questions were under settlement. He sympathised with all that tended to ease the woes or lighten the burdens of humanity, not only at home, but over the world, and was a member of "associations for peace, temperance, and universal benevolence." Nothing, in his conviction, could secure liberty and progress, peace and good government, but Christianity; for it breaks the fetters of the bondman, lifts the downtrodden masses, and elevates all its disciples to the nobility of a spiritual priesthood. He had a word to say for Protestants in France and Dissenters in Switzerland, for Negroes in Jamaica, and for persecuted Christians in Madagascar. Missions delighted him; and one of his earliest works in youth, was collecting money for the Baptist enterprise in India.

Dr Smith did not mingle much in general society, his deafness being a barrier. He was truly sensible of the painful want, though he was resigned under it. Lord Chesterfield, on being afflicted with the same malady, could write to a friend in a style of affected gaiety, which betrays the deep feeling of mortification beneath, "In spite of my strong hereditary right to deafness, how willingly would I part with it to any minister to whom hearing is often disagreeable, or to any fine woman to whom it is often dangerous. I comfort myself with the reflection, that I did not lose the power till after I had very nearly lost the desire for hearing." Dr Smith would not indulge in such a cynical spirit. He knew his deprivation,—“his great infirmity,”—but the desire for hearing never forsook him. His ear-trumpet was handled as dextrously as the famed one of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was anxious that his attendance on the meetings of the Geological Society should not be misunderstood, and took pains to impress upon his friends that his eye took in the diagrams, and that the papers read were kindly left for his private inspection. Courteous, gentle, and unpretending was he in all the relationships of life; a dutiful son, a very affectionate and solicitous father, and a faithful and open-hearted friend; an upright and liberal citizen; an able and zealous preacher; and a tutor beloved, nay, in his latter days, venerated as a Samuel in the school of the prophets.

Such, in brief, was Dr Smith's character. That it was perfect, we aver not. Some of his good qualities might be carried to an extreme, and the true balance between the amiable and the estimable might not in every instance be maintained. Nor was he always on his guard against imposition on the part of such as professed sympathy with his favourite pursuits or principles. It may be added, that it was not always sunshine under Dr Smith's roof, for he had trials common to

all men, and trials specially his own. Children were taken from him, and he mourned, but not without hope. One daughter, the delight of his eyes, was, at the age of twenty-two, "wafted to immortal life." Before she died, she told him what text to preach from after her death, and so strong was he that he complied. His own health was not uniformly good, but his diligence rarely paused.

His annual summer vacation of two months took him to various parts of the country, and once through a large portion of the Continent. In later years he attended the great meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1839 he delivered the Congregational Lecture "On Scripture and Geology," having been previously admitted as a Fellow of the Geological Society. Early in 1840 the Fellows of the Royal Society elected him into their number, the admission fee being provided by the generosity of some of his friends. In 1843 he became a second time resident tutor at Homerton; and, soon afterwards, did the work of Honorary Secretary for four years, in order to relieve the funds of the College. In 1846, or towards the close of his seventy-second year, a joint-pastor was ordained over the church at Old Gravel Pit. In 1849 he was present, though in feeble health, at the Peace Congress at Paris. The Colleges of Homerton, Highbury, and Coward, were, about this time, united; the larger institution at St John's Wood being the result. Many friends met and resolved on tendering a tribute of respect to the old man who had spent his long and useful life in their service—the money to be laid out at interest during his life, and appropriated after his death to found Divinity Scholarships. On December 30, of that year, he preached his last sermon to his own people; and wrote in his Note-book:

"On the Lord's-day morning, December 30, 1849, John Pye Smith preached his last pastoral discourse, and resigned the office to which the Lord's wondrous mercy and grace—amidst all his infirmities and deficiencies, for which he desires ever to be deeply humbled—have upheld him for nearly forty-six years."

At the laying of the foundation-stone of New College, the address was prepared by him, but was read by his learned colleague, Dr Wm. Smith. He had taken a deep interest in the origin of Mill Hill Grammar School, had for forty-one years watched its progress, and he now sent to the pupils a kind valedictory address. His work being over, he left London and retired to Guildford—waiting the summons to rest, an "indefinable sensation of lassitude and weariness" warning him that his waiting would not be protracted. "Alas," said he, "the relish for books is gone." Yet his spiritual companions were Scott, Bunyan, and Jay. The testimonial referred to, amounting to L.2600, was presented to him

at a public breakfast in the London Tavern, 8th January 1851. His own spontaneous reply, on receiving it, was inaudible, and his son read the prepared address. On his return to his rural retreat, decay and failure were more apparent day after day. Speaking became difficult for him, the "outward man" was fast wasting and wearing away; but "thanks," reiterated "thanks," for all kind attentions, still whispered the "gentleness of Christ." He passed quietly away on the 5th of February 1851, and a large concourse of mourners followed his remains to Abney Park Cemetery, Stoke Newington. It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that in 1807, Yale College, America, sent him a theological diploma, the document bearing the signature of Dr Timothy Dwight, the honoured President of the Institution; and, in 1837, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Marischal College, Aberdeen.

The mental characteristics of Dr Smith are easily read. There was no prominent faculty, save that governing power which keeps all the faculties in active and healthful discipline; and every one of them had been so carefully trained, and their culture had been so harmonious, that few, if any, marked features were left. He is never so deep that you shudder to dive with him, but always so clear, that you never mistake him. He was acute without being subtle, and examined a subject on every side, if he did not always exhaust it. He was calm, but never inert; and his vigour being without spasm, was, therefore, without recoil. He possessed a shrewd discrimination,—not indeed intuitive, but eager in its quietness, and rarely at fault in its decisions. His broad and comprehensive judgment moved easily, and without laborious pangs. He was rarely impulsive, but did what was his duty from abiding conviction. His intellectual nature was self-balanced—the analytic and synthetic powers in nearly equal poise—nay, all his faculties and susceptibilities were so happily strung together, as even in action and excitement to enjoy repose. You could not say there was genius, but you could say, that there was that combination of powers which approaches it—ease, dignity, quickness, fancy, memory, wealth of illustration, and command of language—with a hearty appreciation of the true and simple in thought and style. True to his own convictions, he was strong, and he would not rashly innovate. He did not indeed value the old, merely because it was old; and though the new had charms for his progressive spirit, its claims were cautiously sifted. He wrought his way to his conclusions, moving clearly and without pause, from step to step of the demonstration. He would not be imposed upon by names and forms; the husk did not detain him from the kernel. His veneration for great names did not deter him from dis-

secting their opinions, though he always takes special pains to tell what was good in them; and his condemnation of error is often mingled with exculpatory clauses as to the personal worth or the sincerity of the errorist. He was too judicious to build up theories with the ingenuity of Warburton, too kind to fell heretics with the sharp and heavy stroke of Magee, and too modest to blow a trumpet before him, like Horsley. He inclined rather to Barnabas than to the Boanerges.

His learning did not overmaster him, though it sometimes seemed to impede him, and keep him back from his final verdict—like a swimmer, who, as he nears the land, is fronted by some billow and carried to sea, and must buffet his way back, not without some dread of being again surged out. But his wealth of quotation arose from no vanity, from no desire to show how full and varied had been his reading. He did not follow the maxim of Selden, and quote “authors which are usually read;” nor did Selden act upon his own advice. Dr Smith liked to give what had gratified himself, confirmed his view, or exhibited a somewhat different aspect of the same truth, or had suggested, perhaps, the idea which he had taken pains to develop. Books not commonly within the reach of his readers are laid under contribution for excerpts or translations. His industry was without pause. Almost every year of his public life witnessed some production, and his new editions of his larger works must have cost him nearly as much labour as the first issue. In his ninetieth year, Michael Angelo said, *Ancora Imparo*, “even still I am learning,” and Dr Smith lived under such an impression. Leibnitz expired with a book in his hand; Petrarch was found dead on an opened folio, from which he had been extracting; the pen fell from Lord Clarendon as he died in the act of composition; and similar would have been the end of Dr Smith, if his physical powers had not first failed him, and produced incapacity for mental labour. He had wrought for fifty years, not like Hume composing his history as “a reserve against idleness,” nor feeding on the “secret honey” of posthumous fame, but he laboured for the highest of all ends—the defence and confirmation of truth, the purity and peace of the Church, and the glory of God.

His numerous contributions to the “Eclectic Review” show his general mastery over what he was teaching at Homerton, and the improvement which himself was making. To enumerate his many articles would be needless; yet we may refer to such papers as those on Mason Good’s translation of Lucretius, Priestley’s Notes on the Scriptures, Middleton on the Greek Article, Butler’s edition of Stanley’s *Æschylus*, Porson’s *Adversaria* and literary character, Horsley’s Psalms, Greek Lexicons, German Neology, with hosts of other and

similar critiques. These compositions betoken a sound mind, shrewd penetration, perfect impartiality and independence, along with a knowledge of foreign theological literature, which few in the nation, besides himself, at that period possessed. There is no brilliancy about them and little pungency; they are calm and sober; so didactic, as perhaps to the taste of some to be insipid, diverging often into the statement and discussion of first principles in Biblical literature and exegesis. Dr Smith's smaller publications were of an occasional character—sermons, charges, memoirs, addresses, lectures, and essays—many of them passing through more than one edition. In 1814 he published a Latin Grammar, and, in its preface entered a hearty protest against the lazy and slovenly trick of having Latin books with an English version.

During the first portion of Dr Smith's life, religious opinions had been rudely shaken, and men's minds were cast loose. The times were out of joint, and the dislocation had been produced by a variety of causes. Political influences had also essayed to liberalize theology. It was reckoned unmanly to stand by the old landmarks, and stigmatized as bigotry to profess the creed of a previous generation. Especially was it oracularly pronounced that all mystery must be discarded from inspired truth, and the scheme of mercy was, therefore, robbed of its distinctive peculiarities as a system of remedy and restoration. Liberalist divines nauseated the cross, though they might still linger by the manger. Sin in their theory needed no expiation, and the blood of Jesus was only that of a tragedy and a martyrdom. He was but a man before his age; and, like Socrates, and many others in the same advanced position, he paid the usual penalty of greatness. Evangelical truth was censured as at once opposed to reason, and unauthorized by Scripture; so that, in order to hold it, one must pluck out his mind's eye, and also attach the most absurd and uncritical meaning to the sacred oracles. And all this innovation was vindicated in defiant style—as if the Church had been blind for ages, and the general faith of Christendom had been a delusion and a lie—a spectre that must flee before just philosophy and free interpretation. It was argued too, that theology was like other sciences—which have an infancy and a manhood—doctrines once received coming at length to be exploded, and experiments formerly revered, soon descending to the rank of childish amusements. Arianism had sunk into Socinianism; and Socinianism, in explaining away inspiration and lowering the authority of Scripture, thought that, while it was destroying, it was merely simplifying; nay, it was so audacious as to maintain that, in denying the divinity of Christ and the personality of the Spirit, in exploding the idea of atonement and preaching universal restoration, it was bringing back Christianity to the primitive and apostolical model—

before councils had corrupted it, and the accretions of centuries had gathered around it. Pye Smith was naturally drawn into the controversy. The pulpit of the Old Gravel Pit meeting-house had been filled by Price, Priestley, and Belsham, in succession. In 1804, Belsham published a funeral sermon for Priestley—a man ever to be honoured for his scientific successes, and the meek and quiet spirit with which he bore shameless and unprovoked persecution. This discourse was a bold avowal of Unitarianism, combined with a clever caricature of Calvinism. To this Dr Smith replied in a series of “Letters;” and once turned to the subject, he still clung to it, and wrought upon it, till the “Scripture Testimony” was prepared and given to the world. Belsham’s “Calm Inquiry” had indeed been previously published; but the design of the “Scripture Testimony” was conceived, and its plan arranged before the appearance of that treatise which it so often controverts.

In the investigation of this awful subject, Dr Smith took the right and safe course. The question was not, what the Church had taught, but what the Scriptures reveal. The question was not as to what metaphysical speculations perplexed the early centuries among Cerinthians, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Sabellians, or Apollinarians, that is, whether the humanity were real, or the Logos supplied the place of a human soul, or whether the union of the two natures was simply one of will, or the human were really absorbed into the divine—or whether the tri-personality of the Godhead is an immanent and essential, or only a nominal and official distinction. Nor had he to do with what councils had determined on the subject, at Nice, Chalcedon, or Constantinople. His object was not to argue as to the incarnation and what prior existence it must have implied, nor as to the atonement, and what original dignity it must have presupposed. The one point to him was, What saith the Scripture? What is told of the Redeemer before He came; and what is narrated of Him after He did come? How did prophets describe Him; how did evangelists portray Him; how did apostles preach Him? Was the world taught to expect a divine Saviour by those who foretold Him? Did He exhibit proofs and tokens of divinity in His own words and acts? Did flashes of Deity break out from beneath their human disguise? What were the impressions of His early followers; how did they understand their relationship to Him; and in what epithets have they spoken of His person and character? With what attributes have they clothed Him, and what homage have they done to Him? The appeal, therefore, is to the Bible, and to the evidence which it bears. Its language must be weighed, and just conclusions arrived at, as to the natural and true meaning of the terms employed. Its great design is to reveal a Deliverer; and all

it says or hints, declares or suggests about His person;—its testimony from Genesis to the Apocalypse is to be collected and classified, so as to warrant a sound exegetical induction. To this work Dr Pye Smith earnestly and deliberately set himself, and he was well qualified for it. He had studied the subject, and all about it; his multifarious erudition he could converge upon it; what had been achieved by others was familiar to him; his reading in reference to it had been extensive; the question filled him with its importance, and solemnized him with its mystery. So equipped and challenged he rose to the occasion. The first edition of the work appeared in two volumes in 1818–21; the second, in three volumes, in 1829; the third, in 1837; and the fourth, in two volumes, in 1847; and this is now reprinted.

It is almost needless to make any remarks about a book which has been so popular, notwithstanding all its critical learning. Though it was planned prior to the appearance of the *Calm Inquiry*, its defect is, that it assumes too much and too often the appearance of a reply to that Socinian treatise. We have often regretted that in the last edition it was not remodelled, and made more an independent investigation of the subject, developing the truth and the whole truth, without any continuous allusions to a book which has long ago retired into oblivion. Yet it must be borne in mind, that the “Scripture Testimony” was an attempt to meet an error of the time, to stem a boastful heresy, and to show on what a sure foundation evangelical belief and worship were based. The objections refuted were naturally those most common and prevalent—those intended and calculated to produce impression, and therefore such as were found in Priestley and Belsham. The symmetry is also marred by excess of matter—a plethora of quotations and notes. The mass of the quotations is good, but there was no occasion for many of them; they divert the mind from the main argument, even though they may present corroborative opinions, and are specimens of clear thought and eloquent expression. Not a few of the smaller notes contain references both biographical and bibliographical, which, though of use in the first edition, might have been dispensed with in the last—information on those topics, both German and American, having been during the preceding quarter of a century, very widely diffused.

But the excellencies of the book are manifold, both singly and in combination. We might enumerate the anxiety and sagacity in the settlement of the text, so as to have the best readings; the adjustment of all requisite preliminaries, such as the proof that the clause or term in question in the Old Testament does refer to the Messiah; the critical insight into the literary peculiarities, and the sympathy with the spiritual qualities of the style of Scripture; the

tact and success with which the sense is investigated by the aid of grammar, lexicon, concordance, and version—no philological assistance from any age or author being neglected; the penetration and skill with which difficulties are unravelled, and perplexing questions solved, by the application of sound hermeneutical canons—pages of lucid and elaborate exegesis; the absence of all bias from foregone conclusions, and the calm statement of opinions—if friendly, without manœuvre—if hostile, without jealousy; the ripeness and extent of scholarship, and the perfect mastery of all the erudition, patristic or rabbinical, native or foreign, upon all the subjects treated, and the ease with which it is wielded—acquirements equalled by mental vigour; the continual care that each quotation be correct in itself, and the perpetual vigilance that it be marked as to the page, volume, and edition from which it is fetched; the intense apprehension lest the results be either more or less than the premises or exposition warrant; the frank and generous assertions made about such as differ, and the terror lest, inadvertently, they should be in the minutest degree misrepresented; and the loving, truthful, and reverential spirit which pervades and beautifies the entire production. It is not a dry and dead polemic, but is richly filled with spirit and life. The author believes while he argues, and adores while he construes; so that, as he gazes on the man Jesus, he is ready to exclaim, “My Lord and my God.”

The “Scripture Testimony” differs from other similar works. It passes through a wider range than the “Christology of Hengstenberg;” does not occupy itself with post-apostolic evidence, as is the avowed object of Burton’s “Ante-Nicene Fathers;” has not the scholastic air of Bull and Waterland, and does not enter into dogmatic speculations, like the able and more recent German works of Dörner and Thomasius. It is strictly what its name implies, and has become a classical authority on its theme. It simply labours to elicit the sense of those portions of Scripture which describe or refer to the person of Christ. It begins with the first gospel announced in Eden, and the utterance of Eve over her first-born; passes on through the promises made and repeated to the patriarchs and the incidental glimpses of their faith and worship found in the early records, to the Theophanies under the law and the awful words from time to time proclaimed; searches through the Psalms and the Prophets, and finds that the testimony of Jesus is the soul of prophecy; comes to the birth, life, sayings, deeds, and death of Jesus, in the Gospels, the averments made about Him in the Acts, and in the letters of His apostles Peter, John, and Paul. And this is the conclusion, that the great promise of the Old Testament is that Jehovah shall descend in man’s nature to save him, and that the central truth of

the New Testament is, "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us;" that this Jesus on earth asserts His divinity, speaks and acts as only one can do who is conscious of Godhead, exercises divine prerogative, pardons sin, gives proofs of omniscience, and accepts the worship due to the Supreme; while His inspired apostles describe Him as pre-existent, as Creator and Sustainer of all things—omnipresent and omnipotent,—and as claiming and meriting such faith, love, obedience, and homage, as none but God can challenge or enjoin. This doctrine is the glory of our creed, that the Redeemer is the God-man—two natures in one personality; the mystery of infinite condescension; divine love and human sympathy; God's arm and a brother's heart; upholding His holy law, and yet one in nature with its transgressors—"laying His hand upon both;" pleading with the Father as His Son and our Advocate; governing the universe; specially the Head of "the Church, which is His body;" and also the appointed "Judge of the quick and the dead." The Socinianism of that age was a cold and vapid negation; and though it has been revived in a more genial and ardent form by its recent champions and expounders, still it is at variance with the spirit and letter of Scripture, in their revelations of the character and government of God; and it does not reach the spiritual depths and wants of our fallen nature. The "Scripture Testimony" must have cost its author many hours of anxious labour during his "best years;" so that he could write in the preface—"It would be affectation to say that I deem this book a small and feeble contribution to the cause of religious knowledge. Had I thought it such, I should have been highly culpable for troubling the public with it."

The work of Christ is closely connected with His person. In 1813, Dr Smith had published a discourse "On the Nature, Value, and Efficacy of the Sacrifice of Christ." In 1828 he published "Four Discourses" on the same subject, a second edition of which appeared in 1842, a third in 1847, and a fourth in 1859. The question is, What is the great purpose of Christ's mission? Is it to enlighten us on God and immortality, or is it to do these feats of wonder and love—opening the eyes of the blind, feeding the hungry thousands, dispossessing the demoniac, and raising the dead? Or was He only the perfect man, the embodiment of purity, whose example should, by its fascination, induce and enable His disciples to copy it? Or is His death merely an instance of exalted bravery, itself the result of oppression, but also a proof of His sincere attachment to the welfare of humanity? Or is not a work more awful predicated of Him—that of self-surrender to a vicarious death—a death suffered in the room, and making expiation for the guilt, of the offender? This last position Dr Smith's "Four Discourses" are meant to prove and illustrate. They are

more dogmatic than the "Scripture Testimony," that is, they enter into fuller arguments and speculation on the nature of God, the evil of sin, the equity and stability of the Divine government, and the necessity thence arising, that He who sits upon the throne should vindicate His righteousness while He extends His mercy, and uphold and magnify His law while He pardons and accepts its unworthy violators. The idea of sacrifice is fully wrought out as an actual rite under the law, and as expressing in the New Testament the character and design of the death of Jesus,—for whatever virtue is found in the type is surely to be found also in the antitype,—“Christ our Passover, sacrificed for us;” “the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;” “who suffered once for sin, the Just One in room of unjust men;” nay, “who offered Himself an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour.” Dr Smith dwells on the terms satisfaction and redemption, the former of them so common since the days of Anselm, and is careful to explain their precise sense, and free them from those false meanings and human analogies which have often supplied a weak argument against the doctrine of atonement. On the governmental relations of the death of Christ, which Coleridge, Maurice, and others, are so disposed to overlook, Dr Smith is greatly clearer and sounder than Magee, for he shows that the efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice does not arise simply from the Divine appointment, but from its intrinsic virtue—the dignity of His nature, the extent of His humiliation, the perfection of His obedience, and the substitutionary and representative character of His death. The book is still an able protest against all caricatures and dilutions of the great central doctrine of vicarious suffering, both by past and present disputants—either the theory of Socinus, that the representation of Christ’s death as a sacrifice was meant to conciliate Jewish prejudice; or that of Grotius, that it was a great penal example; or that of Halley, that its efficacy sprang chiefly from the manifestation of the personal virtues of the sufferer; or that of Maurice, that the redeeming element is not suffering but love; or that of others, that it was a fitting and graceful conclusion to a self-denied life; as well the notion of Jowett, that sacrifice is only a Hebrew figure—an empty Orientalism, as the notion of Hofmann, that the decease of the God-Man was but His last contact with the world’s sin; or the more vague hypothesis of Schweitzer, that Christ’s being made a curse, was simply His being doomed by the Jews to die by law an ignominious death, and His being made sin for us, merely His being treated as a sinner by unjust judges. Rationalists, who can find a true sense, though they will not on their principles accept it, admit that the doctrine of expiatory suffering is taught in the New Testament. Thus De Wette held at one time, that Jesus foreseeing that

through the malice of His enemies He must die, made a virtue of necessity, and gave out that His death would be an oblation. Is not this an admission that Christ taught such a doctrine, and that His apostles proclaimed it? Gesenius also, in his Commentary on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, frankly admits that most Hebrew readers, familiar with the ideas of sacrifice and substitution, must necessarily have found the doctrine of atonement in the passage; and he expressly adds, "it is without doubt that the apostolic representation of the death of Christ as an atonement rests most especially (wohl ganz vorzüglich) upon this basis."

There are two controversies in which Dr Pye Smith was engaged, into which we cannot enter. The one was about the inspiration of Scripture—the origin of the dispute being Haffner's preface, or rather, "Introduction to the profitable reading of the Bible," which Dr Smith did not utterly reprobate—though he held it to be the production of a Rationalist. Mr Robert Haldane took offence, and his armour-bearer, the acute and caustic Dr Carson of Tubbermore, was urged to attack the Homerton Professor, and this he did in a style of coarse and virulent abuse, in which it is hard to say whether arrogance or acrimony be the more prominent characteristic. The writer of this sketch could not certainly employ Dr Smith's language, or adopt on all points his theory of inspiration; but, he believes that Dr Smith held the doctrine of plenary inspiration as to the letter of Scripture, as firmly as Mr Haldane or Dr Carson, and possessed, at least, an equal portion of its spirit. For example, Carson, after remarking that Dr Smith's candour had been praised in the *Monthly Repository*,—asks "was ever such a compliment paid to Jesus Christ?"—tells him that his liberality is "diabolical," and that what he called the "providential" way in which he came into the possession of Haffner's preface, was "that sort of providence that presented the rope to Judas Iscariot."

Dr Smith, no matter what his specific theory, held that inspiration must be as perfect as revelation, though both processes are beyond our cognisance; that if the truth be given in purity to the prophet's mind, the Spirit will insure that in whatever style it may clothe itself, it be given out to the world with equal purity. Far removed was he indeed from that modern spiritualism which prates of universal inspiration—"wide as the world, common as God"—which ascribes the same divine influence to Moses and Minos, David and Pindar, Paul and Leibnitz; and which, therefore, allowing the sacred books only literary or æsthetic glory, denies them to be an authoritative exposition of the mind and counsel of the Blessed God. For the influence which dwelt in the "holy men of God" is totally different, as well from that excitement of genius, which in a secondary sense may be called inspiration, as from that enlightening and sancti-

fyng grace which is possessed by all believers. In no way would he deny authority to Scripture—the Book of books, and the definitions of inspiration given by Tholuck, Nitzsch, or Twesten, would not have satisfied him. He did not, indeed, accept the notion of a mechanical verbal dictation—the image of the keys of the harpsichord struck by the divine plectrum, could not have been adopted by him. He felt the warm human element pervading Scripture—God's thoughts in man's words—for the inspired writers were no automata, the natural, even under the influence of the supernatural, moving with freedom and vigour.

The other controversy was with Dr Lee of Cambridge, on the question of Church Establishments. Dr Smith's object was partly to show that persons who are hostile to a State-church are not therefore the enemies of national religion; for he held that national religion is “nothing else than the sum total of the piety of individual Christians, at any time to be found in the realm.” The controversy was protracted to some length; neither party, as usual, convincing the other; and the troubled waters finally subsided into the old channels of sincere personal friendship.

Among the minor works of Dr Smith, may be noticed his “Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies,” of which a second edition was issued in 1831; the articles which he contributed to Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, and his defences of Christianity against an infidel club. He could sympathize with honest error; but scorned duplicity and vanity, and could have no patience with such a man as Taylor, the avowed unbeliever and ring-leader, who, in his ignorance, had confounded Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, with Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter House, and identified the great critic, Richard Bentley of Cambridge, with John Bentley, a living mathematician in Calcutta. He could not but reprobate that Deism which wore such a cold and withered aspect, and had such a rough and frosty touch. Its sorcery was coarse, and its dark scowl chilled the very orgies of its disciples, for it gave no aim to life but sensual pleasure, and sought no relief from death but a dreary annihilation.

At an early period of his life Dr Smith had begun to gather specimens of minerals and fossils, and the collection grew with his advancing years. His mind was thus drawn to the rising science of Geology, which was fast disengaging itself from the dignified romances which went by the name, or took that of Cosmogony. There had been long and close research, and a great and decisive step had been gained when the characterism of fossils had been introduced by Dr William Smith, the father of English Geology. It had been ascertained, that the strata composing the crust of the earth lie in certain relative un-

changed positions, from the lowest deposits up to the most recent drift; that these, with the exception of the earliest azoic rocks, are distinguished by the remains of plants and animals; that the rocks themselves point each to the sources whence it was formed; that they are of various kinds, and of successive growths—gneiss, schist, old red sandstone, carboniferous strata, oolitic and cretaceous systems, ending in the tertiaries; that the accumulation of such miles of rock and beds of coal in the bottom of the ancient seas, must have been a slow process; that the animals preserved in their stony coffins could not have been contemporaries; that whole species died out, and others came in their room, and so with the vegetables; that no traces of man or of any of his works are found even in the most recent deposits—the conclusion being that even during the formation of the pleistocene group far above the chalks, he had not been summoned into existence; that many rocks are composed of the *exuviae* or shells of animals, some of them very minute, those that form *rasen-eisen* or iron-clod being only the $\frac{1}{21}$ part of the thickness of a human hair—a cubic inch containing a billion of them—nay, that there are reefs and islands of coral, the product of a tiny insect, building first its habitation and then its tomb, and that these are so massive and numerous, that they would form a new planet of no insignificant size. If then it can be proved that the very brief period between the creation and the deluge cannot suffice for those mighty changes and processes, and that the deluge itself could not by any possibility effect or comprise them, the question is, are these and similar discoveries inconsistent with the statement of the inspired record? Is the science of Buckland, Lyell, De la Beche, Phillips, Mantell, Murchison, and Sedgwick, infidel in its character and tendency? Must men, the more they know of God's works, find them contradictory to God's word? Those strata, by their composition telling their parentage, and those fossil plants and animals bringing the conviction that they once grew and lived, nature cannot deceive us; nor can Scripture, for as Galileo avers in his own defence:—*non poter la scrittura sacra mentire, tuttavolte che si sia penetrato il suo vero sentimento*—scripture can never lie, provided its true sense be fully understood. If they are both the offspring of the same author, their seeming variations must be reconcilable. Nor is it less plain that, in order to such a reconciliation, the one and the other must be correctly investigated. If you either misunderstand nature or misinterpret Scripture, you cannot bring them into harmony. To be a sound expounder, one needs scholarship and patience, candour and freedom from preconceived and traditionary opinions; and to be a thorough geologist, there must be a knowledge of mineralogy and comparative anatomy, of botany and conchology, so as to detect and recognise the fossil fauna and flora of the ancient world. The men

must be very few indeed, in whom all those combinations meet, to whom God has given the requisite intellect, leisure, and opportunity. It is not too much to say, that the studies of a long life had given Dr Pye Smith some measure of qualification, and that it was in no hasty spirit he undertook the task of showing the harmony between geology and the Mosaic record.

The volume, whose full title is, "The Relation between the Holy Scriptures, and some parts of Geology," appeared in 1839, having been previously read as the "Congregational Lecture." A fourth edition, with a great amount of new matter, was issued in 1848; and a reprint of this, as a fifth edition, in 1854, forms one of the volumes of Bohn's Scientific Library. Our space does not permit us to dwell upon the subject, or to give any enumeration of the hypotheses which have been maintained. Suffice it, in one word, to say, that Dr Smith's theory appears to be more in harmony both with geological fact and with the plain sense of scripture, than that of Hugh Miller or the late Professor Jameson, which makes the "days" vast unmeasured epochs; that it has put to flight such miserable theories as those of Penn, Fairholme, Forman, and others, who mistook the teaching both of nature and inspiration, and that it proves how gratuitous it is on the part of Baden Powell, and others, to call the first chapter of Genesis a mere poetical myth, or a hoary legend, which does not admit of strict interpretation, and was not intended to bear it. Correct exposition, as illustrated by the eight or ten miles of the earth's crust with which we have become familiar, joins with geology in maintaining a personal God, on whose fiat successive changes in plants and animals were produced—in declaring that a divine personal will, and not an impersonal law, presides over the universe; that every form of life is a direct gift from the one Life-giver, and not the result of organic processes and transformations; and that He is not so lofty nor so distant as to disdain to interfere with the furniture and population of this lowly world. It shows, therefore, that the transmutation argued for in the "Vestiges of Creation," and expounded in some of its features by Maillet, La Marck, and Oken, is all a delusion. It teaches, too, that man came into existence at the fitting period, and after a home had been prepared for him—for he could not have lived amidst the throes of earthquakes and the birth of mountains.

The exact familiarity with science, displayed in Dr Smith's book, is amazing; it is filled with rich information, and gleams occasionally with warm rebuke of some of his more senseless opponents. In one of the notes, there is an apparent willingness to give up, on certain conditions, the biblical idea of the origin of the human race from a single pair; and this we regret, for we think that upon this physical fact depends the reasoning of the apostle in the fifth chapter of the

Epistle to the Romans. But we are thankful that a man of Dr Smith's fairness, erudition, and scientific information and accomplishments, took the matter in hand, and wrested it from weak sciolists and infidel speculators. Still it may be questioned, whether, with all the ascertained facts of geology and astronomy, a sufficient basis has been found for those sweeping generalizations, out of which higher laws and ultimate principles are sought to be evolved. In the meantime, however, we are impressed with the wisdom, power, and goodness of God at every epoch. For whether the globe was under plutonic agencies, and over its floor of molten granite no life could exist; or whether its surface were a wide waste of waters, beneath which new continents were in process of formation; or whether the tribes of the sea were its principal inhabitants, or portentous reptiles claimed the supremacy, or plants of gigantic bulk covered its steaming marshes, sending their annual growth to the place of oceanic deposit, and forming a storehouse of future fuel; no matter under what hypotheses we contemplate the law of geological dynamics—that of violent catastrophe or of uniform action; no matter, in short, what the aspect or condition of the globe, a law of general progress is never violated, every change had its proximate purpose and ultimate end, as the great Architect was building up, "at sundry times, and in divers manners," this magnificent platform on which we dwell. "In His hand are the deep places of the earth, the strength of the hills is His also; the sea is His, and He made it, and His hands formed the dry land. O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker."

Four years after Dr Smith's death, appeared his "First Lines of Christian Theology, in the form of a syllabus, prepared for the use of the students in the old College, Homerton; edited from the author's manuscripts, by William Farrer, LL.B., Secretary and Librarian of New College, London." This book has been well named "First Lines;" and it would be unjust to compare it with the older and elaborated systems of Turretine, Stapfer, Pictet or Maastricht, with those of Hill, Dick, Wardlaw, Woods, or Finney; or the recent and excellent foreign ones of Martensen, Ebrard, or Reuss. But it has elements of great utility to divinity students; being so simple, and yet so full; so careful in noting and often characterising the authorities to be consulted—in stating and defining so exactly the controverted points, and in continually keeping in view that religion is the end of all theology; that truth is revealed in order to be known, and when known, to be accepted and acted on; and that mere theological acquirement has in itself no saving power, even as the astronomer who knows so much about sun and stars, receives no more light from those luminaries, than he who

is totally ignorant of their history and laws. Dr Smith had not the prejudices against systematic theology which some scholarly men have entertained, for it is but the connected array of truths found in scripture, either as the Westminster Confession has it "expressly set down, or by good and necessary consequence deduced." The entire cast of the book shows, however, that the author would have excelled rather in the department of Doctrine-history (*Dogmengeschichte*), and that in the perfect description or reproduction of the opinions of others, he might have equalled Professor Baur of Tübingen. It is but right to add, that Mr Farrer's notes and indexes are of high value to the student; and we do not know where so much interesting biographical and literary information can be so easily acquired.

In conclusion, Mr Farrer, in his preface, has started the question as to the amount of influence which Dr Smith has "exerted in regard to spirit and method upon the theology of his age." But he wisely limits the answer to some one "veteran," who has been "himself a spectator and agonist of the theological arena during the struggles of the last forty years." Not being connected much more than half that period with the theological arena in any shape, I am precluded by the terms from offering more than a mere opinion. Dr Pye Smith has founded no theological school, but for that, like Neander, he cared not; nor have any of his pupils, as yet, approached his name and labours. But his life had abundant fruit. In all humility, he says himself in the preface to the third edition of "Scripture Testimony," "that the faith of some Christians has been strengthened, and that others have been preserved from falling into the system of error, whose plausibility had nearly imposed upon them, cannot but be to me a subject of the most encouraging reflection." His "Geology" made an immediate and strong impression. Not only did such men as Herschell, Whewell, Baden Powell, and Sedgwick, at once send him their congratulations, but many others continued to thank him for the light and information which they had derived from the volume. Besides such notable instances, his influence must have been widely and deeply felt, for—

All his mind was set,
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good.

In "serving his own generation by the will of God," he became, as Bacon phrases it, "a servant of posterity." His position as a minister and teacher of theology—his industry and thirst of knowledge—his candour, modesty, and constant openness to conviction—his learn-

ing and apostolic sanctity—his numerous sermons, breathing the spirit and enforcing the truth of the One Master—his greater works, not only 'mighty in argument, but themselves models, in serenity, patience, and truthfulness of Christian research;—all these elements of character and toil, felt personally over no narrow circle, and by the press over our country and the world, must be productive not only of immediate but also of remote and blessed results, which surely warrant him the possession of “that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advanced the good of mankind.”

JOHN EADIE.

13, LANSDOWNE CRESCENT, GLASGOW,

February 1859

THE
SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY
TO
THE MESSIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

The duty of acquiring a correct knowledge of revealed truth.—The doctrine of a SAVIOUR the primary truth of revelation.—Importance of the question concerning his Person.—Design of this work.

To a serious inquirer, whose mind is attentive to evidence and open to reasonable conviction, the proofs of the divine origin of Christianity evidently involve its infinite importance. Information upon any subject, given by the Author of all truth and wisdom, could not but wear the characters of his supreme excellence, and would not have been given but for the most solid reason, and in the contemplation of final purposes worthy of his own perfection. It cannot be a matter of indifference, with respect to their accountableness and their moral state, whether the rational creatures of God accept or reject the revelation which he has given; surrounded as it is with a copiousness and variety of evidence, which grows stronger with age and brighter from scrutiny. So, neither, when we have obtained the result of a diligent and candid research, and have yielded our assent to the general truth of the Scriptures, are we at liberty to rest at this point; as if it were not interesting, or at least not obligatory, to acquire just conceptions of the contents of those Scriptures, the truths which they discover, and the designs which they propose. In a right knowledge of the one, and a practical conformity to the other, lies the possession of true virtue and happiness.

The revelation of Heaven bears on its front, as its PRIMARY and CAPITAL TRUTH, the doctrine of a great DELIVERER from sin and misery, promised under one dispensation and given under another; and it represents him as the Founder of our faith, the Light of the world, the Lord of glory, the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him. "WHO, then, is He, that we may believe on him?" Can the question be frivolous or unnecessary? Rather, can we be acquitted of a criminal and insulting indifference, if we neglect to propose and pursue the inquiry, till we arrive at a rational satisfaction? Is not a "belief of *the truth*" constantly represented in the Scriptures as actually necessary to salvation? Is not THIS subject evidently a prime and capital part of that truth? Is it not, in the highest degree, probable that the reception of this branch of the truth has a necessary association with such a state of mind as is indispensable to the reception of the blessings which that Great Deliverer came to bestow?

On this subject, as is too well known, great diversity of opinion has subsisted for many ages: and, at the present period, this diversity forms, unquestionably, the most momentous controversy among Christians. This increases the difficulty, as well as the interest, of the investigation. Yet the subject does not lie among the metaphysics of religion, the more abstruse and less vital parts of revealed doctrine. It touches all the springs of life and action, in our faith and our practice. It is not a topic whose interest is confined to the men of learned retirement and deep theological research: but, at this moment, and in all enlightened countries, it engages, as it ought to engage, the most serious attention of thousands in the middle and the inferior classes; persons who, though usually called unlearned, are not ignorant or uncultivated, but addicted to useful reading in their own tongue, and above all to the study of the Scriptures, to reflecting habits, and to devotion. "To the poor the gospel is preached:" and to the judgment of the poor and Christians of every class, the controversy concerning the *person* of CHRIST is daily submitted, in books and pamphlets, periodical writings, and more elaborate treatises, in sermons from the pulpit, and in the conversation of private life. The public teachers of Christianity, of every form and denomination, are under peculiar obligations to understand well this topic and those most closely connected with it; and to have, from solid

conviction, a decided sentiment upon it, satisfactory to their own minds, and honestly avowed to others. The conscientious minister of religion feels this obligation, and acts upon it: those who are rash and comparatively ignorant adopt ready conclusions, which have cost them little labour of inquiry, and which, if in fact right, are to these persons prejudices rather than principles: and even the perfunctory and indolent can with difficulty evade the demand upon their reluctant attention.

Many works, of various character and merit, have been published upon this truly important subject. Of these not a few are entitled to all the commendations which are due to ability and learning, to sound judgment, fair reasoning, and Christian temper.¹ It must, however, be acknowledged that the generality of the earlier works, valuable and useful as on many accounts they are, were constructed upon a state of the controversy in a considerable degree different from that which it has more lately assumed. Others take up a limited view of the subject, and decline the investigation of some points which are necessary to a correct understanding of the case. Some have sacrificed their utility to their jealousies; and, by the accumulation of weak or dubious arguments, have obscured and enfeebled their better matter; others have sought a miserable assistance from harsh and irritating language, crying down rather than answering their opponents; some have assumed principles hostile to the right of free inquiry, personal judgment, and unrestrained profession of what is apprehended to be truth; some have rested their arguments on the authority and prescriptions of men; and, to the injury of a good cause and the deep grief of many conscientious friends of that cause, the authors of some other works have betrayed their chagrin that the justice of the British legislature has denied to their reasonings the support of penal terrors.² In

¹ Among such works a high place is due to *Dr van Wynpersse's Teylerian Prize Essay on the Divinity of Jesus Christ*, translated by the late Rev. John Hall, of Rotterdam; *Bishop Huntingford's Thoughts on the Doctrine of the Trinity*; *Dr Wardlaw's Lectures on the Socinian Controversy*, and his *Reply to the Rev. James Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism*; *Prof. Moses Stuart's Letters to Dr Channing, on the Trinity and the Deity of Christ*; *Dr Woods's Letters to Dr Ware*; *Mr Grinfield on the Deity of Christ*; *Dr Urwick on the Worship of Christ*; several volumes of the *Bampton Lectures* upon this and allied subjects; and not a few other works by British and American authors.

² "Is it humanity to stand on the shore, and, seeing men in a storm at sea, wherein they are ready every moment to be cast away and perish, to storm at them ourselves, or to shoot them to death, or to cast fire into their vessel, be-

the mean time, the dispute is continued with unquenched ardour; and the claim of victory is made on each side, with apparently equal confidence.

The design of the following work is to present an impartial view of the whole evidence, full but not diffuse, compressed but not obscure or ambiguous: and the manner proposed is that which seems most agreeable to the natural proceeding of the mind in the search after knowledge, a careful induction, rising from the most acknowledged principles, and rendered, as much as possible, unobjectionable at every step. "To the spirit of dictation: to the attempt to uphold the ark of God with unhalloved hands," the writer hopes that "he will strenuously oppose himself;" desiring to be "armed only with the shield of faith, and the sword of the Spirit of God."³

After some Preliminary Observations, which the nature of the subject and the actual circumstances of the controversy seem to require, it is intended to trace the expectation of a great Deliverer and Author of happiness to mankind, from the earliest intimations upon record, through the successive developments of the divine purpose. In this induction, our object will be to ascertain, by a careful scrutinizing of the evidence as it arises, *what* those *characters* were of which the union in one person, who should in due time be revealed to the world, would constitute him the Saviour expected, the Messiah. This will be one leading part of our inquiry. The other will be founded on the position, the admittance of which denominates a man a Christian as distinguished from a Jew, a heathen, or a deist, that JESUS *is* the MESSIAH. Our object, in this part, will be to ascertain, by the same inductive process, *what characters* are attributed to Jesus, the acknowledged Messiah or Christ, in those writings which all Christians regard as the repository and rule of their faith. If the conclusions at which we may arrive, by pursuing these separate lines of investigation, should turn out to be at variance with each other, we shall be assured that we have erred at some point of our progress, and it will be necessary to retrace our steps. But if a comparison of the cause they are in danger of being drowned? Yet no otherwise do we deal with those whom we persecute, because they miss the knowledge of the truth; and, it may be, we raise a worse storm in ourselves, as to our own morals, than they suffer under as to their intellectuals."—*Owen on Spiritual Underst.*, chap. v.

³ *Monthly Repository of Theology*, etc. (the principal periodical work on Unitarian principles), Oct. 1817, p. 639.

results thus attained by different, and in a great measure independent, processes, should find them to be coincident; we shall have the most satisfactory proof that each line of inquiry has been fairly conducted, and that the general conclusion resting on the whole body of separate yet harmonious evidence, is the verdict of truth.⁴

I implore my candid reader to bring his serious and conscientious exertion to the study of this subject, to seek impartially, to pray fervently, and to avow the result honestly. No mortal has a right to call him to a judicial account for that result; but such account he must assuredly give to "HIM that liveth for ever and ever."

⁴ It cannot but afford the author satisfaction and encouragement, to find this method of investigation recently vindicated and recommended, by a writer who is evidently a man of powerful mind and penetrating judgment. "No science is more strictly *inductive* than Theology. The etymology of the term is, as usual, a sort of definition of the science. It is *that Science which treats of God*, in his essence, his character, his works, and his word; and of the various relations which he sustains to all intelligent beings, all created things, and all possible events; and of their corresponding relations to him. Carry this study as far as we may, the manifestations of Jehovah may [can] no more enable us to ascertain *the very essence* of the Deity, than the attributes of matter enable us to penetrate into the very essence or intrinsic nature of matter. Simply state the case inductively, that the Bible is a record of words and facts, which embody the revelation of God to mankind; and the duty instantly becomes obvious of analyzing those words and facts, reducing them, by a method strictly inductive, into a proper order, and then deducing from them the legitimate general truth. This method would soon land the theological student where the student of nature almost instantly finds himself, under the guidance of correct philosophy, *standing firmly upon the facts*, without much danger of being bewildered by the theories with which they have been blended, or to which they have been made subservient. He will soon feel fully established in the *fact* of the existence of One God; and the *manner* of his existence, as Three Persons and One God, will no more perplex him, than the fact that the brain is the seat of volition will be perplexed by the question, *how* nervous influence is diffused in order to carry volition into action."—*Theology an Inductive Science*, by the Bishop of Kentucky, in the younger Dr Woods's *Literary and Theological Review*, March 1835.

BOOK I.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

CHAP. I.

ON THE EVIDENCE PROPER TO THIS INQUIRY.

The light of nature furnishes no information on the mode of existence of the Supreme Being.—Our entire ignorance of all real essences, and, *à fortiori*, of the essence of the Deity.—No antecedent incredibility in the belief of a plurality in the Divine Unity.—Caution against unfounded assumptions on the subject of this Inquiry.—The Scriptures our only source of information, and sufficient for that purpose.

It has been frequently shown, that Natural Theology can furnish numerous and complete arguments, by which any man of plain understanding and honest heart may be convinced that a Deity exists, that the universe is his creation, and that he exercises over it a government of moral authority, as well as of supreme intelligence and power. We have no reason, however, to expect, from the unassisted light of nature, even in the most favourable circumstances, any more than general conclusions; well calculated to excite attention and solicitude, but not capable of satisfying the feelings of religious principle, or the reasonable inquiries of the understanding, however chastised by humble and modest piety. This is eminently the case with regard to our speculations on the *nature* of the Supreme Being. We cannot reasonably doubt of the UNITY of God, in every sense in which unity is a perfection: but to the exact determination of that sense, we are not competent. A manifest unity of intelligence, design, and active power, does not warrant the inference that *unity*, in all possible respects and without any modification,

is to be attributed to the Deity. For anything that we know, or are entitled to presume, there may be a sense of the term *unity*, which would include a degrading restriction, and would be incompatible with the possession of ALL possible perfection.¹

What is the *essence* of the Infinite Being? and what is the *mode* of his existence? Every thinking man must soon become sensible, either that the solution of these questions lies above his faculties, or that natural considerations cannot supply the materials for the purpose. All the objects of created nature are known to us only by their properties and accidents. Of their real essences, we can observe nothing in fact; we can conceive nothing in imagination. Yet, that real essences exist, the bases of adjuncts, and to which all properties and modes belong,—we cannot deny without being entangled in contradiction and manifest absurdity. We are equally ignorant of those ever active principles or powers, which, under the agency of the all-presiding Mind, are the first movers of the physical universe. That which we call the attraction of gravitation is, confessedly, but an effect. It forms the dew-drop, and it holds together the planetary systems, through the inconceivable immensity of space: but what is *its* proximate cause? What is the *nexus* which equally unites contiguous particles, and worlds whose distance from each other imagination cannot reach? Yea, even what is *contiguity*? We cannot demonstrate it. By what mode of operation is a very small number of substances assimilated and evolved, in the admirable variety and perpetual change of organized bodies? Every child knows the fact: but how the fact takes place, true philosophy confesses that she knows not.²

Can it, then, be thought surprising, that the natural powers of man can discover nothing, as to the *essence* and the *mode* of existence of the Infinite and Necessary Being? Rather, would it not be held an unreasonable and incredible pretension, should any affirm that he had made such a discovery? The *infinity* of the Deity is, to us, an inconceivable idea: yet can it be with reason denied? The *eternity* of God is not a succession of moments; it cannot be distributed into a past, a present, and a future; it presents to us the overwhelming thought of an unbounded NOW: yet, how can this be? The *mode of knowledge* in the Divine Mind must differ from all our notions of perception, association, and intelligence; and this difference arises

¹ See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

² See Note B.

from its very perfection; yet this is to us a subject absolutely incomprehensible?³

In applying such analogies to this profound and awful subject, we have a sanction from no mean authority; an authority which the Christian, at least, will reverentially regard. "Who hath ascended to the heavens, and hath descended? Who hath collected the wind in the hollows of his hands? Who hath bound the waters in a close vestment? Who hath established all the ends of the earth? WHAT IS HIS NAME? And WHAT the NAME of HIS SON? For knowest thou?"—Prov. xxx. 4.

These remarks are made with a view to show that there is *no antecedent incredibility* in the supposition, that the infinite and unknown essence of the Deity *may* comprise a plurality,—not of separate beings,—but of hypostases, subsistences, subjects, persons; or, since many wise and good men deem it safest and most becoming to use no specific term for this ineffable subject,—of distinctions; always remembering that such distinctions alter not the Unity proper to the Divine Nature. That Unity we hold as the first truth of reason and revelation. But, for any thing that we know, or have a right to assume, the combination of Unity and Plurality may be one of the *unique* properties of the Divine Essence; a necessary part of that *SOLE* Perfection which must include every real, every possible excellence; a property peculiar to the Deity, and distinguishing the mode of HIS existence from that of the existence of all dependent beings.

These remarks may not appear superfluous if it be considered that the *impossibility* of the Trinitarian doctrine is boldly affirmed by its opponents.⁴ Were this position self-evident, or could it be established by proofs,⁵ it would be unnecessary to go into

³ See Note C.

⁴ "The doctrine of the Trinity, if it had been found there [in the Scriptures], it would have been impossible for any reasonable man to believe, as it implies a *contradiction*, which no miracles can prove."—*Dr Priestley's History of Early Opinions*, vol. i. p. 48.

⁵ The Polish Socinians, and after them the sceptic Bayle, made the strongest charges of contradiction and absolute impossibility against our doctrine. But probably no writer has represented the argument in a manner more perspicuous or striking than Dr Priestley has done in the section of his *History of Early Opinions* referred to in the preceding note. But it appears to me, that the whole of this boasted argument proceeds on false assumptions: viz., that unity in one respect implies unity in all respects; that the Deity is to be judged of by the rules and reasonings which are derived from, and are applicable to, finite subjects; thus overlooking the necessary *INFINITY* of the Divine Nature;—that the term *person* is to be taken in its ordinary acceptation as it is currently

inquiries and arguments to determine what is the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures on the subject. If any portions of those Scriptures seemed to countenance it, or even expressly to affirm it, our only task would be to devise some neutralising, though violent, novelty of interpretation : or we should suspect a corruption in the text : or we should deny the inspiration of the writer : or we should charge upon him fanciful analogies, excessive fondness for types and allegories, being a little off his guard, applying scriptures very improperly, pressing arguments upon others which it may be strongly suspected he was not satisfied with himself, and employing such awkward, ill-judged, and inconclusive reasons as our superior mastership in logic enables us to look upon with pity, and generously to correct :⁶ or, wearied and disgusted with the irksomeness of systematically contriving meanings to terms and phrases so repugnant to the common use of language, and so hard to be believed as the intention of the inartificial writers of the Bible, we should quit the ungracious task, and, by one desperate effort, drown our scruples, and make shipwreck of our faith in the bottomless gulph of infidelity. Not that I would insinuate Christianity to be untenable by rational evidences, even though its doctrines were impoverished to the last extremity. But such an attenuated Christianity would correspond to the reality of it, as given in the volume of revelation, as much as the skeleton hung up in a museum resembles a living and healthy man : and whether the state of mind thus supposed, has not been frequently produced, and produced from the very origin and by the process here sketched, let the observant and impartial judge. Undeniable facts, not a few, prove that this sad result is not a chimerical apprehension.

It is probable, however, that this assumption of an antecedent incredibility may, in some minds, exist upon honest, though mistaken grounds. If it be imagined that the Trinitarian doctrine maintains that *one* is *three*, and *three* are *one*, in the same sense

used among men, though Trinitarian authors have generally been careful to guard against such a supposition, and to advise their readers that they accept the word as, one of expediency, not of strict propriety, and that they use it in a sense entirely *sui generis* ;—and that the Infinite Deity cannot possess properties under one mode of consideration, different from those which it has under another mode of consideration.

⁶ All these charges are adduced by Dr Priestley, under the signatures of Paulinus and Pamphilus, in the *Theological Repository*, which he edited, vols. iii. and iv.

and respect; or that there are three Supreme Beings; it must be admitted that the propositions are contradictory, and that no well-constituted human mind, which understands the terms, can receive such propositions. But the first duty of the inquirer is to free himself from all prejudiced views of the point to be investigated: and, certainly, that must be a prejudice, and a very inexcusable prejudice, which opposes a sentiment under conceptions of it essentially different from the constant declarations of its most enlightened advocates. Can any person be so dull as not to perceive, or so disingenuous as not to acknowledge, the difference between the belief of *three gods*, and the sentiment that the DEITY, strenuously maintained to be ONE BEING, should, as one of the peculiarities of his transcendent greatness and excellence, possess a three-fold manner of existence? Or can it be rationally regarded as any just objection to such a sentiment, that human conception and language are confessedly inadequate to comprehend, or to describe it?⁷ Is it at all probable that a finite and most imperfect creature, in the very infancy of his existence, and infected with a thousand debilities and prejudices, should comprehend the Infinite Supreme, the Perfect, the most Holy?

Perhaps, enough has been advanced to open our way to the conclusion, that this great question must be decided by THE TESTIMONY OF THE SCRIPTURES ALONE, elicited by the acknowledged methods of rational interpretation.

On the admission, that the books held sacred by Jews and Christians are clearly proved, to the exclusion of all other pretensions, to contain a real revelation, communicated by God to men; one of the first expectations which the mind almost necessarily forms, with regard to the contents and matter of the revelation, is that it will inform us concerning GOD HIMSELF, so much as our capacity can receive, and as may promote our dutious concurrence with the designs of his wise and holy government. Some knowledge of his essential nature, as well as of his moral attributes, may be necessary for this purpose;

⁷ "The dispositions of mankind lean toward those who flatter their reason, and endeavour to reduce all things to her comprehension, or to those who abet that pride with which she is desirous of rejecting whatsoever she cannot comprehend. From this principle it is, that they who familiarly illustrate the most unfamiliar difficulties, or flatly deny the existence of that which transcends the faculties of man, are heard with partial ears."—*Dr Burgh's Reply to Mr Lindsey's Apol.* vol. i. p. 6. York, 1775.

and if he has, in fact, communicated such knowledge, we do not need, nor can we have, any higher evidence that this is the case. Let us hear this voice of truth.

“Canst thou attain to the searching out of God? Canst thou attain to the perfection of the Almighty? Lo! these are the outlines of his ways; and what a whisper-word is heard of him! But the thunder of his power who can understand? Jehovah, our God [Elohim] is one Jehovah. God is a Spirit: the King of eternity, incorruptible, invisible, the only God. God [Elohim] said unto Moses, I AM THAT WHICH I AM. This is the eternal life, that men may know THEE [to be] the only True God.”⁸

These passages are cited to verify the general idea, that from the devotional, diligent, and reverential study of the Scriptures, we may humbly expect to learn so much concerning the nature, as well as the perfections of God, as is necessary for the purposes of practical usefulness; while the depths and heights of that knowledge are infinitely above our means to acquire, or our capacity to apprehend.

If it be established, that *revelation* from Heaven is the only source of evidence, and the inspired Scriptures the safe and only medium of proof, in this inquiry; and if it be admitted that no prejudication of the sense of Scripture can be sustained to bar our research, or to dictate our conclusions; we have advanced one step in our course. The next will be to consider the means of eliciting the genuine meaning and intent of the divine oracles.

⁸ Job xi. 7. “Imaginest thou that thou canst search out what God searcheth out? And to reach to the perfections of the Almighty’s understanding?”—*Eichhorn’s Version*. The verb properly signifies *reaching* or *attaining to* an object. *Perfection*, in construction with *Shaddai*, is the straight-forward translation. The sense appears to be, “Canst thou reach to such knowledge as is adequate to the object, such as is commensurate with the nature of the Infinite Being?”—xxvi. 14. Deut. vi. 4. Whether the use of the plural noun אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*, was designed to intimate a plurality in the Deity, will be considered hereafter. John iv. 24. 1 Tim. i. 17. Exod. iii. 14. John xvii. 3.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. I.

Note A, page 7.

"Whatsoever simplicity the ever-blessed God hath by any express revelation claimed to himself, or can by evident and irrefragable reason be demonstrated to belong to him, as a perfection; we ought, humbly and with all possible reverence and adoration, to ascribe to him. But such simplicity as he hath not claimed; such as is arbitrarily ascribed to him by over-bold and adventurous intruders into the deep and most profound arcana of the divine nature; such as can never be proved to belong to him, or to be any real perfection; such as would prove an imperfection and a blemish, would render the divine nature less intelligible, more impossible to be so far conceived as is requisite; such as would discompose and disturb our minds, confound our conceptions, make our apprehension of his other known perfections less distinct or inconsistent, render him less adorable, or less an object of religion; or such as is manifestly un-reconcilable with his plain affirmations concerning himself; we ought not to impose it upon ourselves, or be so far imposed upon, as to ascribe to him *such* simplicity."—*Howe's Calm and Sober Enquiry*, § ii. p. 10.

Note B, page 7.

"Bodies act upon each other by different forces. These forces are known to us only by some of their effects. The naturalist observes those effects, and the mathematician calculates them: but neither the one nor the other knows the least in the world of the *causes* which produce them.

"The naturalist observes around him an infinite number of cases of motion: he knows the general laws of motion; he knows also the special laws which modify the motions of some particular bodies. Upon the foundations of these laws, the mathematician erects theories which embrace all motions, from those of the molecules of air or light, to those of Saturn and his moons. But neither the naturalist nor the mathematician knows the least in the world *what motion* is in itself.

"It is beyond a doubt, that magnetism, electricity, and the matter of heat, belong to the class of extremely subtle fluids; a crowd of facts assure us of the existence of these fluids, and discover to us their laws; a multitude of experiments display to us their diversified agency and operation: and yet, what do we know of their *internal nature*? Nothing at all.

"We know that bodies are formed of elements, or primitive particles; we also know that there are different orders of elements; and finally we know, by inference at least, that from the nature, arrangement, or combination of those elementary substances, result the different compounds whose names swell our pompous catalogues; but, what do we know of the inward nature of those elements, of their arrangement, or their combinations? Nothing at all."—*Œuvres de Charles Bonnet, Neufchâtel*, 1783, tome vii. p. 334.

Note C, page 8.

Θεὸν μὲν νοῆσαι χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἄδύνατον.—ὃ ἐξαιρετὴν οὐ δυνατόν, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ Θεός. "To conceive of God is difficult, to express him impossible;—God is that which it is not possible to utter." *Mercurius, ap. Stobæi Eclogas*, lxxviii. ed. Gesneri, p. 466. "What man is there, who hath at all reflected on the narrow limits of the human understanding, and hath in the least studied nature, but hath had occasion to remark that we are assured, from experience,

of the existence of a great number of facts which are contrary to our speculations? If we would examine the doubtful principles upon which we pretend to decide on the credibility of things, we should easily perceive how little the objections, which are suggested to us by the feeble lights by which we are directed in our researches, should hinder us from believing that which is marked with the impression of truth. In material objects, we are daily obliged to confess, that what appeared to us as contradictory, is however true, and necessarily so; with how much more reason then may we apply this observation to things which are spiritual? It is from experience, or from the conformity of a great number of events, that we ordinarily deduce the measure of possibility, or the rules by which to form our judgment; these are confined within certain limitations, beyond which we cannot penetrate. Who can comprehend, for example, a Being who hath existed from all eternity, and who is without beginning? Yet the enemies of revelation confess the necessity of such a Being: demonstrative evidence forces from them the confession. Is not this acknowledging, that a thing really exists, which, however, is repugnant to all our conceptions? And are not the divisibility of bodies, and their motions, amongst those things which are incomprehensible? The last is proved by the evidence of the senses; but yet the understanding forms no clear idea of it: the first is admitted from the proofs of reason, though it has all the appearance of impossibility. This instance hath been often proposed; it is not the less true, because of its application to our subject."—*Haller's* (the great naturalist, poet, and universal scholar, the prodigy and glory of Switzerland;—See Coxe's Travels in that country) *Letters to his Daughter*, Eng. transl. pp. 52–54. "If God were not incomprehensible he would be no God.—Incomprehensibility is only in reference to human apprehension, and implies nothing contrary to the grounds of our belief. The human mind must admit the truth of many things which are above our comprehension."—*Vince's Discourses on the Laws, etc., of the Heavenly Bodies*, p. 62.

"O Thou Eternal ONE! whose presence bright
 All space doth occupy, all motion guide;
 Unchanged through time's all-devastating flight;
 Thou only God! There is no God beside.
 BEING above all beings! THREE IN ONE!
 Whom none can comprehend, and none explore,
 Who fill'st existence with THYSELF alone,
 Embracing all, supporting, ruling o'er,
 BEING whom we call GOD, and know no more!"

Derzhavin on the Deity, translated by Dr Bowring, in his "Russian Anthology," vol. i. p. 3.

CHAP. II.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE.

The Scriptures are much occupied with this subject.—To ascertain their import, not insuperably difficult.—On the style and peculiar phraseology of the Scriptures.—Admirably adapted for their purpose.—Their testimony often nullified by mistaken notions of their manner of expression.—Source of those notions, and their dangerous influence.

OUR faith, if it be a “belief of THE TRUTH,” must be “built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.” Their writings are “the testimony of God,” “the truth, to resist which” would prove us to be “men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith :”¹ and, as we can hope for an answer to our present inquiry from no other than this source of knowledge, so we find, that these “Holy Scriptures, given by inspiration of God,”² *professedly* make it their PRINCIPAL object to announce, to describe, and to honour the Saviour. “Moses, the prophets, and the authors of the Psalms” (denoting, by a known Jewish phrase, all the inspired writers of the Old Testament), testified and wrote concerning him. “The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. To him give all the prophets witness. The spirit of Christ in them testified before of the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow.” We have, also, “the word of prophecy more confirmed” by those who had been “the eye-witnesses and attendants of the WORD; who saw, and bore witness, and declared unto us, that ETERNAL LIFE, which was with the FATHER, and was manifested unto us;” who uttered these great “things, not in expressions taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the SPIRIT;”³ and of whose competency, veracity, and unerring inspiration, we have the fullest proofs. If, then, we can acquire a satisfactory knowledge of the *genuine* import of their testimony, we shall be at no loss to answer the question once proposed by the most revered authority, “What think ye of the Christ?”

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 13. Eph. ii. 20. 1 Cor. ii. 1. 2 Tim. iii. 8.

² See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

³ Luke xxiv. 44. Rev. xix. 10. Acts x. 43. 1 Peter i. 11. 2 Peter i. 19, according to Benson, Markland, Stolz, Boothroyd, etc. 1 John i. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 13.

And is it difficult to make this acquisition? Is a point, of all others the most momentous, in its connections and consequences, to our religious interests and our dearest hopes, surrounded with obscurity so deep, that none but those who have leisure and learning for conducting a tedious and intricate disquisition, can hope to arrive at the satisfaction and moral certainty of a divine faith? If we believe, and duly appreciate what the Scriptures teach, in terms as plain as they are emphatic and glowing, on "the EXCELLENCY of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord;" can we admit a supposition which seems so repugnant to the most acknowledged truths concerning the wisdom and goodness of God, and the necessity and value of his revelation? "What is true is easy," said the Spartan lawgiver: and if, in any case of importance, we can rely upon the position, it must certainly be in such as the present. Though the doctrines of revealed religion be sublime "beyond a seraph's thought," as their design, their matter, and their Author would lead us to expect; though they involve the everlasting "treasures of wisdom and knowledge, unsearchable riches, and mysteries, which from eternity had been hidden in God," and though they present inexhaustible materials for the labour and delight of well-directed study;—still, as to the perception of their leading principles and the attainment of their chief object, they must be plain to the upright mind, which seeks divine knowledge with serious attention and a devotional heart.

We need not go back to prove, what every consistent Protestant⁴ is tenacious of, that, under the New Testament dispensation, the Scriptures are designed for the common use and benefit of all men. This principle of necessity implies another; that the Scriptures are *adapted* for this universal use and understanding; that such is their original perspicuity and force, that they are capable of being conveyed through all diversities of nation, age, and language, with little injury to their beauty, and none to their plainness.⁵ Unlike the most admired Greek writers, whose eminence greatly rests on their unrivalled language, the Hebrew prophets and poets owe little to the dialect in which they wrote. Their pathos, grandeur, and

⁴ To the honour of Pope Pius VI. let his words be recorded: "You judge very properly that Christians should be strenuously excited to the reading of the divine writings; for they are the richest fountains, which ought to stand open to every person."—*Letter to Martini, Abp. of Florence.*

⁵ See Note B.

sublimity, arise entirely from their sentiments: and these may be displayed in almost any language. And, though the writers of the New Testament used the most copious, flexible, and powerful of tongues, the wisdom of God did not see fit to endow them with Ionic sweetness, or Attic taste. They adopted a cast of expression, masterly though simple and plain; but which sounded strange and inelegant, and even barbarous, in Grecian ears. Yet this peculiarity, derived from their national idiom, was better adapted for the instruction of all ages and nations than a more classical style would have been; for it is more in accordance with the phrasology of common life; which has a remarkable similarity in all countries. The less object is rejected, and the greater secured. Beauty is sacrificed to utility: the intransmissible charm of words, to the strong and clear display of truth, in a manner the least liable to be impaired by the changes of time.⁶

That the writers of the New Testament, in employing their Hebraized, and, in other respects, peculiar diction, merely did what, without a miracle, they of necessity must have done, is an obvious remark: but it is equally deserving of attention, that this characteristic diction is, from its plainness and its partaking of the metaphors, allusions, and general cast of men's daily habits, well calculated to be universally intelligible. Authors on Biblical idioms have, too generally, overlooked this circumstance. They have dwelt so much on the doctrine of Hebraisms as almost to imply that the Christian Scriptures are unintelligible, without a farrago of Jewish and other oriental learning. I deny not the utility of such learning: but I wish to establish a correct idea of the nature and extent of its utility, as seldom reaching beyond the explaining of allusions and phrases of *minor* importance; while the great facts and doctrines, the precepts and the promises, of the gospel, are expressed in terms the most plain and the least associated with remote allusions. Whoever has studied the vast collections of Lightfoot, Schœttgenius, and Wetstein, can judge of the truth of this observation. Perhaps, if he would take the trouble to make a list of instances in which *doctrinal* elucidations are derived from this source, he would be surprised at their comparative fewness.

⁶ "The principal advantages and excellencies of the Greek language, in copiousness and elegance, are little used in the New Testament."—*Owen on Sp. Und.* chap. viii.

A cause of this advantageous peculiarity in the style of the New Testament, under the providence of its great Inspirer, may be found in the state of society, particularly among the Jews, at the time of its composition. All the nations on the coasts of the Mediterranean were in the practice of free and ready intercourse; and the occupations of ordinary life, in the middling and lower orders, had pretty generally settled into a resemblance to the habits of the same orders of the community, in every following period, when the state of advancement in civilization has been about the same point. Persons in such circumstances, when, not from vanity or ambition, but from the honest impulse of conscience and piety, they became authors; would use a style plain and humble, equally distant from the lofty grandeur of a ruder and independent age, and from the fastidious refinement which attends the decay of genius among the educated classes.⁷ Such a style, the father of criticism pronounces to be “the clearest.”⁸

If these observations be founded in truth, they will induce us to suspect the soundness of that system of interpretation, which assumes that the New Testament is written in a strain of hyperbole, metaphor, and allegory; to such a degree, that, when the critical operator has brought out what he deems the sober sense, the reader of plain understanding and simple piety is astonished at a result so diminutive, and so disproportionate to the general use and purpose of words.

Such a principle of interpretation, however, will not strongly recommend itself to those who regard “the words of the Lord as pure words, as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times.” As little will it seem compatible with the testimony of the Apostle Paul, to whom, more than any other writer of

⁷ “— Minus mirandum est apud scriptores N. T. omnia sermonis vulgaris idiomata reperiri, præsertim in liberiori et mixto particularum usu, quo ipso sermo popularis ab hominum cultiorum, qui libros classicos aut ipsi scripserunt, aut legerunt et imitantur, maxime differt.” *J. A. H. Tittmanni de Synon. in N. T. lib. sec. p. 40*, Leipz. 1832: fragments of the unfinished work of that (one might almost say) incomparable scholar. He died, Dec. 30, 1831, æt. 58; a son worthy of his illustrious father, C. C. T. All his writings will reward the student for the careful reading of them: but, I venture to say, more especially his *Dissertations on the Grammatical Accuracy of the N. T. Writers*;—on the *Simplicity to be observed in the Interpretation of the N. T.*;—on the *Principal Causes of Forced Interpretations of the N. T.*—and several of those in the *Opuscula* collected by Dr Hahn, 1833. The *Synonyms* and several of the *Dissertations*, translated by the Rev. Edward Craig, form two volumes of the *Edinb. Bibl. Cabinet*.

⁸ Σαφιστάτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ταπεινή. *Arist. Poetic. § 37.* See Note C.

the New Testament, these extravagancies have been imputed by some modern divines. When the greatness of the truths he uttered brought on him the charge of raving, he protested that he spoke the "words of truth and soberness." He admitted that he was (*ιδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ*) plain, common, plebeian, or even vulgar in speech. Having beheld, with unveiled face, the glory of the Lord, he preached not a veiled gospel, he used not the contrivances of man's wisdom, or artificial eloquence. The belief of truth, truth of eternal importance, and the dignity of conscientiousness, breathed out the most grave and persuasive expressions. They flowed from a still higher source, the Spirit of God.

These observations will not be understood as affirming the writers of the New Testament to have neglected the laws of construction, which form the logic of speech; for we find the most exact observance of them; or that they ever did violence to feeling, by excluding the natural figures of thought or diction; or that the noblest elevation, of both sentiment and expression, is not often exhibited in these sacred books. The true sublime could not but arise from the moment and majesty of the subjects; and the simplest diction is the best vehicle of its expression. But the figurative style of the New Testament is very different from that which has been called the Asiatic style. It has been of unhappy consequence, in relation to the interpretation of Scripture, that these have been considered as the same, or nearly similar. "That strong hyperbolical manner," says Dr Blair, "which we have been long accustomed to call the oriental manner of poetry (because some of the earliest poetical productions came to us from the east), is in truth no more oriental than occidental; it is characteristical of an age rather than of a country; and belongs, in some measure, to all nations at that period which first gives rise to music and to song. Mankind never resemble each other so much, as they do in the beginnings of society. The style of all the most early languages, among nations who are in the first and rude periods of society, is found, without exception, to be full of figures; hyperbolical and picturesque, in a high degree. We have a striking instance of this in the American languages; which are known, by the most authentic accounts, to be figurative to excess."⁹ The poetical parts of the Old Testament, especially the prophecies, possess this character: and, after a long interval, it is again discovered

⁹ Blair's *Lectures*, vol. iii. 88, i. 131.

in the Koran, and the most admired Arabic and Persian poets.¹⁰ But *this is not* the style of the New Testament, if we except the symbolical descriptions of the Apocalypse, evidently deduced from that of the Jewish prophets. The utterance of the evangelists and apostles is that of plain men, men of serious business, and who had not the leisure, nor the inclination, nor any of the ordinary motives, to practise the arts of rhetoric. If we study their sacred productions, under a persuasion that they are wreathed in flowers, and that their solemn declarations of truth and authority are to undergo a large discount, on the score of hyperbole, metaphor, and allegory, with a multitude of other imputed figures, and a large allowance for *accommodation* to popular but groundless opinions, it is more than probable that we shall miss the treasure and embrace a cloud.

An attentive perusal of the Christian Scriptures may lead us, also, to observe that, whatever figures do occur, they are either the easy and spontaneous product of pure natural feeling;¹¹ or if the marks of design appear, they are manifestly employed, not to recommend the writer, not to dazzle or even to please the reader, but with the honest and unmixed purpose of making truth *more plain* to the understanding, or of impressing it more deeply on the heart; not to adorn, but to illustrate; not to confound, but to convince.

Another circumstance of importance, in the figurative diction of the New Testament, relates to the sources from which it is drawn. Our Lord himself generally adverts to the works of nature and the ordinary labours of men: but, in the epistles, it is particularly observable that the materials of allusion, comparison, and metaphor, by which *doctrinal* points are illustrated, are derived almost *exclusively* from the religious observances of the Old Testament; the constitution and the principal officers of the Israelitic state; the site and the services of the temple; the sacrifices and the altar; the holy place and the mercy seat.

Figures of this kind, above all others, possessed the advantage of a determinate and well-known signification. They were parts of a system, originally of divine appointment, and the shadow of good things to come. Their significancy did not depend on

¹⁰ See Note D.

¹¹ "Translationem dico,—quæ quidem cum ita est ab ipsâ nobis concessa naturâ, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes eâ frequenter utantur."—"Such metaphors as, arising from natural feeling, are frequently used by the unlearned, and by those who are not in the least aware of it."—*Quintil.* viii. 6.

the invention of ingenious analogies; but it rested on fixed principles already well known, the design of the whole, and the relation and use of the parts. The principal occurrences, in the dispensations of God towards the Israelites, are declared to have "happened to them as types.—The law was an instructor leading to Christ.—It was the bringing in of a better hope. The first tabernacle was a parable for the time then present. Its priests performed their ministry to that which was a copy and shadow of heavenly things. The holy places made with hands, were a type answering to the true ones. The law had a shadow of good things to come."¹²

These observations will not, I hope, appear irrelevant to those who have remarked the manner in which Scripture evidence is eluded, under the pretence of its being couched in figurative expressions. Under this allegation, often true in itself, those theologians who oppose the Deity and Atonement of Christ, dispose very compendiously of many texts: as if their being metaphorical, or allusive to the Levitical rites, were a sufficient reason for setting them aside as of little or no significancy. This easy method of arguing is often coupled with a style of censorial remark upon the language itself of the Scriptures, not very modest, or much becoming those who acknowledge that the entrance of God's word giveth light, and who receive it with the meekness of reverential acquiescence. The following passages may serve as specimens:—"Undoubtedly Christ spoke thus on purpose, that his words might be understood in different ways, so that wicked men, not sufficiently scrutinizing the words, might have some plausible ground of objection: for it was Christ's usual manner to use such expressions as would, in some way, entangle wicked men."¹³ "St Paul can hardly be considered as entirely free from blame: he hath had too little regard to the consistency of these representations. This proceeding could not but tend to throw confusion into our views of the end and design of the death of Christ."¹⁴ "This, I am apprehensive, will appear to be but little satisfactory to any one that wisheth

¹² 1 Cor. x. 11. Gal. iii. 24. Heb. vii. 19; ix. 9; viii. 5; ix. 24; x. 1.

¹³ "Nihil dubitandum est Christum ita locutum esse studio, ut et hoc et illo modo verba ipsius intelligi possent, ut homines improbi verba non considerantes haberent quod speciosè carperent. Hic enim mos Christi fuit, homines improbos suis sermonibus quasi intricare."—*Val. Smalcus contra Frantz.* p. 81, ap. *Calovii Socin. Profl.* p. 86, ed. 1652.

¹⁴ Dr Priestley, in *Theol. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 206.

to see Christianity effectually cleared from a charge of licentiousness. At best, it is disappointing his reader, whose expectations he had raised so high by the spirited manner in which he resented the imputation, and begun his answer; by putting him off with a mere allusion, instead of a solid argument. But even the allusion seems to be faulty. It is both arbitrary and defective."¹⁵ "Whether or no St Paul's undoubted good sense was satisfied with it, it answered his purpose the best of any method in the world."¹⁶ "As the Jews boasted much of their priesthood, their sacrifices, and their temple, the writer of this epistle [to the Hebrews] finds a high priest, a sacrifice, and a temple, in the Christian scheme. But, in this, it may be easily supposed, there is room for much imagination in fancying resemblances where the appearances are very slight, so that much stress is not to be laid on arguments of this kind."¹⁷ "This epistle contains many important observations, and many wholesome truths, mingled indeed with some far-fetched analogies and inaccurate reasonings."¹⁸ "The writer of this epistle, having found in Psalm cx. the priesthood of the Messiah compared with that of Melchisedec, strains the similitude to as many points of resemblance as possible."¹⁹ "Jesus knowing their mean and secular views, resolved to release himself from these selfish and unworthy attendants; and, for this purpose, he delivers a discourse which they could not comprehend, and the design of which was to shock their prejudices, to disgust their feelings, and to alienate them from his society."²⁰ Such designs, and such contrivances to accomplish them, are attributed to the wisest and best, the most benevolent and amiable of teachers! And such bad faith, as well as bad reasoning, some scruple not to attach to the greatest of the apostles; a man who, irrespectively of his inspiration, may vie with all history for integrity of character and independence of mind!

The RADICAL ERROR, which is latent in these bold declarations, and which appears to me to diffuse its influence through every distinguishing part of the Unitarian system, is the assumption of low and degrading thoughts, concerning the BLESSED and HOLY GOD, his moral government, and the revelation of his

¹⁵ Dr Priestley, in *Theol. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 205.

¹⁶ Id. ib. p. 199.

¹⁷ Dr Priestley's *Notes on Scripture*, vol. iv. p. 451. See Note E.

¹⁸ *Impr. Vers. of N. T.* note on Heb. xiii. 25. Those notes were by Mr Belsham.

¹⁹ *Belsham's Calm Inq. on the Person of Christ*, p. 160. ²⁰ Id. ib. p. 57, on John vi.

justice and grace. Let a man with a candid, pure, and devotional mind, turn from the frigid comments of this school to the glowing energy which warms and illuminates the apostolic pages;—and will he not be compelled to acknowledge that the views and feelings of the scriptural writers, and the dictates of these modern refiners, are irreconcilably contradictory?

It is now submitted to the judgment of the reader, whether the remarks in this chapter have sufficiently established the points already stated; that the style of the New Testament scriptures is well adapted for intelligence and perspicuity, to all ranks of men, in every nation, and in every period of time;—that they are wisely calculated to suffer less in translation than most other writings;—and that their figurative expressions are, in the most important cases, constructed upon a regular principle, the general design of which guides and illustrates the particular instances of its application.

If these views be correct, the application of them will facilitate our proposed inquiries, and will preclude many objections.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. II.

Note A, page 14.

2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.—“That from a child thou hast known the holy writings, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Every writing divinely inspired [is] also profitable for instruction, for conviction [of error], for recovery [to that which is right], for training up in righteousness.” It has been supposed impossible to establish, from the Greek text alone, so as to preclude objection, either side of the agitated question, whether *θεόπνευστος* agrees immediately with *πᾶσα γραφή*, or is (as it is translated in the common version and in many others) a part of the predicate: yet I cannot but think that the fairest way of rendering *πᾶσα γραφή* is *Every writing*; so that the adjective is necessary to qualify the term, and must therefore be its attributive. This is most clearly included in the rule laid down by Middleton (*On the Gr. Art.* Pt. I. chap. vii.), though the good Bishop seems to shrink from the application, in his Note on this text. Every one acquainted with the Greek idioms in the use of *πᾶς* is aware that, to convey the meaning of *all Scripture*, as we use the phrase in English, would have required *πᾶσα ἡ γραφή*: that the form without the article used by the apostle, *necessitates* our taking the substantive in its most universal signification; and, consequently, that the adjective annexed must be a qualifying or distinguishing epithet. If the reader, by the help of Schmidt’s Concordance, will review the numerous instances of the two forms, he will see the evidence abundantly. The exegetical use of *καί* in the sense of *even* and *also* is very frequent; *e. g.* 1-Cor. xv. 24; 2 Cor. i. 3; Eph. v. 10; Col. iii. 17; 1 Thess. iii. 11; Rev. i. 6; Acts iii. 24,—*σοι ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν*—“as many as have spoken have also proclaimed—.” A perfectly exact parallel to the clause, I have not been able to find. In Heb. iv. 13, the intervention of *καὶ* is an index to the subject on the one hand and the predicate on the other. But Gal. iv. 7, is a close approxi-

mation; *εἰ δὲ υἱὸς, καὶ κληρονόμος* "but if a son [thou art] also an heir."¹ This construction is supported by the authority of the venerable Syriac Version, whose antiquity is most probably put at the distance of sixty or seventy years from the death of the Apostle John. It reads, "And that, from thy childhood, thou hast known the holy books, etc., for every writing which has been written by the Spirit, is valuable for instruction," etc. The Vulgate confirms this interpretation:—"Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum," etc.;² and so do all the other Ancient Versions, so far as I am able to consult them. It is not probable that the later ones (the Armenian, Slavonic, Gothic, and Georgian), which I cannot examine, deviate from the preceding. It is evident that the apostle, in ver. 16, resumes distributively what he had before advanced collectively: so that "every writing divinely inspired" is a description by which the apostle designates *each and every one* of the writings comprised under the well-understood collective denomination, *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*, the *holy writings*. Timothy, and every contemporary Jew or Christian, needed no explanation of this phrase. They knew it, as one of the most common terms of usage, to denote the (*γραφαὶ*) *writings*, or *Scriptures*, to which the Lord Jesus was in the habit of referring, as to the ultimate divine authority (e. g. Matthew xxii. 29; xxvi. 54; Luke xxiv. 32), the searching of which he enjoined (John v. 39); and which it is impossible to suppose, with any shadow of reason, that he did not design to use in the sense in which he knew that all his hearers would understand him: namely, as expressive of the whole sacred canon of the Jews, for to them "were entrusted the oracles of God" (Rom. iii. 2). The general tenor of the New Testament most clearly recognises, under these descriptions, the whole *received* Scriptures of the Jewish nation: and, when a particular passage is cited, it is usual to refer to it in the singular number: *ἡ γραφή*, *ἡ γραφή αὕτη*, *ἑτέρα γραφή*, the *writing* or *scripture*, *this scripture*, *another scripture* (John xix. 24, 37. Mark xii. 10).

Thus the passage before us, though we adopt that construction of *θεόπνευστος* which Unitarians generally approve, furnishes the strongest testimony to the

¹ A learned friend has laid me under a great obligation, by pointing out a *Dissertation* of the Greek physician Galen (who flourished in the century after the Apostles), upon "the great importance to medical men [*ταῖς ἰατρικαῖς*] of the study of logic, and a knowledge of philosophy." This *Dissertation*, which is truly admirable for its wisdom and its *moral* principles, is entitled *ὅτι ἔστιν ἁριστεύοντος ἱατροῦ καὶ φιλοσόφου*. A closer parallel to our passage we can scarcely expect to find, in the whole compass of Greek literature. Of its construction it is impossible to be in doubt. It is, "That an accomplished physician is also a philosopher." But if it were rendered in the way which I am compelled to protest against, as applied to the words of the Apostle, it would come out thus:—"That an accomplished man is a physician and a philosopher."

² In an extremely rare book, a Latin translation of some parts of the O. T. and the whole N. T., printed at Wittenberg, 1529, and generally ascribed to Luther or to Melancthon, but with more probable evidence to the former (reprinted in vol. xiv. of Walch's Ed. of Luther's Works, Halle, 1744), the passage is given, "*Tota enim scriptura, divinitus inspirata, utilis est*," etc.; thus concurring essentially in the commonly received interpretation. With this also agree Calvin, Beza, the Geneva English, Diodati, the Dutch, John David Michaelis (of whom more presently), De Wette in his last revision, 1832 ["Every [holy] writing is inspired by God and profitable"], and Dr Boothroyd in his new ed. 1836; but in his note he seems to waver. On the other side are Luther in his German version, Richard Baxter, De Sacy, Stolz (1820), and Scholz (1830). J. D. Michaelis has a very long note, of which I extract the beginning and the end: "This is a very important passage, but of which I can only speak doubtfully to my readers; for I confess that I am myself in doubt." After adducing reasonings on each side, he says, "Now I must take leave of my readers, and refer the question to every one's own judgment. Perhaps many of them will complain, that it is difficult or even impossible for them to decide; and this may be the case, not merely with the unlearned, or those who have applied to other branches of learning, but not to Theology; but even with theologians themselves, yea, such as are not unacquainted with critical investigations. I can give them no other counsel than to continue in their uncertainty till they can see clear reasons for decision. They are no worse off, to say the least, than Dr Luther was 250 years ago. We cannot attain to certainty upon every point in doctrinal theology; and, in such matters, God will not condemn us for our not knowing, or being in doubt, which side to take. Till within the last fifty years there has been a great deal too much positiveness in matters of doctrine, or rather in opinions."—*Anmerkungen*, posthumous vols. 1792. He might have added, that there is a great deal of difference between the doubts of a careless and irreligious mind, and those of a sincere and devout inquirer. The late Professor Finlayson, of Glasgow, in 1803, published a pamphlet vindicating the common construction; with the success of which I cannot speak myself much impressed.

inspiration of all the books recognised by Paul as "the Sacred Writings."³ The importance of this conclusion, in relation to our present subject, and to every other part of the controversy with the Unitarians, needs not to be pointed out.

If, however, any should ask what means we have of ascertaining the books which were acknowledged by the Jews as sacred when these repeated sanctions of Christ and the apostles were given; we shall attempt a reply, after premising some considerations, on a due attention to which the right understanding of the ensuing considerations will depend.

The communicating from God to a mortal, of knowledge which could not be, or had not been obtained in any other way, by his immediate influence on the human mind, is REVELATION. The qualifying of a recipient of revelation to communicate the revealed knowledge to his fellow-creatures, with perfect certainty and accuracy, is INSPIRATION.

Of the *mode* of inspiration we are necessarily ignorant. It is not revealed, and it is beyond the range of human experience since the apostolic age. Some general observations only we may be permitted to make.

That which was not communicated by revelation, but which a person might have previously known by any of the providentially appointed means of acquiring information (such as personal observation, bearing a part in transactions, memory, tradition, conversation, written documents, or public notoriety), might be the matter appointed by God to be conveyed to others: in which case, the due selection of the matter, and the faithful transmission of it to others, by speaking or writing, would be the object of inspiration, though without revelation, as well as the former case of inspiration resting upon revelation.

In an extended plan of a divine dispensation, such as the Mosaic or the Christian, it is credible that occasion would be found for the exemplification of both these cases. Declarations of truth, precept, or prediction, which could come only from the Infinite Mind, would furnish the case of revelation and inspiration. But the recital of human affairs, which were known from their proper sources, and the expression of the feelings and devotions of the inspired person himself, would require only inspiration without revelation.

These two cases I conceive to have been realized in the series of the Hebrew and Christian economies. The Holy Scriptures, which are the history and the depository of those economies, have therefore been committed to writing under such a kind and degree of divine influence, that is, inspiration, as was REQUISITE, in every case; whether of the most complete *suggestion*, or of *assisting* and *directing* the ordinary faculties of those whom the Most High was pleased to employ as the subjects of inspiration.

We have reason, from the whole tenor of Scripture, to believe that it is not the will of God to effect any end by a miracle, which could be as well effected

³ "La portée de cette déclaration de Saint Paul demeure la même dans les deux constructions qu'on peut donner à ses paroles; soit qu'on place, comme le font nos versions, sur le mot *θεόπνευστος* (divinement inspirée) l'affirmation de la phrase, et le verbe sous-entendu (*toute l'écriture est divinement inspirée, propre*—); soit que, reportant ce verbe sur les mots suivants, on ne prenne *θεόπνευστος* (divinement inspirée) que pour un adjectif déterminatif; (*toute écriture divinement inspirée de Dieu est propre*).—Cette dernière construction donnerait même à la déclaration de l'apôtre plus de force que la première; car alors sa proposition se rapportant nécessairement aux *saintes lettres* (*τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*) dont il vient de parler, supposerait, comme un principe admis et incontestable, que nommer les *saintes lettres*, c'est indiquer par là même des écritures inspirées de Dieu."—*M. Gausson; Théopneustie, ou Pleine Inspiration des Saintes Ecritures*; p. 374. Geneva, 1840. "The purport of this declaration of St Paul remains the same in either of the two constructions that may be given to his words; whether, with our versions, we make the predicate to be *θεόπνευστος* (divinely inspired), and have the verb understood (*all the scripture is divinely inspired, suitable for*—); or, referring the verb to the words that follow, we take *θεόπνευστος* for an adjective determining the subject; thus, *all scripture, or every writing, divinely inspired* [*de Dieu is redundant and improper*] is suitable for—. The latter construction would give to the apostle's declaration even more strength than the former: for, in that case, his proposition would refer of necessity to the *holy letters* (*τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα*) which he had just before spoken of, and would therefore imply, as a principle admitted and incontestable, that to mention the *holy letters* is exactly the same thing as to say *writings inspired by God*."

by the established course and methods of his providence. Hence I infer, that the kind or degree of inspiration would be according to the nature of the object; revelation and the highest suggestion, where they were necessary; but, where they were not necessary, that superintendence and direction of divine power upon the mind, which were sufficient for the purpose.

Yet the result, in each and every case, is practically the same; the full *certainly of divine truth* as the ground of our faith, and the perception of *divine authority* as the obligation binding us to obedience. Our first concern, therefore, is to acquire the inspired documents: and to these, so far as they relate to the ancient Jewish economy, the following observations have respect.

1. The conservation of the Hebrew Scriptures with a perfection and scrupulosity unexampled in any other case, and from a period long anterior to the birth of Christ, is among the most established facts in critical history.

2. We have the testimony of Josephus, a contemporary of the apostles, no friend to Christianity, and more solicitous than truth and honour would justify to conciliate the favour of a heathen court; a testimony which brings considerable light to this topic. Having spoken of the prophets as learning what they had to communicate "*by inspiration from God*" (κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ), he says, "There are not among us endless multitudes of books, dissonant and contradictory; but only twenty-two—which are *justly believed to be divine*" (δικαίως θεῖα πιστευμένα). He distinguishes these as the inspired writings, from books written after the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; an era which coincides with the dates of the books of Malachi and Nehemiah, and the history of Esther. He describes them, as, "their own scriptures" (τὰ ἴδια γράμματα), the "doctrines of God" (Θεοῦ δόγματα), and the "laws and the writings (ἀναγραφαί) succeeding them."—(*Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 7, 8. ed. Hudson. tom. ii. p. 1333.) It is probable that the number which Josephus gives, twenty-two, had been assumed in the Rabbinical schools, in order to coincide with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. This arbitrary fancy will account for the difficulty experienced in making out the precise number of books, and for the necessity of sometimes combining two into one. Thus Ruth is annexed to Judges; the two books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, are respectively unbroken, and so make three instead of six (which, be it observed, is not an arbitrary arrangement, as there is no just reason for the respective division of those books); Nehemiah is annexed to Ezra; the twelve minor prophets are considered as one roll or book; and (which, it must be confessed, does not carry that evidence of affinity which the others do, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή) the Song of Solomon is annexed to Ecclesiastes. But let the passage be considered: "There are not among us endless multitudes of books, dissonant and contradictory; but only two and twenty, comprising the history of the whole space of time, which are justly believed to be divine. And of these, *Five* are the books of Moses, which contain the laws and the declaration of the origin of mankind, down to his own death. This period falls a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who followed Moses wrote the affairs of their own times in *Thirteen* books. The remaining *Four* contain hymns addressed to God, and directions for the conduct of human life." Thus the not specifying the books distinctly, has left room for some differences of opinion. The considering of Ezra and Nehemiah as one book appears improper: for the authors are different, and there is a chasm of about twelve years of time between the closing history of the one, and the commencing of the other. But the junction is unnecessary; for the end of verifying the number *Twenty-two*, is obtained much more naturally by annexing the Lamentations of Jeremiah to his Prophecies. Josephus shows great carelessness and indiscrimination in throwing into his second class both the historical books and the prophecies properly so called. The *Four* ceremonial and moral books scarcely admit of a doubt to be the Psalms, Job,

Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. For the sake of introducing the Song of Solomon, it has generally been considered as making one book with Ecclesiastes, on the ground of being by the same author; but this reason would in consistency have required that the Proverbs should have been also comprised in the same group.

3. The earliest Christian catalogue of sacred books, that of Melito, who lived in the second century, preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* IV. xxvi.), contains all the books of the present Jewish canon, except Nehemiah and Esther; of which books, the former, or even both, might have been included under the title of Ezra. Esther is also omitted in some other Christian catalogues of later date.

4. If any difference had existed among the Jews, in or out of Palestine, in the time of our Lord and the apostles, concerning the authenticity and authority of the sacred books, it is morally certain that some allusion would have been made to it in the writings of the New Testament. The state of things, connected with the introduction of Christianity, would have rendered such allusion next to inevitable. But no intimation of this kind exists. On the contrary, the words of Jesus and his apostles, on several occasions (as, Luke xxiv. 44, 45; John v. 39; Rom. iii. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 15), imply the strongest testimony to the fidelity of the Jews in preserving the holy oracles. And no person who has even a slight acquaintance with the subject, can suspect the Jews, since their dispersion, of having essentially corrupted or interpolated their canon.

5. A striking confirmation of other testimonies, I extract from a recent work of a learned writer, one of the Professors in the Academy of Geneva. "I shall annex some details of the evidence afforded to the Canon of the Old Testament, by certain Jewish colonies which were settled in China and India, about the Christian era, or even some centuries earlier. The proof which they supply is not indeed absolutely decisive, as they have not been altogether without intercourse with the Jews of the West. Yet it is of considerable weight: for they all declare that they originally brought with them, and had preserved in manuscripts which they regarded as of great value, the very same sacred books which they, in later times, found in the possession of their brethren in Europe: and nothing appears from any other quarter in the least to invalidate their testimony. I borrow from Eichhorn what I have to communicate concerning these Jews in China. He derived it from *De Guignes's History of the Huns*, and the *Recueil des Missions Etrangères*. In the last century, the remains of a Jewish colony were discovered in China, which had been established in that empire about the year seventy-three after Christ, perhaps even three hundred years earlier. Seven hundred families of the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi, who had escaped from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, made their way overland to China, and there either founded or reinforced the colony in question. Seventeen centuries of persecution, massacre, or apostasy, have reduced them to a very small number. They are now found only at Kai-zong-fu, one hundred and fifty miles from Peking, and amount to six hundred persons. They had taken with them their Scriptures, and had preserved them for eight hundred years: but, at the end of that period, a fire destroyed their synagogue and their manuscripts. To repair the loss, they obtained a copy of the Pentateuch, which had belonged to a Jew who had died at Canton. Not only the synagogue, but private persons, possessed transcripts of this manuscript. But what is extremely remarkable and highly important to us is, that, besides the Pentateuch, they preserve different portions of the remaining parts of the Old Testament, which they say they saved from a fire in the twelfth century, and an inundation of the river Hoango, A.D. 1446. With these fragments they have formed a supplement to the law, divided into two parts. The first contains small portions of Joshua and Judges, the four books of Samuel and Kings complete, and the Psalms. The second contains some portions of Chronicles, Nehemiah and Esther almost complete, of Isaiah and Jeremiah the whole within a little, and of Daniel, and seven out

“of the twelve Minor Prophets, some fragments.”—*De l'Origine etc. de l'Ancien Testament, par J. E. Cellerier, fils*; pp. 138–140.

A similar argument presents itself from the copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, exactly answering to ours, which were found by Dr Claudius Buchanan among the Jews of Malabar, who date their settlement in India from the time of their national destruction by the Romans, and who had received those copies, by successive transcripts, from the earliest times.

6. As, in studying the evidences of revealed religion, we think it incumbent on us to pay close attention, not solely to the external proofs, but to the internal evidences of a divine origin, arising out of the intellectual majesty, the holy beauty, the moral excellency, and the practical bearings of the system under examination; so, in the present case, I must acknowledge my conviction that it is right in itself, and a duty to the Author of revelation, that we seriously examine each particular book of the collection, and the distinct parts of books which present themselves, with a view to ascertain what relation they bear to the general plan, and in what way the INSPIRATION of the DEITY attached to them. Upon this important inquiry the following conclusions appear to me to be supported by sufficient evidence.

(1.) Those who affirm, in a general and indiscriminate manner, that all and every the parts of the Old Testament were immediately dictated by the Holy Spirit, and that to each the same kind of inspiration belongs, appear to me to go farther than the evidence warrants, and to lay the cause of revealed religion under the feet of its enemies.

(2.) There are many passages in Scripture to which an original inspiration could not be attached. Such, for example, as the speeches of the tempter, and of Eve and Adam upon their fall; those of Cain, Lamech, Laban, Esau; those of many wicked persons recited in the book of Judges; those of Saul, Joab, Absalom, the woman of Tekoah, Rehoboam and his favourites, Ahab, and similar persons; and those of such foreigners as Benhadad, Hazael, and Rabshakeh; those of Demetrius, the Recorder of Ephesus, and Tertullus, and the epistle of Lysias to Felix. To these may be added the sayings of many of the sincere servants of God, in numerous circumstances; and often when both their words and their actions were displeasing to God. In Jeremiah, Jonah, and Habakkuk, inspired prophets, we find occasionally the utterance of sinful infirmity; such as, in reference to Hab. i. 2, 3, the late Mr Milner calls a “blameable mixture of impatience and unbelief.” (*Sermons*, ed. by Dean M. p. 227.) What must we think of David's war-dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan? It has much of elegiac beauty, but not a single turn of pious sentiment; and one expression at least (“Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives”) possesses only the truth of poetical courtesy.—Such speeches and writings could not come from the Spirit of God, in their original conception and utterance; but they are inserted as facts and documents in the general course of the *inspired narrative*, and the guarantee of truth and genuineness is all the inspiration that we can desire, and all that they are susceptible of.

(3.) In the case of declarations made by good and holy men, and by them at the time believed to be right; we are to exercise a discriminating judgment, and to form our estimate of them according to the immutable principles of the *revealed law and truth* of God. For example; the three friends of Job, and sometimes Job himself, advance many positions which are not true in principle, nor right in practice, still less inspired; though their errors in general seem to have lain in misunderstanding and misapplying sentiments which were in themselves true and good. Those sentiments, clearly harmonising with the dictates of inspired doctrine (as it is known from the plain parts of Scripture), and uttered with oracular majesty as truths which none could dispute, were, in all probability, the apophthegms of the earliest patriarchs, of such men as Enoch and Noah, Shem and Abraham and Melchisedec; and thus had flowed from an original fountain of *divine inspiration*. We, with our superior illumination from the perfected revelation, are qualified to understand them better, and apply them more justly, than those who spake or wrote

them. "He that is least in the kingdom of heaven, is greater than" they were or could be. But will any considerate person say, that Job's mistaken friends were inspired, when God himself declared to them, "Ye have not spoken concerning me what is right?" or, that the holy patriarch himself was inspired, when he execrated the day of his birth, when "he justified himself more than God," when he "darkened counsel by words without knowledge?"

(4.) The Psalms, which were the prayers and hymns of the Israelitish church; the doctrines, precepts, and lessons of wisdom, drawn from observation and experience, in the didactic Psalms, and in the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes of Solomon; were *the product of inspiration from God*, acting through the medium of the judgment, piety, industrious selection, and benevolent zeal of the writers.

(5.) The historical parts are palpably and professedly derived, in a great measure, from the common sources of history; namely, personal knowledge, authentic information, private documents, genealogies, official lists, family traditions, public records, and sometimes even the popular poetry which has been in all nations the repository of their earliest history,⁴ and which is several times quoted in the Israelitish history, as an attestation of facts. Many of the facts thus recorded have not *directly* a religious interest, but they were valuable to the Israelites and Jews, as fragments of national and family history; and in our times they have proved to be of great importance in casting light upon the almost lost history of several ancient nations. Such, for example, are the genealogical and topographical accounts of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites; the tribular censuses of the Israelites, their camp-orders, catalogues of contributions, numbers of animals offered in sacrifice, army-returns after battles, marching itineraries, some of the municipal and political regulations, and the allotments of territory in Palestine (many of which would, in the modern way of composing books, have been Maps and Tables); not a few of the heroic and pseudo-heroic feats during the turbulent period of the Judges; the army-regulations, and the singular doings of David's captains. The genealogies of Jesus, given by Matthew and Luke, would not have served as argument with those who denied his Messiahship, had they not been copied from the public registers. The compilation of a narrative out of these materials, must have been the work of industry and fidelity, in prophets, priests, and public scribes; and *the office of inspiration here* would lie in guiding the selection of materials, and in the guarantee of their *authenticity and truth*: for those minute particulars are proofs of genuineness. But throughout these histories are interspersed many direct messages from God, utterances of prophecy, and orders of his sovereign will; promises, threatenings, and records of their fulfilment; also many statements of fact, which could have been known only by information from God himself. In those cases, the matter must have been communicated by a direct divine influence. This distinction we find laid down in the passage of Josephus above referred to; where, after observing that it was not allowed to any kind of person to write the records of the nation, but only to the prophets, he says that those prophets "learned the highest and most ancient things, by inspiration from God; but the affairs of their own time they consigned to writing perspicuously as they occurred." Μόνον τῶν προφητῶν, τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτα καὶ τὰ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαθόντων, τὰ δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγγραφόντων.

In relations of fact, veracity and accuracy are all that we want. What possessed these qualities, though the knowledge of it might be derived from any of the common sources of information, would be not less *true* than that which was infused into the mind by the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit; and,

⁴ Numb. xxi. 17, 18; 27-30. Moses has here said that Heshbon, a royal city, had been taken by Sihon, king of the Amorites, together with a large tract of country, from the king and people of Moab; and, as evidence of that fact, he cites what is apparently an Amorite poem, a fragment of border-minstrelsy. The fact was important, as showing that Sihon had no just title to the territory, and that consequently he could not complain when the Israelites dispossessed him. We have reason to believe that Hebrew was the vernacular language of the Canaanitish nations.

being thus sanctioned by the adoption of that Spirit into the general narrative, it received the seal of divine approbation; and it is as sure a ground of dependence, and as profitable for all religious uses, as if it had been dictated from Heaven to a perfectly ignorant and merely mechanical copyist.

APPENDIX, FOR ELUCIDATING THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH, (5.)

There can be no doubt that designed alterations in the Hebrew text have been made by Jewish transcribers, from various motives, superstition, national pride, and enmity to Christianity. A remarkable class of examples (the frequent substitution of the *letters* in *Adonai* for those of *Jehovah*), Dr Henderson has "no doubt" in attributing to "some superstitious Jewish scribe."—*Minor Proph.* p. 450. Dr Kennicott, in his *First Dissert.* p. 275 (1773), showed himself too lenient in acquitting the Jews of "wilfully corrupting the O. T.;" but adds, "Yet there can be no doubt but that the later Jews, where they have found copies reading differently in any passages relating to the Messiah, may have sometimes preferred that reading which was the least favourable to the christian cause." But, twenty-five years afterwards, accumulated evidence compelled him to adopt the opposite opinion, and he complains heavily of the craft and dishonesty of the Jewish transcribers.—*Dissert. Gen.* prefixed to his Hebrew Bible, § 66–68.

In the ancient Hebrew manuscripts, numbers were often, perhaps ordinarily, expressed, not in words at length, but in single letters as numerals. (See Kennicott's *Dissert. Gen.* § 27.) These were exceedingly liable to be mistaken, from the similarity of some; and there is reason to believe that transcribers in some cases exaggerated the numbers, from motives of national pride. The presence or absence of a small stroke would make decimal and centesimal differences. Very remarkable are the numbers which occur, in some places, of armies and of men slain in battle. Abijah, with an army of 400,000; and Jeroboam, with double that number, being on both sides *picked* troops, came to an engagement; and *half a million* of the latter army fell in the battle. (2 Chron. xiii.) Let it be considered that the territory of Judah did not exceed in extent that of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and that of Israel was not equal to Yorkshire and Lancashire; both mountainous countries, though the valleys and hill-slopes were pre-eminently fertile; the inhabitants chiefly living upon the land, for they had little foreign commerce. Let it be asked whether, from the most dense population conceivable upon such an area, a number of fighting men could be raised which would give a *selected* body out of it at all approaching to the number mentioned? The armies of the orientals, especially in ancient times, were certainly very large, notwithstanding suspected exaggerations in profane historians; but this instance leaves even their statements immeasurably behind. The largest army upon record is that with which Xerxes invaded Greece. He was three years employing his mighty power to collect it from the most populous countries of central and western Asia; and it is stated by Herodotus at 1,700,000; by Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus at 1,000,000; but, in another place, Diodorus makes it considerably less; Ælian and Pliny, about 700,000. The most judicious historical critics are of opinion that those larger enumerations included women, children, and baggage-men. All the ancient historians are full of astonishment at this extent of armament.—Yet, in the passage under consideration, the little country of Palestine furnishes so many troops as to allow a *selection* to be made, which brings 1,200,000 fighting men. The difficulty may be somewhat diminished by the idea of their being, on both sides, a hasty levy *en masse*, to serve only a few days, and every man bringing his own provision; but though diminished, it is not taken away. I might remark upon the incapacity of the plain of Jezreel, or any other part of the country, to be the field of battle, unless it were a mere *pêle-mêle* massacre. Further; the largest army, in modern times, was that which Buonaparte led against Russia, in 1812; and that was half a million, *the very number which is here said to have been KILLED on one side only, and in a single battle!*—How could such a number be

buried? But, if they were not immediately buried, a dreadful pestilence would ensue in that climate. Let not the reader suppose that I seek to discredit the history. No; I firmly believe it, but regard the *numbers* as having been altered.

A similar remark might be made upon the *numbers* of animals offered in sacrifice, on various recorded occasions, in the temple at Jerusalem. If the blood flowed away in sewers, it would have choked up the channels, and overflowed the receptacles, for there was no great river to carry it off. The fountain Siloam, and the brook Kedron, would have been as nothing for such a purpose; even a river equal to the Thames would scarcely have sufficed, not to mention the water's being rendered unfit for drink. Such a quantity of blood, and the rejected matter from the viscera, in the hot country of Judæa, would have bred a dire plague. Again, I beg it to be observed, I am speaking only of the *numbers*, as not being the objects of inspiration, *as they stand*. How can we escape the suspicion of their having been altered by an enormous multiplication?—Indeed, these questions belong to the domain of Criticism, the *ascertaining of the genuine Text*, into which it is undeniable that errors have crept; but they affect not any part of doctrine or duty. All religious truth stands up in peerless majesty, unaffected by these little shoals of accidental sand.

But these facts must fearfully affect the theory of a servile literality of inspiration. It is that theory which has put the most ostensibly powerful arms into the hands of the foes to God and man. The efforts which are at this moment made, amongst the metaphysical and religious distractions of Germany, by Wislicenus, Uhlich, and other real or pretended Hegelians, find a chief standing point in their assuming that the christian faith requires a literal understanding of the phraseology in the Bible which speaks of divine acts and of natural objects in the manner that was adapted to the temporary and local state of human knowledge; such, for example, as the method and order of creation, the immobility of the earth and the diurnal motion of the sun over the earth, the guidance of a heavenly star from some eastern country to Bethlehem, the sun and the moon standing still, and other particulars which they propound with hardened front, condemning the principles of interpretation which, in this and other writings, I am humbly endeavouring to show, and to use as *true* and just. I solicit the serious and strictest attention to brief observations in a Discourse on the *Principles of Interpretation*, as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture, pp. 24–33, 1831: and the *Congregational Lecture* of 1839, on the *Relation of the Scriptures to Geological Science*; Lect. VII. third ed. 1843.

(6.) It should not be forgotten that this *condescending manner of expression* was that which was current among the people to whom the word of God in its successive portions was originally given. To have anticipated the style of philosophical accuracy, in matters either of theology or of natural history, would have been unsuitable, and scarcely intelligible to the recipients of revelation. The limbs and organs of the human body, the imperfect and mutable affections of the human mind, and the movements and actions corresponding to them, are without hesitation ascribed to the Omnipresent, Omniscient, Unchangeable One: it being confided to the reason and piety of the reader, and to the declarations of divine spirituality and perfect attributes in other parts of the Old as well as of the New Testament, to correct first conceptions, and lead us to understand the anthropomorphism and anthropopathy of the Scripture style, in a manner *worthy of God*. So, with regard to facts in nature: after the grand universal position which forms the first sentence in the record of creation, a period is passed by, the duration of which baffles all conjecture as to the myriads of ages to which it mounts, and the rest of the narrative describes the adjustment of our earth to its new use, and the creation of its present races of inhabitants;—the sun is spoken of as the greatest, and the moon as the next in magnitude, of the heavenly bodies, and the starry host is touched upon in the mass as entitled, all taken together, to the next degree of consideration;—yet

the stars, as seen at one time by the unassisted eye, are assumed to be innumerable, and so made correlate to the number of grains of sand on the sea-coasts; though, even in Abraham's clear climate, we can hardly suppose more than fifteen hundred to have been ever visible;—the earth is represented as an extended plain supported upon pillars, and surrounded by the ocean,—once, most beautifully, and in a way reconcileable to the reality of the case, as suspended in space (Job xxvi. 7);—the clouds as large receptacles, like bags, or skins, containing water;—the dew as coming down from the sky;—the lightning as ignited pieces of charcoal;—the thunder as literally the sound of a voice from God;—and the rain, snow, and hail as existing ready formed in vast repositories among the clouds. All these and any similar expressions are in the forms which were best adapted to general comprehension at the time; and, for all times and states of society, their vivid poetry speaks to the heart, and when interpreted by the light of more advanced science, they not the less powerfully impress their doctrinal and moral lessons. The *matter* which they present is unerring truth, inspired from heaven; but, as of necessity must have been, *expressed* in the terms and by the images which alone could be adapted to the times and places of composure. We may hence learn the necessity of having solid principles of exposition, all flowing from the fact, that *the Bible teaches us the things of God, but can only do so in the language of men.*⁵

(7.) Commands of God, whether moral or positive, whether referring to acts for the first time enjoined, or which had been practised before; declarations of the internal character and moral state of men, before his omniscient sight; and all the forms of prophecy;—must have been the matter of *immediate revelation* by the Divine Spirit.

(8.) Attention is due to the references made in the New Testament to the Old. Not only the general Hebrew division of “the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms,” is expressly recognised, but *every single book* of the Old Testament is either cited or alluded to, excepting Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, the Song of Solomon, Obadiah, and Nahum: and of these, Ruth may be properly included in the book of Judges, those of Ezra and Nehemiah have so much internal evidence that their genuineness and authenticity cannot be doubted, the anniversary of Purim is a standing evidence of the great deliverance recorded in the book of Esther, the books of Obadiah and Nahum are undeniably attested by their being included in the roll of the twelve smaller prophetic writings, and in Rev. xviii. 3 there is not improbably an allusion to Nahum iii. 4. But we are peculiarly to observe *the manner* in which these citations and allusions are made. The usual formulæ of introduction are: “the Scripture saith, or the Scriptures say,”⁶—it is written,—the law saith,—Moses saith—commanded—describeth,—the prophet saith,—David saith—describeth,—it is written,—it is written in your law,—it is written in the book of the prophets (Acts vii. 42, referring to Amos as contained in the roll of the twelve),—it is read in the Scripture;” all of which expressions plainly indicate the attribution of DIVINE AUTHORITY; but in the following, that attribution is made in the most solemn and explicit manner, and these occur in relation to numerous places of the Penta-

⁵ “I acknowledge that Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, could not be ignorant of geometry. But, as we plainly perceive that he used the style of ordinary life, to suit the comprehension of common people, and upon principle abstained from such a trim nicety of expression as would savour of learning and deep science, I can by no means persuade myself that, in this passage, contrary to his usual custom, he has employed geometrical exactness. So likewise in the first chapter, he does not discourse about the heavenly bodies in a refined way, as would have been proper had he been writing as a philosopher; but, using a popular style, and representing the objects as they appear to untaught men, rather than according to the reality of things, he calls the sun and the moon ‘two great luminaries.’ And so we may perceive in all his writings, that he designates objects of every kind by their commonly received names.”—CALVIN on *Genesis*, vi. 14.

⁶ Always ἡ γραφή, or αἱ γραφαί; for, without the article, it would be in the indefinite form, and would denote any writing.

teuch, the Psalms, the Prophets, and some of the other books;—"God saith,—God commanded,—that which was spoken unto you by God,—the Lord commanded,—spoken by the Lord through the prophet,—the Holy Spirit saith,—the Spirit of Christ in them testified,—the Holy Spirit by the mouth of David said before,—David by the Spirit calleth HIM Lord,—David spake by the Holy Spirit." If we justly consider the comprehension of these expressions, and the relations of the respective Old Testament passages which they introduce, we shall find a most satisfactory body of proof that they impress *every thing* in the Old Testament writings that is introduced *as divine or religious matter*, with the broad seal of INSPIRATION FROM GOD, whether first communicating or confirming what had been before known by a previous divine communication, or by any other means.

(9.) The substance of all this may be brought into a short formula. Whatever is *laid down*, by the declared intention of a sacred writer, or by the tenor and design of his work, *to be a command, promise, threatening, doctrine, institution, or prediction from God, is indeed such, and was given by the inspiration of his SPIRIT in such a WAY as was proper and suitable to the occasion*: and all the historical facts related (allowing of course for the lapses of transcribers, mistakes in numerals, and the addition of genealogical or other elucidatory clauses, which modern writers would make *Notes*), are faithfully and correctly laid down as they really took place, accomplishing the purpose of Him "who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will;" and, thus narrated, they are parts in the series of inspired history, and adapted to innumerable purposes of instruction and moral benefit.

Note B, page 15.

"If we look for that perspicuity and clearness in the expression of divine revelation, which men endeavour to give unto the declaration of their minds in things natural, by artificial methods and order, and by the application of words and terms invented and disposed of on purpose to accommodate what is spoken unto the common notions and reasonings of men; we may be mistaken. Nor would it have become divine wisdom and authority to have made use of such methods, ways, or arts. There is that plainness and perspicuity in it which becomes the holy and wise God to make use of, whose words are to be received with reverence, with submission of mind and conscience unto his authority, and fervent prayer that we may understand his mind and do his will. Thus all things are made plain unto the meanest capacity; yet not so, but that, if the most wise and learned do not see the characters of infinite divine wisdom on things that seem most obvious and most exposed unto vulgar apprehensions, they have no true wisdom in them. In those very fords and appearing shallows of this river of God, where the lamb may wade, the elephant may swim. Every thing in the Scripture is so plain as that the meanest believer may understand all that belongs unto his duty, or is necessary unto his happiness; yet is nothing so plain, but that the wisest of them all have reason to adore the depths and stores of divine wisdom in it."—*Owen on Sp. Underst.* chap. xi.

Note C, page 17.

It has afforded me peculiar satisfaction to find these sentiments confirmed by a consummate judge of the scriptural style. "In the Hellenistical style, sentences are generally shorter, more simple and uniform in their structure, and more similar to the order of words in English, than they are in classical Greek writers.—Some think that the Hebrew idioms, which abound in the Greek Scriptures, are a cause of great obscurity. No doubt, in order to understand any class of writers, it is of consequence to observe their sources of information; the state of society at the times and in the places in which they lived; their own character and habits; and the design of their compositions. But, when

it is considered that the Hebrew is a language of the greatest simplicity ; that it resembles not only other Oriental languages, but even the ancient Greek, and that so strongly, as to be thought its parent ; that the writers and first translators of Scripture were plain men, less anxious about style and the reputation of elegance, than about the practical instruction of their readers ; that they had in view the instruction of all ranks of men ; that, though numerous and in various situations, they wrote in one cause and the dictates of one Spirit ; that the whole of the Mosaic and Christian institutions are engrossed in those writings which allude to their peculiarities, and are further illustrated by the history of the manner in which they have answered the end of their appointment ;—there remains little cause indeed to despair of ascertaining, with sufficient precision, the meaning of the most singular expressions which the Holy Scriptures are found to contain. Let both the original languages be studied, and let the different books be perused and compared, with the serious diligence which their importance demands ; and, by the Divine blessing, success will reward the labour.”—*Greek and English Grammar and Lexicon, by the Rev. Greville Ewing*, third ed. Glasgow, 1827.

Note D, page 19.

“Instituenti mihi de Poesi Asiaticâ disserere, prima sese offert Hebræorum poesis, verbis splendida, sententiis magnifica, translationibus elata, compositione admirabilis, origine tandem, quod de nullâ aliâ dici potest, verè divina.—Ea est linguæ Hebrææ cum Arabicâ cognatio, ea poeseos utriusque gentis cum in imaginibus tum in figuris similitudo, ut nequeam mihi persuadere quin metra etiam Hebræa fuerint Arabicis persimilia :”—“At the outset of a disquisition on the Asiatic Poetry, that of the Hebrews first presents itself to our regard ; brilliant in diction, magnificent in sentiment, sublime in figure, admirable in arrangement, and in its origin possessing the unrivalled dignity of inspiration from God.—Such is the near relationship of the Hebrew tongue to the Arabic, such the resemblance of the poetry of each of those nations, both in the imagery and the kinds of figures which they employ, that,”—etc.—*Sir William Jones’s Commentarii Poeseos Asiat.* in his Works, vol. vi. pp. 1, 55.

Note E, page 21.

In reply to Dr Foster, who had promulgated the same notions, Mr Tomkins said : “Is this the simplicity and sincerity of an apostle of Christ, to secure his proselytes by a feigned representation of things ; persuading them that they need not leave Christianity for want of a priest and a sacrifice ; telling them that they had a much better sacrifice and a more excellent High Priest under the gospel ; when, in reality, there was no such thing ?—This, methinks, is altogether out of character, no ways suiting those who made it their boast that they ‘handled not the word of God deceitfully,’ but ‘used great plainness of speech, commending themselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.’—If the author knew that these things were not really so as he had represented to them ; in short, that these notions were false ; what, I pray, can any man make of this but *downright deceiving* ? And, if a sacred writer might deceive after this manner upon one subject, why not upon another ? And what becomes then of our faith in the Christian Revelation ?—I believe the enemies to Christianity would desire no more than to see the charge made good ; and would willingly leave it to Christians to make the best defence they could to such management.”—*Christ the Mediator*, ed. 1761, pp. 43, 45.

ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

In the first edition of this work a slight intimation was given of peculiar difficulty hanging upon the question whether the Book of the Old Testament called the Song of Solomon, can be regarded as a book divinely inspired. In the second edition, I deemed it my duty to present some reasons which appeared to me compulsory to the adoption of a negative judgment; and concluded by saying, "Whatever weight the reasons here intimated may have upon the question, whether the Song of Solomon belonged to the Jewish canon, as it was sanctioned by our Lord and his apostles, they can have no influence upon the validity of our arguments from any part of the Old Testament, or upon any religious fact or principle whatsoever. On the contrary, the exception confirms the rule, and places in a stronger light *the inspired character of everything that is SACRED or RELIGIOUS in the Hebrew writings*. This Song has, so far as I can perceive, no relation of dependence, corroboration, or elucidation, with any of the facts, doctrines, promises, or precepts, of either the Israelitish or the Christian economy. The truth remains unaltered, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament were *given by inspiration of God*, that their chief object is to *testify of Christ*, that this testimony is the *spirit of prophecy*, and that *therein we have eternal life*."

To the seven pages of that disquisition, I added, in the third edition, fourteen more, intended to present an impartial view of the arguments in favour of the canonical authority of the Book, including a brief defence of it, with which I had been privately favoured by Professor Pusey of Oxford; and to that statement subjoining my own remarks.

Upon that review, I felt myself unable to surmount the appalling difficulties which come under the head of *Internal Evidence*. At the same time, I had not failed to state the completeness of the *External*. I had distinctly described the comprehension of Melito's Catalogue; had stated that this book was included in "THE WRITING" or "WRITINGS" (*scripture and scriptures*) habitually cited or alluded to by our Lord and his apostles;—that the Jews of the intermediate period were laudably jealous of the purity of their canon, of which we have ample reason to conclude that the Song made a part;—that it has been, from remote antiquity, the practice of Arabian and Persian writers to express religious and devotional sentiments under the allegorical disguise of amatory and drinking songs, which were often pushed to an extreme from which we, with our better habits of imagination and language, should turn with disgust;—and that, from the earliest and best antiquity, this book has been held as divine, and explained as allegorical, by both Jews and Christians.

Painful was the position, after a review of such considerations and their opposites, to have been "bound to confess myself still unable to regard the book called the Song of Solomon, to be a part of Holy Scripture, given by inspiration of God, the standard of faith and rule of obedience."

That conclusion and the premises from which it was drawn, together with the general subject of Inspiration, were brought into a searching and vigorous examination, by my friends and brethren in the ministry of Christ, the Rev. Dr James Bennett, and the Rev. William Walford. The discussions, replies, and rejoinders, including an able Essay on the affirmative side by the Rev. Benjamin Rice, occupy many pages in the *Congregational Magazine* for 1837 and 1838. It will be, I trust, sufficient to state here the general issue.

With gratitude to my admonisher, I acknowledged that the argument from Melito is not only conducted by him with great ability, but that it *now appeared to me unanswerable, and decisive of the question that the book was apart of the Hebrew Canon in the apostolic age*. It was blameable in me not to have studied more closely the passage of Melito. Had I so done, perhaps I might have drawn some of the inferences which Dr Bennett has presented in so striking a manner. At least, it might have satisfied me to suppress, if I could not exterminate, my difficulties arising from internal characters.

Yet I am, unhappily perhaps for myself, compelled to acknowledge that heavy difficulties still adhere to me, as to the *application* of the book. All that my examiners have written falls short of convincing me that a *spiritual* meaning can be established. The instances of scripture allegory to which they refer, and to the most of which I had also referred, appear to me inapplicable; for, notwithstanding what my friends have said, to my perception every one of them carries its figurative character upon its own front:⁷ but I cannot perceive that the Song of Solomon does so. The spiritual oneness of the Saviour and his faithful people, represented by different kinds of union, natural and constituted, and by the marriage union among the rest, is exhibited, in scripture, as comprehending, on the one side, the Lord Jesus Christ in his divine glory and mediatorial fullness, and on the other, the *church*, the whole company of the "called and chosen and faithful." This *collective body* is figuratively made *one person*, "the bride, the Lamb's wife." But this representation does not involve the appropriation of the figure, whether taken as a passing metaphor or a continued allegory, to *individual* Christians. The imagery which represents "CHRIST and the church," does not warrant *each* believer to take to himself that which is characteristically predicable of the *whole body considered as one*. The figure of representing a *sovereign* as the husband, and the *nation* composed of his subjects as the wife, was not infrequent among the ancients; but it would not have been legitimate, for any individual of the nation to apply the figure personally.

One of my friends inadvertently, I am persuaded, represented me as affirming that "allegorical interpretations—[were] invented by the Alexandrian Jews, for the support of Platonism and the heathen mythology." What I had said was, that the *principle* of allegorical interpretation had exercised its "infatuating influence—upon Origen, who had imbibed it from the Judæo-Christian school of Alexandria," and that those Alexandrian Jews had adulterated the doctrines of the O. T. "with a poisonous infusion of Oriental and Grecian philosophic systems." My words,—“for supporting the credit of the heathen mythology, by turning its fables into allegory,”—express the design of "the Platonic and Stoical inventions." That this is not a false allegation will appear to any who will consult the following authors: and it would be well to inspect the chief masters in this line, Philo, Clemens of Alexandria, and Origen.—Also, Eusebius, in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, book viii. Vitringa, *de Synagoga Vetere*, p. 673, etc. Brucker's *Instit. Hist. Philos.* Leipzig, 1756, p. 375; where he says,—“The entire history of the Jews who pursued philosophical speculations in Egypt, particularly of the Cabbalists, clearly proves that they applied the combined systems of Pythagoras and Plato, mixed up with some Egyptian and Oriental notions, to a mystic interpretation of their country's law [the Mosaic institutions], by the ingenious application of allegories. From those times [the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died B.C. 246], the allegorical method of interpretation is to be derived.” This fact and its evidence are urged at greater length in that learned author's great work, *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, in 6 vols. quarto; Leipzig, 1766; vol. ii. p. 690, etc.: also Neander's great work, the *Universal History of the Religion and Church of Christ*, vol. i. part i. p. 69, etc.; Hamburg, 1825; Engl. Transl. by the Rev. Henry John Rose, vol. i. pp. 47–49; and Mr Osburn on the *Doctrinal Errors of the Early Fathers*, chap. xiv.

Philo set aside most extensively, I might even say generally, the literal sense of the writings of Moses and the Old Testament history. He was a devoted imitator of Plato, who intimates at least an inclination to allegorize the poems

⁷ A judicious writer, the late Mr Thomas Williams, animadverting upon me, had said,—“Parables and allegories do not always carry with them their own key. The statement of Nathan to David (2 Sam. xii. 1–4), was not even suspected to be a parable.” (An excellent Letter on this subject, in the *Congr. Mag.* June 1830.)—But I must own that it seems to me by no means certain that David did not suspect the purport of the parable. Any disinterested bystander would have seen it at once. It is, alas! very conceivable that his wounded pride and guilty conscience led him to affect not to perceive the prophet's drift; expecting that Nathan would retire without venturing to push the spear. If he really did not perceive it, I cannot avoid thinking that his insensibility was the result of judicial blindness.

of Homer, as prior Greek authors had done. I wish that my friend's kind defence of Origen could be substantiated: but, if the matter were worth the trouble, I could adduce a host of quotations from that Father, which would too painfully prove that I have blamed him but gently. I cannot concede that *types* are allegories; but regard them as persons, things, and acts, instituted to be symbolical of other and generally future objects: nor that the lessons drawn, upon the principle of *analogy*, from historical facts (see Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. x. 6, 11) are allegories. Much stress has been laid upon Gal. iv. 24. But the clause, *ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγοροῦμένα*, is not well rendered, "which things are an allegory." It ought to be,—*allegorized*. The Apostle does not assert that the history was an allegory; but that, in condescension to some favourite ideas of the Jews (for "to the Jews he became as a Jew"), he would meet them upon their own ground. That eminently judicious divine, the late Dr Ryland, paraphrases the passage thus: "Tell me, ye Jews, who desire to be under the law of Moses, and profess so great a regard for him; can ye deny the justice of the following representation? You are generally fond of allegory. Now, there is a history recorded in the writings of Moses which may be *allegorized* with great propriety.—" In a note, Dr Ryland adds, "*—are allegorized*; i.e. not an instituted type, but a narration well adapted for illustration." *Pastoral Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 337; a posthumous collection of invaluable pieces. This Essay on Gal. iv. 21–31, was first published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, Feb. 1795.

Two positions appear to me to be established.

1. That allegories in the scriptures, and in all good human writings, carry, instamped upon their front or wrought into their texture, their allegorical character and design; that is, a remoter and more important meaning, figured by a proximate and obvious one. Quintilian happily expresses it, "*Ἀλληγορία, quam inversionem interpretamur, aliud verbis, aliud sensu OSTENDIT.*"

2. That in the Song of Songs there is no indication of such a design. I am not sensible to the apparent force of Dr Bennett's argument, from expressions in the Song, which he considers to be determinative of a spiritual and consequently allegorical meaning. To my apprehension, they are all capable of a satisfactory answer. The notes of Dr Mason Good, and Fred. Rosenmüller, contain much valuable matter which serves to this effect, though they both adhered to an allegorical interpretation.—May I touch upon the principal alleged examples, by hinting what I conceive to be their true interpretation?—Chap. i. 3. Thou art the object of universal admiration and affection.—Ver. 4. Here the bride, exulting in the excellencies of her spouse, appeals to the estimation in which he is held by all the wise and good; *the upright*, all worthy men, *love thee*, hold thee in the highest regard.—Ver. 5, 6; *I am black*, i.e. sun-burnt in a degree which heightens beauty, and with which she could well content herself, notwithstanding the envious depreciation of other women. The having been set to *watch the vineyards* agrees well with the idea which I have maintained, that the poem does not depict any royal bride, but some person in humbler and happier circumstances. The sentiments of ver. 8, in common language, would be to this effect: You are anxious to know in what part of this enchanting scenery you may find your tenderly loved shepherd: but follow the sheep-walks, and conduct your little flock of kids to the place where you will see the shepherds' tents pitched near each other; there you will find him.—The phrase (iv. 9), *my sister-spouse* (for so it ought to be rendered), involves nothing improper or discordant from "human conjugal ideas;" for it is a common oriental and scriptural idiom, to represent *similarity of mental affections* by the appellatives of consanguinity, *father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister*; as every attentive student of the Bible must be aware. Examples of the term *sister* thus used, are Gen. xxiv. 59, 60, the language of the mother of Rebekah as well as of her brother; Jer. iii. 7, 8, 10; Ezek. xvi. several times; Prov. vii. 4.*

* Many deeply interesting illustrations of scripture facts and allusions have accrued from the wonderful deciphering of the pictured monuments of ancient Egypt, effected within a few recent

Of passages in the Song which may be thought to wear the aspect of religious spirituality, or to be obscurely referred to in subsequent portions of Scripture, I had adduced *ten* instances, and Dr Bennett has added *one*: but to me they all appear to be such as belong to the not uncommon occurrence of coincidence in thought and expression, between writers who had not the least knowledge of each other. More numerous and more striking coincidences with evangelical sentiment, and with the language of the New Testament, may be found in many of the productions of ancient Greece and Rome.

Dr Bennett gives me "a serious warning against the *hatred* of allegory, which might make us reject the Gospel History, as well as Solomon's Song, because they have both been allegorized." I sincerely thank him for the admonition, and I hope to lay it up in my mind: but I am not conscious of hating allegory. I have read many allegories, and above all those of the Psalms, the Prophets, Solomon (especially Eccl. xii. 1-7), and the parables of the GREAT TEACHER. So far from hating, I love and admire many even in heathen authors and modern writers. My fear and aversion refer to the improper allegation of allegories, and the evil effects by arbitrary assumptions and dangerous implications in professed interpretation of them. Anthony Collins, the able and adroit infidel, in his book, with insidious hypocrisy entitled the *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, saw his advantage, and was not slow to seize it; professing to support Christianity by considering the whole Old Testament as an allegory. In this course, some of the infidel philosophers of Germany have followed.

Admitting, then, as with gratitude to my admonisher *I do*, that the testimony of Melito is satisfactory and decisive to the fact of the Song having been among the national sacred books of the Jews in the apostolic age; I do not see that this admission brings with it the evidence of an *allegorical design*. Why may not its object have been to celebrate, in a beautiful pastoral poem, the absolute duty and unrivalled happiness of genuine conjugal love, that which can exist only upon the original divine constitution, "they *twain* shall be *one* flesh?" The concession of polygamy and arbitrary divorce, which our Lord declares (Matt. xix. 8), had been made to the Israelites, "because of the hardness of their hearts," could not but be productive of great sin and misery; and yet that concession stood in "the book of the law." It might therefore seem an effective way of opposing those practices in the indirect and delicate way of a flowery poem, depicting the pure pleasures of chaste marriage. I am aware of the objection, that instances occur of the comparison of beautiful features with objects so alien that they appear monstrous. But I think that this objection arises from the want of a taste for picturesque scenery, as exhibited with the peculiarities of oriental poetry. This is the interpretation which, with some unimportant varieties of modification, was adopted by John David Michaelis, Herder, Döderlein, and Dathe. The latter of these writers says, that his predecessors in the argument "had invincibly demonstrated that a mystic or allegorical sense cannot be attributed to this poem, except by the renunciation of all feeling of the real and the fictitious, the proper and the absurd." ("Invictis argumentis probantur sensum mysticum aut allegoricum tribui non posse his carminibus, nisi quis omnem sensum veri et falsi, apti et inepti, suppresserit.") The late Dr Boothroyd, in the last edition of his Bible, merely mentions this

years by the younger Champollion, Rossellini, and Sir J. G. Wilkinson. See a valuable abstract in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1836, vol. xvi. A profile painting was on one of the walls, which, there is reason to believe, represented Rehoboam: a copy of it is in the *Saturday Magazine*, Oct. 12, 1833. The Reviewer observes:—"The Egyptian princess in Solomon's Song, who throughout employs Egyptian illustrations, and compares the princely address of her lover to the harmonious action of the horses in her father Pharaoh's chariot (and they were indeed unmatched in beauty, as the monuments show), speaks of herself as being dark, as all the Egyptian women were, but handsome. She says that 'the *Sun* (Phra or Pharaoh) has looked upon her,' and refers mysteriously to some anger of her 'mother's sons,' either at her love or her marriage."—A portrait has been also discovered in three instances, and believed to be that of Solomon's Egyptian queen. "It is that of a lady who, by any connoisseurs or artists of any period, would be pronounced of consummate beauty; and it is singular that in the inscription associated with her name, she is called, like Amense the wife of the first Amenophis, by the chastely affectionate epithet which Solomon confers upon her, of 'sister bride.'"

interpretation, and no other. In his notes, he carefully refrains from any allegorical application.*

Upon this explication, we may regard the imagery which forms the tissue of this richly ornamented poem, as all converging to one point, the *celebration of conjugal love* in its pure and proper form; and thus inculcating a moral lesson of great value in all ages and countries, but peculiarly so to the Israelitish people; and *such a lesson* is worthy of a place in canonical scripture. Hence, a probable reason arises for the absence of any allusion to this book in the New Testament; partly because this indirect method of inculcating moral lessons was more in affinity with the figurative splendour of the Mosaic dispensation, than it is suitable to the simplicity of the Christian mode of enjoining doctrines and duties; and partly, because it was in the plan of the Divine Founder of Christianity, to place the obligation of monogamy upon another basis, that of the most express republication of the original law.

Also, since the conjugal bond of indissoluble right and undying love is one of those examples of UNION which the Holy Spirit has been pleased to use, to represent to our feeble conceptions the security of the believer's holiness and happiness, a spiritual and irreversible coalescence, founded upon a divine constitution of justice and grace, which unites the whole body of the elect to Christ their Head;—it follows that this endearing union in earthly relations is an edifying resemblance of that heavenly union. To this we are led by the apostle: "They two shall be one flesh: this [the combination of the two into one] is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church." Eph. v. 32. And those Christians who are so favoured, that they can deduce aid to their faith and devotion by special applications of the Song of Solomon, under the direction of this *leading idea*, let them so do, and let them bless God for the mercy: but this is very different from the position, that we may thus represent the *contents* and *design* of the Song; or that we are at liberty to take the particulars of its florid copiousness, and indulge our fancy in making out of them resemblances to the acts of faith and love and obedience in the Christian's experience. This error has strongly tinged many of the hymns and other productions of that excellent body of Christians, the United Brethren; and has been an obstruction to their usefulness, grieving their friends, and giving a semblance of occasion to the charges brought by ungenerous adversaries. Dr Watts, in 1709, wrote, "Are not the noblest instances of the grace of Christ represented under the figure of a conjugal state, and described in one of the sweetest odes, and the softest pastoral, that ever was written?—Solomon in his Song,—and David in Ps. xlv." But, twenty-seven years after, he added the note: "Solomon's Song was much more in use among preachers and writers of divinity, when these poems were written, than it is now; 1736." *Lyric Poems, Pref.*

A Disquisition upon the Song of Solomon may appear out of place in an Inquiry into the Doctrine of Scripture concerning the Person of Christ; and I was not so blind as to fail anticipating the unpopularity to which it would expose me, and the pain which I should have to feel from the disapprobation and grief of friends whom I love as my own soul. But it was with me a matter, not of choice, but of stern duty. I had to demonstrate the nature of the foundation on which my arguments must rest, the grand fact of the INSPIRATION of the Scriptures: and it was incumbent on me to bring into the light that which might wear the appearance of exception.

* In the *Congregational Magazine* for 1838, pp. 471-478, is a translation, by a superior scholar, of chap. ii. 8-17, a "Hebrew Idyll from the Song of Songs." The author says,—It "is altogether pastoral: it celebrates the beautiful scenery of the spring, the attachment of two individuals to each other, and their meeting in that season of nature's gaiety and loveliness. I see no more reason for the spiritual interpretation which Mr Williams, Mr Fry, and others, give it, than for its application to the revival of letters, the termination of feudalism, or any other gratifying circumstance in civil or political life."

CHAP. III.

ON THE ERRORS AND FAULTS, WITH RESPECT TO THE PRESENT
CONTROVERSY, WHICH ARE ESPECIALLY CHARGEABLE ON
THE ORTHODOX, BUT IN PART ALSO ON THEIR OPPONENTS.

Arguing from translations.—Inattention to criticism on the original text.—Inaccurate expressions.—Erroneous notions and incorrect language on the use of reason in relation to divine subjects.

To understand the Scriptures aright, is to understand them in the sense in which they were originally intended. This, all will admit: but, if all were equally happy in the practice of the admission, controversies in religion would be few and trivial. Observation shows that good men, on all sides and with upright intentions, commit oversights in laying the foundation of their arguments; and impartiality requires that we should point out those faults, and guard ourselves against their influence.

It would seem truly superfluous to express a caution against arguing from any translation of the Scriptures, as if it were the original. But it must be confessed that not only unlearned Christians, but some men of respectable education, have fallen into this egregious error. Nor is this fault chargeable on the orthodox alone: their opponents are not perfectly clear from it. To mention it, however, must, to every rational man, be sufficient. Respectable and excellent as our common version is, considering the time and circumstances under which it was made, no person will contend that it is incapable of important amendment. A temperate, impartial, and careful revision would be an invaluable benefit to the cause of Christianity; and the very laudable exertions which are now made to circulate the Bible, render such a revision, at the present time, a matter of still more pressing necessity.

It is a failing of the same kind, when the text of the common Hebrew and Greek editions is adduced as indubitably and in every case the divine original, without any previous consideration or inquiry. Negligence in this respect on the part of the orthodox

writer or preacher, has too often afforded a vantage ground to the Unitarian party, of which they have well known how to avail themselves. Happily, however, this evil is on its decline. The extended attention to classical and biblical learning in our age, and the lustre which has, by universal consent, been conferred upon the labours and the names of not a few distinguished masters in the critical art, have brought the study of verbal criticism, not only to be confessed as important, but to be cultivated as a favourite and elegant occupation.¹ Indeed, we are the rather in danger of falling into the opposite extreme of exaggerated criticism and fondness for alteration. But guarding against this predilection, as not less a violation of sound critical principles than it is morally pernicious, every Christian who is moderately informed on these subjects, knows that the early editions of the original Scriptures *could not* possess a text so well ascertained as those which the superior means and the diligent industry of modern editors have been enabled to attain;

¹ I cannot but take this opportunity of expressing my sense of the obligations which the cause of christian learning and piety is under to the Professors of the Andover Theological Seminary in the United States: particularly to Dr Woods, for elaborate theological works on subjects of the highest importance; and to Prof. Stuart, for his *Hebrew Grammar and Chrestomathia*; for his translation from the German, with much additional matter of great value, of *Winer's Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, in which his colleague, Dr Edward Robinson, has borne a part which does him much honour; and for his translation of Ernesti's *Elements of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation* (the *Institutio Interpretis*), with his own numerous and judicious Notes. Of the last most useful work, Dr Ebenezer Henderson has favoured the British public with an improved edition. To an extensive acquaintance with the modern philologists and scripture-critics of Germany, Mr Stuart unites an independent if not always sufficiently discriminating judgment, a benign patience of opposition, a spirit of comprehensive and impartial research, extensive and accurate knowledge, and a firm attachment to scriptural piety. More recently, he has published his own *Grammar of the New Testament Dialect* (1834), on a plan different from Winer's; and he has contributed many Dissertations upon important points of criticism, exposition, and theology, in the *Biblical Repository* and other American journals, besides his separate works. The scholars and divines of the Andover school are entitled to the gratitude and admiration of Britain, as well as of their own country.

— 1845. In the sixteen years since this note was written, the scholars and divines of New England have greatly augmented our obligations. Dear and honoured are the names of Beecher, Lord, Bush, Barnes, Humphry, Hitchcock, Park, Holmes, the Dwights, B. Edwards, Agnew, and many others. Of this we have ample proofs in the *Amer. Bibl. Repos.* now extended to the twenty-fifth volume; the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and the *Researches* of Dr Robinson in the *Holy Land*, of unrivalled importance and trustworthiness, and which, in 1842, received the pre-eminent honour of the gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society of London; his works of Hebrew and Greek Lexicography, and many Disquisitions.

that from these early editions all the established Protestant versions were made; and that an accurate and impartial criticism of the published text, as well as of any translation, must lie at the foundation of all satisfactory deduction of theological doctrine from the words of Scripture. If we leave it in the power of a disputant to object to the validity of our witnesses, the controversy must become frivolous and endless. Let the unlearned Christian dismiss every apprehension that the word of God is rendered uncertain, or is treated with irreverence, when a strict and judicious criticism is employed upon its verbal medium of conveyance. Such criticism will only display that eternal word in a clearer form, and upon a more solid basis of moral demonstration.

If it be a fault not to have been sufficiently severe in the scrutiny of our evidence and the rejection of that which is untenable, it is even a greater injury to any sentiment to convey it in terms inappropriate, ill-chosen, liable to misconception, or actually inviting and sanctioning misconception. Of this very serious offence orthodox writers have been guilty, when they have used language which applies to the divine nature of the Redeemer the circumstances and properties which could attach only to his humanity;² unless, indeed, which was not the case, they had professed the Lutheran doctrine of an intercommunication of properties. By this practice they have degraded the truth, violated the authority of Scripture,³ and afforded a most unhappy occasion to the objections and derisions of their opponents. The imagination of a poet, or the ardour of a popular preacher, can form no apology, can claim no indulgence, for transgressing the limits of "truth and soberness;" even were it not the fact that they, at the same time, were committing the grossest offence against true taste.

But there is a fault still greater, and which deserves no

² It cannot be too much lamented that Dr Watts has repeatedly fallen into this fault in his Hymns, some of which wound a thinking and pious mind by language which one could not copy without pain.

³ Some have vindicated this practice by the example of Acts xx. 28, "the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Perhaps they are not aware that the reading supported by probable evidence is "church of the Lord." Such expressions as in 1 Cor. ii. 8, fall under another consideration, namely, that terms descriptive of the Saviour's complex person and mediatorial character may be joined with predicates which express any of his mediatorial acts, whether emanating immediately from the divine, or from the human nature.—See *Dr Owen on the Person of Christ*, close of chap. xviii.

leniency of treatment. In whomsoever it is found, let us hold it in severe abhorrence. It is the want of just respect to the persons of opponents, and of fair and honest representation of their sentiments and arguments. This delinquency is of no light guilt, before man and in the sight of the righteous God. It is at least the offspring of ignorance and prejudice; and it never fails to inflict deep injury on the cause which has the misfortune to be so defended. "A servant of the Lord ought not to strive" in angry contention, "but to be gentle to all, apt to teach, patient of wrong, in meekness instructing the opposers."⁴ Nothing can justify the misrepresentation of a doctrine, or an argument, or an inference, charged upon those whose opinions we controvert: nor ought we to allow a moment's countenance to calumnies against character. In acknowledging what is excellent and praiseworthy in an adversary, an honourable and Christian mind will feel a pleasure the greater because he is an adversary. The love of truth, as to Christian doctrine, cannot be genuine and consistent, if it be not conjoined with the practice of truth in our sentiments and feelings towards our fellow-creatures. If, with regard to any religious errors, it be our serious persuasion that they subvert the very foundations of holiness and hope, and that the unhappy persons who embrace them are in a state of reigning sin, and of unpardoned guilt before God; the proper concomitant of this distressing conviction will be a tender care that we do nothing likely to fortify their prejudices, or to put an additional stumbling-block in their way. If, by any want of equity and Christian dispositions, we repel and alienate them still further from THE TRUTH which must be received that men may be saved;⁵ we sin most awfully against God: and have we not reason to expect that "their blood he will require at our hands?"⁶

Of another serious impropriety it might be doubted whether it is most suitably introduced here, or ought to be reserved to the next chapter. Both the orthodox and their adversaries have, in different directions, made themselves chargeable with this fault; but to the former the effect has been beyond comparison the most injurious. It has consisted in a confusion and misapplication, of both ideas and language, on the use of reason in matters of faith. On the one side, assertions have been

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 24.

⁵ 2 Thess. ii. 13.

⁶ See Note A, at the end of this chapter.

brought forth about the power and sufficiency of reason, which have scarcely stopped short of impiety; and on the other, the opposite disclaimer has been made, with a vehemence so inconsiderate, as almost to imply the abdication of our mental faculties. The error has, in part at least, arisen from not attending to the different senses of ambiguous words, from not using care to preserve the same acceptation of the same terms through the whole length of an argument, and from a blameable and uncandid readiness to seize upon and exaggerate the inadvertencies of opponents. The principal term which has been thus abused, *reason*, is constantly employed in two very different meanings; not to mention its other senses which belong less to our present consideration, but which are of great importance to be clearly discriminated and well recollected by those who would think and judge correctly.⁷ By *reason*, we often intend the employment of our mental faculties in discerning the agreements and differences of things, in comparing premises and their conclusion, in perceiving the weight and appropriation of evidence, and in judging of the application of motives: at other times, we intend the sum of notions, sentiments, or opinions received by any individual, at a given time, as so certainly true that to him they do not appear to require further questioning. The former is the power of thought exercising itself for the discovery of truth: and therefore it would be absurd to say that any position is agreeable to it, or repugnant to it; for, in this acceptation, reason is not a *rule*, but a mere instrument. In the latter sense, however, a man commonly says that a given position is *agreeable* to his reason, or *above* it, or *contrary* to it; by which he means, or ought to mean, nothing more than that the new proposition appears to him *compatible* with that collection of previous notions which he is in the habit of regarding as indubitably certain, or that it is quite *out of the range* of his hitherto acquired mental habits, or that it is *irreconcilable* with what he has been accustomed to regard as unquestionable truth. Every one must perceive, that the value of such assertions as these must depend upon the correctness of the mass of sentiment which the individual assumes as his standard. If the motion of the earth be asserted to an ignorant peasant, he calls it contrary

⁷ To such, especially theological students, I earnestly recommend the study of *Mr Isaac Taylor's Elements of Thought*; *Archbishop Whately's Logic* and his *Rhetoric*; the writings of *Dr George Payne*, *Dr Wardlaw*, and *Mr MacCombie*.

to reason, and rejects it: for to *his* reason at the present time, it is indeed contrary, and appears among the grossest of absurdities. On the other hand, a geometrician cannot, in his department of science, fall into irreclaimable error; because the collection of notions held indubitable in his mind, his standard of judgment, or what we may call his geometrical reason, is ultimately no other than a few axioms, known by all men to be necessary truths. Happy would it be, if, in all the exercises of mind, we would faithfully and unremittingly aim at an imitation, *so far as possible*, of the geometrician's provident and inflexible method!

But it is further to be observed that, from this latter signification of the word, another has been derived, by which it is made to stand for a certain collection of received notions which are supposed to be common to mankind; whether they are impressed on the mind by the immediate energy of the Creator, or are a universal case of association, or are the necessary product of circumstances inevitable to men upon the first occurrence of those circumstances to a sound intellect. Whatever opinion we may form of this *common reason* of mankind, it is evident that it will be more or less perfect according to the progress of society in experience and improvement; and that, to each individual, his share of this common reason coincides and becomes identified with his own particular sum of accredited opinions, only it is corroborated by his belief of a universal participation in the same on the part of his fellow-creatures.

If these observations are just, they will assist us to judge of the propriety or impropriety of some current phrases. A *dictate of reason*, or a *judgment of reason*, would denote, in the first sense, the settled issue of a careful examination; but, in the latter and probably more common acceptance, it would signify that opinion on a given case which a person looks upon as intuitively certain. The *light of reason*, in the first sense, is a phrase without meaning: if it were used in the latter, it would signify merely the whole collection of sentiments which an individual held to be indubitable. "What the eye is to the body," says the excellent Bishop Horne, "*reason* or *understanding* is to the soul. The eye is framed in such a manner as to be capable of seeing, reason in such a manner as to be capable of knowing. But the eye, though never so good, cannot see without light; reason, though never so perfect, cannot know without

instruction. The phrase, therefore, *light of reason*, seems to be an improper one; since reason is not the light, but is an organ for the light of instruction to act upon: and a man may as well take a view of things upon earth, in a dark night, by the light of his own eye, as pretend to discover the things of heaven, in the night of nature, by the light of his own reason."⁸ I doubt whether, in this valuable paragraph, the author has avoided an inadvertent change in the use of his principal term. He first employs the word *reason* in the former of the senses above stated, to denote the exercise of the intellectual faculty: but the supposed advocate of natural religion might complain that his opinion was not fairly stated. He might protest against the conclusion, and say that he intended his "light of reason" to be taken in the other sense, that of a collection of supposed indubitable notions or first truths.

But it would be easy to adduce instances of grosser inaccuracy. Language like this has been held by some Christians; that "reason must be silent when faith speaks," and that "reason must be submitted, or must even be sacrificed, to faith." A good sense may be put upon such phrases, if, by *reason*, we understand our opinions and deductions formed by our own speculations, and, by *faith*, the dictates of a testimony which has been established by previous proofs to be divine: but, with this explanation, the terms are not well chosen. Infidels have been very fond of such language, when, for the worst of purposes, they have written under the affectation of a reverence for revealed religion. If they can lodge in the unwary mind the impression, that man must renounce his rational faculties in order to pay due respect to the truth of God, or that any position is to be held *true* in theology which is *false* in philosophy; they know well that their work of seduction is all but completed. That great wicked man, of whom it is hard to say whether the brilliance of his wit or the maliciousness of his impiety existed in the higher degree, perpetually avails himself of this sophistry;⁹ and his unhappy disciples have been servile imitators of this, as of his other artifices.

⁸ *Works*, vol. vi. p. 198.

⁹ For example: "We believe by faith, and not by our reason, which we take good care never to listen to; for, when faith speaks, it is well known that reason must not say a word."—*Voltaire, Dictionnaire Philosophique*; art. *Miracles*. Let those who are fascinated by the liveliness and poignancy of this deceptive writer, take into their consideration the axiom of a faithful and devoted Christian, RICHARD BAXTER; "Faith is an act of reason."

“Whatever opinion agrees not with reason is inadmissible in divinity.”¹⁰ “To admit any doctrines which are contrary to common sense, we neither can nor ought to be induced by the express words of the Spirit of God himself.”¹¹ “Whatever the reason of man finds out to be false, is on no account to be considered as true or right in religion.”¹² If the authors of these hardy declarations had duly considered the meaning of language, it is to be hoped that they would not have uttered expressions which, in their most favourable acceptation as supposing an *impossible* case, are trifling truisms clothed in “great swelling words of vanity;” or, if not thus mitigated, are in terms absurd, and in sentiment most impious.

Is it correct to say, Reason is the *judge* in religious controversies?—Before we could answer this question, we should ask the querist to define his terms: What does he mean by *reason*?—the faculty of discernment and argumentation, or any set of admitted principles already enthroned in the mind? And, how does he use his metaphorical appellation, a *judge*?—Does he intend an authoritative power of dictation; or the exercise of the mind in examining, distinguishing, and forming its best conclusion according to the evidence?—I venture to think that the truth of the case might be unexceptionably expressed thus: The faculty of human reason, in its most careful and conscientious employment of proper means and instruments, is appointed by God as the judge, to each individual’s own mind, of the validity of evidence in every case; and for this exercise, each individual is judicially accountable to God alone.

But I must own that to me it seems a preferable style of expression, to say of religious truth that the Judge is God; that the expression of his judgment, and the rule of ours, is to be sought in the Holy Scriptures; and that the best employment and most dignified office of human reason is to be the grateful and docile learner.¹³

All these observations on the use of reason would be applicable to the mental exercises of a sinless angel. Far different

¹⁰ Quæ cum ratione non convenit opinio, ea etiam in Theologiâ nullum locum habere potest.—*Smalcus contra Frantz.* Disp. iv. de Justif.

¹¹ Ut ea quæ naturæ refragantur admittamus, ipsius Divini Spiritûs apertis verbis adduci nec possumus nec debemus.—*Socini Op.* tom. i. p. 784.

¹² Quicquid ratio humana falsum esse reprehendit, id nullo pacto pro vero aut justo in divinis habendum est.—*Episcopii Op.* tom. ii. pars ii. p. 449.

¹³ See Note B.

are our intellectual circumstances. Is our reason unclouded? Is it debased by no servitude? Is it enfeebled by no moral disease? Is it manacled by no prejudices?—If, in respect to the intellectual exercises which are far removed from the domain of religion, the father of philosophy saw it necessary to caution us against “the idols of the cave;” how much more pressing and solemn must be the necessity of such a guard, in disquisitions with respect to which truth unhappily lies in opposition to some of our strongest passions and feelings, and error is pleasingly congenial with our favourite propensities! Little must be his self-acquaintance, and superficial his observation of others, who has not perceived how powerful is the control which moral prejudices exert over our reasonings and all our intellectual habits.

This subject will come more directly under attention in a subsequent chapter, on the moral state of the mind and affections with relation to the present inquiry.

But it is with pleasure that I adduce a better citation from one of the authors whose indecorous language has been just reprehended. It would have been well for himself and for his readers, had he sufficiently considered and with consistency applied the truth which he has here admitted. “We readily acknowledge that there are many things in the christian religion which are above reason, and yet must of necessity be by us believed: because, how much soever they surpass our reason, they are revealed in the Scriptures, and are perfectly agreeable to the very reason which they surpass.”¹⁴ I am not, however, satisfied that in the last clause a dangerous implication does not lurk. If the bottoming motive, the “*ob id ipsum*,” of our faith in a doctrine, be not *only* and *simply* that it is clearly revealed in the Scriptures of God, but that it is “perfectly consentaneous with our reason,”—who does not see that the MAJESTY OF DIVINE VERACITY is insulted, and that an entrance is opened for the ambiguities, absurdities, and profaneness which we have protested against? However, the same author very properly adds: “A thing may be above reason, and yet be approved by

¹⁴ Nos verò ultro fatemur plurima esse in religione christianâ quæ rationem superent, et tamen nobis necessariò sint credenda ob id ipsum, quia, quantumvis rationem superent, tamen in sacris literis prodita extent, et rationi nostræ quam superant sint maxime consentanea.—*Smalc. contra Frantz.* Disp. iii. de Sacram.

it. Such are almost all the doctrines of religion, and more especially of Christianity.”¹⁵

The following testimony is valuable, from a living writer of another but not a better school. “It must be granted that revelation can contain nothing that is *contrary* to reason; since it is impossible for the rational faculty (which is that which performs the act of believing) to believe what contradicts itself. But revelation may contain much that is *above* reason; for reason, knowing itself to be a limited faculty, cannot even desire to comprehend and see through every object with absolute and perfect clearness.—Even the most determined rationalists allow that God, considered both in himself and in his operations, is a mystery unsearchable to human reason, and lying far beyond its capacity of comprehension.”¹⁶

No apology is needed for concluding this chapter with a citation from Bishop Stillingfleet, a writer whom few have equalled, and probably none have excelled, in strength and clearness of understanding.

“I shall endeavour to state the due bounds between *Faith* and *Reason*, and thereby to show that, by those grounds on which we receive the doctrine of the TRINITY, we do not give way to the entertainment of any absurd opinion, nor overthrow the certainty of reason.

1. “We have no difference with them [Unitarians] about the use of our reason as to the certainty of a revelation. For, in this case, we are, as much as they, for searching into the grounds of our faith; for we look on faith as a *reasonable act* of our minds, and if we did not allow this, we must declare ourselves to believe without grounds. And, if we have grounds for our faith, we can express them in words that are intelligible: and, if we can give an account of our faith in an intelligible manner, and with a design to give others satisfaction about it, I think this is making use of our reason in matters of faith.

2. “We have no difference with them about the use of our reason as to the *true sense* of revelation. We never say that men are bound to believe upon the bare sound of words, without examining the sense of them. We allow all the best and most

¹⁵ Potest enim aliquid rationem superare, et tamen eidem applaudere. Quale ferè sunt omnia quæ in religione, præsertim christianâ, continentur.—*Smalc. contra Frantz.* Disp. iii. de Sacram.

¹⁶ *Bretschneider's Apology for the Modern Theology of Germany*, p. 25. Halle, 1826.

reasonable ways of attaining to it, by copies, languages, versions, comparing of places, and especially the sense of the Christian church in the best and purest ages, nearest the apostolical times, and expressed in solemn and public acts. By these rules of reason we are willing to proceed, and not by any late and uncertain methods of interpreting Scripture.

3. "We differ not with them about the right use of the *faculties* which God hath given to us, for right understanding such matters as are offered to our assent. For it is to no purpose to require them to believe, who cannot use the faculties which are necessary in order to it.

4. "We differ not with them about rejecting some matters proposed to our belief, which are contradictory to the principles of sense and reason. It is no great argument of some men's reason, whatever they pretend, to talk against admitting seeming contradictions in religion. For who can hinder *seeming* contradictions, which arise from the shallowness of men's capacities, and not from the repugnancy of things? And who can help men's understandings?—But where there is evident proof of a contradiction to the principles of sense and reason, we are very far from owning any such thing to be an article of faith."¹⁷

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. III.

Note A, page 42.

The remembrance of our own past errors and frailties, and the consciousness of so much ignorance and sinfulness as still infest our minds, should be a humiliating and effectual preservative from rash censures and damnatory comminations of those whom we deem in error, but whose integrity and purity of life entitle them to our respect and love. The more intimately we become acquainted with ourselves and with the waywardness of our nature, the more we shall see reason to acquiesce in the observations of the great American divine who was not less distinguished for the clearness of his views of divine truth, and the force of his reasonings in its defence, than for his humility, benevolence, and piety.—"How far a wonderful and mysterious agency of God's Spirit may so influence some men's hearts, that their practice in this regard may be contrary to their own principles;—or how far that error into which they may have been led by education, or by the cunning sophistry of others, may yet be indeed contrary to the prevailing disposition of their hearts, and contrary to their practice; or how far some may seem to maintain a doctrine contrary to this gospel doctrine—, who *really* do not, but only express themselves differently from others, or seem to oppose it through their misunderstanding of our expressions, or we of theirs, when indeed our real sentiments are the same in the main; or may seem to differ more than they do, by using terms that are without a precisely fixed and determinate meaning; or to be wide in their sentiments from this doctrine, for want of a distinct understanding of it, whose *hearts*, at the same time, entirely agree with it, and if once it were clearly

¹⁷ *Vind. of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, chap. x. *Works*, vol. iii. p. 519.

explained to their understandings, would immediately close with it and embrace it:—how far these things may be, I will not determine; but I am fully persuaded that great allowances are to be made on these and the like accounts, in innumerable instances; though it is manifest that the teaching and propagating contrary doctrines and schemes, is of a pernicious and fatal tendency.”—*President Edwards, on Justif. by Faith; in his Works, vol. vi. p. 341.*

Note B, page 46.

I extract the following passage from the acute and learned Werenfels, who was not a man likely to have Calvinistic prejudices.

“A king sends one of his officers to a province, with authority to govern it in his name. After a time, this Governor allows himself to be ensnared and perverted by a faction. Hence, the affairs of the province are very badly administered, and all things are thrown into confusion. The Sovereign, being well apprised of all that had happened, and perceiving that the Governor had not the wisdom and firmness, the exertion and authority, requisite for remedying the disorders of the province, and restoring it to peace, sends a Deputy Extraordinary, and gives orders to the Governor to submit himself entirely to this Deputy, and to take no measures without his direction. The Governor’s first duty is to ascertain whether the superior minister be really sent by the King; for, unless he have satisfactory evidence of this, he would be guilty of treason in yielding to the stranger the authority which his Sovereign had committed to him. But, when he sees the sign manual and the other unquestionable attestations of the royal commission, he immediately delivers up all his own powers to the Deputy, and submits in all respects to his arrangements and decisions. Now, if I should ask, From whom does the Deputy hold his authority over the province? From the King, who sent him, and whose commission, signed and sealed, he has in his hand? Or from the Governor, who, on the production of those documents, received him with due honour and acknowledgment?—Every man of common sense will say, From the King, surely: for to suppose the other would be absurd.

“The application of this parable is plain. The gracious and almighty God has given Reason to man, for the guide of his conduct through life. But Reason has submitted to be corrupted by sin; and man, therefore, is fallen into a state of extreme misery. God, of his infinite goodness, has had mercy upon man; and, seeing the insufficiency of Reason to restore him from his fallen state, and to deliver him from his misery, has sent Revelation, and has given orders to Reason to yield obedience, and to take no part in directing the conduct of man, except what Revelation may assign. What, then, has Reason to do in this case? First of all, she must examine whether this, which claims to be a Revelation from God, is indeed such: for, if she have not satisfactory evidence of this, she cannot, without criminal rashness, surrender her own authority, which the Creator had invested her with for the government and guidance of man. But, as soon as she is satisfied, from indubitable proofs, that this is indeed a divine Revelation, she yields without delay, and, if Reason be indeed *rational*, submits herself entirely to the word of God.

“Will any one now say, that Revelation rests upon the authority of Reason?—Of Reason, whose office it is to acknowledge the authority of Revelation; an acknowledgment which she cannot but make, if she be not quite insensible to the light of moral demonstration!

“—But may God rule our Reason by his Holy Spirit: that this faculty, sanctified by him, and freed from the bondage of sin and depraved affections (by which it is often awfully blinded, borrowing from them the worst principles, and acting under their slavish dominion), may reason for its Author, following the principles which he gives, and obeying the laws which he prescribes!”—*Werenfelsii Opuscula Theologica, Philosophica, et Philologica; Bas. 1718, pp. 182, 183.*

CHAP. IV.

ON THE ERRORS AND FAULTS, IN RELATION TO THIS CONTRO- VERSY, ATTRIBUTABLE TO UNITARIAN WRITERS.

Rash and ill-founded criticism.—Illogical inferences.—Hasty generalizing.—
Assumption of an extreme simplicity in the system of revealed doctrine.—
Irrational demands as to the kind of evidence, and a want of equitable regard
to that which exists.—Denial of the complete inspiration of the apostolic
writings.

THERE are delinquencies as to argumentative justice to be found
in the writings of Socinian and Unitarian advocates. We should
guard ourselves against them, as well as against the failures of
the orthodox.

If the one party has appeared backward to critical inquiry,
and prone to confide in authorized versions and received readings
of the Scriptures, the other has often shown a propensity to
unfounded suspicion, and to rash alteration of the translation or
of the text. This is a more dangerous extreme than the other :
it is less favourable to reverence for the sacred word, it tempts
critical vanity, it fosters the pride of learning or of half-learning,
and it often and manifestly proceeds from a wish to dictate the
result. It was one of Mr Porson's canons of criticism, not to
alter the received text without very strong reason. The Chris-
tian scholar will apply this rule, with conscientious impartiality.
He will hold the scales of criticism with an equal hand, and
never allow them to receive the slightest inclination for the
purpose of favouring any hypothesis. The particular texts,
whose diversity of readings, entitled to critical attention, is of
importance to the deduction of theological doctrines, are not
numerous : since either the sense afforded by each reading is
the same, or what portion of particular testimony is lost in one
instance is gained in others.¹

• We must, also, put in the rank of fallacies, those arguments

¹ "If a corrupt line or dubious reading chances to intervene, it does not
darken the whole context, nor make an author's opinion or his purpose pre-
carious. Terence, for instance, has as many variations as any book whatever,
in proportion to its bulk ; and yet with all its interpolations, omissions, ad-
ditions, or glosses (choose the worst of them on purpose), you cannot deface
the contrivance and plot of one play ; no, not of one single scene ; but its

which, from scriptural testimonies to the unity of the Deity and the real and proper humanity of the Messiah, at once infer that the divine nature cannot imply a plurality of subsistences, and that the Messiah cannot possess any other nature in addition to that of a mortal man. The fact asserted in the orthodox doctrine is by them advanced as a *miraculous* fact; as the most stupendous of miracles: and it is therefore to be judged of, not by reasoning from the constitution of created things, of which, after all, we know very little; but by its own proper and peculiar evidence, the declarations of God in his word. If the orthodox are in an error, they must be convinced of it by other means than the reiteration of premises which they cordially admit, but whose connection with the conclusions of their opponents must appear to them an arbitrary and injurious assumption.

It has appeared to me, that one of the distinguishing failings of the Unitarian theology, is a propensity to generalize too soon and to conclude too hastily, both in criticism and in argumentation. It seems the habit of its advocates to assume a few of the broadest facts in the scheme of Christianity, which are obvious to the most rapid glance: and, with a sweeping hand, they either crush down all the rest, and leave them unregarded; or they force them into an unnatural and disfiguring subordination to the favourite assumptions. Unlike the cautious and patient spirit of true philosophy, which is always open to the collection and the careful estimation of facts, and which regards nothing as more hostile to its objects than a precipitate and foreclosing generalization, the Unitarian spirit rather resembles that of the old scholasticism, which spurned laborious investigation and slow induction, and would force all nature into its ranks of predicaments and predicables. This may be one reason, among others, why these notions meet with so ready an acceptance in young minds, inexperienced, flirty, and ambitious, half-learned and ill-disciplined. Here is a theology, easily acquired, dis-

sense, design, and subserviency to the last issue and conclusion, shall be visible and plain through all the mist of various lections. And so it is with the sacred text; make your 30,000 as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool; and yet, with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter; nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it shall still be the same."—*Bentley's* (the glory of classical criticism) *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, part i. p. 112.

carding mysteries, treading down difficulties, and answering the pleas of the orthodox with summary contempt : a theology complimentary to the pride of those who deem themselves endowed with superior discernment ; and which, in practice, is not ungenerously rigid against any favourite passion or little foible or irreligious amusement, that is decently compatible with *the world's* code of morals.

This summary and easy way of proceeding is also encouraged by an implied opinion that the system of divine revelation is a system extremely brief and simple : an opinion which, however, is only an assumption ; and which, like other assumptions, should be brought to the test of proof. Analogy is not in favour of it. We do not find such a meagre simplicity in the objects of natural knowledge. The things and the facts which the face of creation presents, are various and complicated to a degree which ever active discovery only proves to be inexhaustible. The simplest organized being, the veriest atom of dead matter, or the most familiar event in the course of nature, each indicates an overwhelming profusion of causes and occasions, operations and results ; each can furnish questions before which human science stands dumb ; each is filled with mysteries. Such is the field of nature : and can it be believed that the world of God's MORAL and SPIRITUAL government, the system in which he has determined to uncover his highest glory, and from it to derive his loftiest praise, the "things which angels desire to look into,"—is it to be imagined that THESE are not arrayed in the complicate and magnificent characters of his infinite intelligence ? And, if the works of God be to us incomprehensible, is it too much to expect that his Being and Properties should be still more surpassing all the powers of human thought ?²

If presumptions from nature lie against this opinion, the testimony of revelation is not less unfavourable to it. In the Scriptures, both prophetic and apostolic, the GOSPEL is constantly

² "As the human mind possesses many faculties, and is the subject of many affections, which no course of deduction could ever have inferred as necessarily flowing from the definition of the mind, and of the causes and operations of which that definition could never have given us any account : so, but by a much stronger reason, and even had we not been thus taught by revelation, it must have been a just and necessary sentiment, that in the Infinite Deity are properties both numerous and of the greatest importance, which could never have been deduced, by any necessary train of consequences, from the first conception of a Deity which the human mind can entertain, though aided by the most diligent investigation of universal nature."—*J. A. Ernesti Opuscula Theologica*, p. 203.

represented as replete with wonders and mysteries, the astonishment of the intelligent universe, the matchless display of Jehovah's grandeur and excellency, and destined to be the loftiest theme of immortal praise.³ But on the Unitarian hypothesis, we may well ask, what is there to excite or sustain the language of amazement, triumph, and ecstatic joy which characterizes the inspirations of the prophets and apostles, when they burst forth on this transcendent theme?

That many of the general principles and rules of interpretation, which are laid down in the "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ," and in other writings of the same description, are just and important, is readily acknowledged: but there are others which, both in their theory and in their application, violate all sober and equitable criticism. I would solicit any candid and reflecting Unitarian to direct his serious judgment to this point. I would ask him, whether he could himself devise any forms of expressions, in accordance with the characteristic phraseology of the Scriptures, for conveying the doctrines of the Deity and atonement of Christ, which might not be evaded or neutralized by the apparatus of criticism and interpretation which is in the established use of his party. The force of the plainest terms might be enervated and even annihilated, by giving the reader his option of a number of constructions elaborated by profound thought and versatile contrivance,⁴ each of which shall be eulogized as "very ingenious and plausible, and what may be just:"⁵ or an alteration of the reading in the face of all legitimate evidence might be recommended as "a most happy and plausible conjecture;" and though (proh dolor!) it could "not be admitted into the text,"—yet, "one *may almost believe* that the present reading might be owing to an inadvertence in one of the earliest tran-

³ To adduce examples would require the transcribing of numerous and ample passages. The reader may turn to the following: Ps. xevi. Is. xxxv. xlii. 6–12; li. 3–11; lx. lxi. lxii. Eph. iii. 8–10, 18, 19.

⁴ For example, "John i. 1,"—"and the word was God," "a God," *i.e.* an inferior God derived from the Supreme, and delegated by him; or, "God was wisdom;"—or, "the word, *i.e.* the teacher, was a prophet endued with miraculous powers;"—or, if the conjecture of Crellius and others be allowed, Θεός for Θεός, "the word was God's," "the teacher was sent from God."—*Calm Inq.* p. 218. Yet I incur no hazard in saying, that there is not one of these *which-you-please* accommodations, which is not a defiance of every principle of rational criticism: as will, I trust, in the proper place, be made abundantly manifest.

⁵ *Calm Inq.* pp. 42, 36.

scribers, if not in the apostle's own amanuensis :"⁶ or the sacred writer might be boldly charged with "indulging in a very great latitude," and even *luxury* "of interpretation," and availing himself of the ambiguity of language:⁷—or, if no other way of escape remained, we might rise to the awful hardihood of coldly "supposing" that the blessed Jesus himself, the faithful and true witness, "might imagine" what never existed, and might "not be able to distinguish whether what he saw and heard was visionary or real."⁸ Against such a magazine of resources, all the powers of language would be unavailing: but let us not hear the mockery of calling it criticism.⁹

It is, therefore, with a fatal consistency that the modern Unitarian school is further distinguished by the denial of the complete inspiration of the apostolic writings, and by the alleged discovery in them of forced and fanciful analogies, obscure and entangled texts, language calculated to confound and perplex the understanding, inaccurate and inconclusive reasonings, and improper applications of passages cited from the Old Testament.¹⁰ This, indeed, we cannot reckon among the *oversights* of our opponents; we can regard it as nothing less than a blow openly struck at the vital principle of Christianity and Protestantism. Inquiries with a view to determine the genuine doctrines of Christ, must, if this notion be allowed, be projects of very dubious issue, and little worth the pains which they require. What conclusion can we rest upon with satisfaction, if, at last, the competency of our witnesses be liable to be questioned? Such a principle, if once admitted, will be as powerful and plastic as any sceptic or speculator can desire; and cannot fail to make its way to whatever length may appear convenient to the exigencies of theory, or the pride of false reasoning. And what is this principle? What does it include? To what conse-

⁶ *Calm Inq.* pp. 223, 224.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 206, 207.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 42.

⁹ "As for the Unitarian interpretations of St Paul and St John, they are really such monstrosities of extravagance, that, to any one used to the critical study of the ancient writers, they appear too bad to have been ever maintained in earnest. And thus, wherever Unitarianism has existed together with any [solid] knowledge of criticism or philology, as in Germany, it has at once assumed that the apostles were not infallible. So impossible is it to doubt what St John meant in so many passages of his Gospel, and what St Paul meant in so many passages of his Epistles."—Dr Arnold; *Life and Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 159.

¹⁰ *Calm Inq.* pp. 19, 165, 59, 207. *Dr Priestley's History of Corr. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 370.

quences does it lead?—That the Scriptures pretend to be able to make us wise unto salvation; but that we need another rule of faith, another standard of truth: that the apostles spoke the wisdom of God in a mystery; but that, if we are not very cautious, they will lead us into error: that they professed to have the mind of Christ, and to utter the things of God in words taught by the Holy Spirit; but that they have often applied the Scriptures very improperly and with no better judgment than their unbelieving countrymen; that they have taken too many things for granted; have used arguments which are insufficient, make little or nothing to the purpose, and bear the marks of haste and inadvertence; and have employed language and illustrations which are arbitrary and defective, obnoxious and hardly justifiable, awkward, ill-judged, and of dangerous example.¹¹

In vain do the authors of these accusations against the apostolic records profess, at other times, their regard to the Scriptures, and affirm that their own faith is derived from that pure source. Their charges would ill suit a devout and humble mind, receiving the Scriptures as the true sayings of God, and the words of eternal life: but they are sufficiently congenial with the habit of violent interpretation which distinguishes the writers who have adduced them. It becomes, however, a serious question whether those persons can escape the conclusion, either that the Bible fails to answer the purpose which it so largely and frequently professes to be its great design; or that the writers of the Bible held sentiments very different from the opinions of those who find it necessary thus to cut and manage. The man who feels for his own moral state and eternal interests, will not look upon this as a light affair. It is one of the descriptive characters of those whom the High and Lofty One regards with complacency, that they “tremble at his word.” On the minds of such persons, there are passages of the New Testament which will produce no faint impression. “The word of God which ye heard of us, ye received, not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God.—He, therefore, that despiseth, despiseth not man but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit. We are of God. He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth us not. **HEREBY KNOW WE THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH, AND THE SPIRIT OF ERROR.**”¹²

¹¹ See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

¹² 1 THESS. ii. 13; iv. 8; 1 John iv. 6.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. IV.

Note A, page 56.

Dr Priestley, in his *Theol. Rep.* vol. ii. pp. 162, 288, 292; vol. iii. pp. 94, 101, 189; vol. iv. p. 442. These daring epithets and imputations occur in the separate parts just referred to, of a series of essays, the design of which is to disprove the inspiration of the apostles, and of Jesus Christ himself, except to a very confined extent; and *Dr Priestley* adduces instances which justify, as he supposes, these harsh and revolting terms. To examine all those instances, with his observations and objections, would require a dissertation of considerable length. Many of them are, indeed, difficult passages: but it has been often and satisfactorily shown that difficulties may reasonably be expected in the records, as well as in the rationale, of revelation; and it is contrary to all just rules of evidence, and to the conduct of the best and wisest part of mankind, in relation to innumerable cases, philosophical, moral, and political, to violate or renounce great principles, which have been sufficiently established by prior proofs, because minor difficulties arise of which we are not able to find a solution. I am persuaded that those passages would be freed from the cavils of *Dr P.*, by serious, patient, and candid investigation, with the requisite aids of biblical information; and that, indeed, they often have been elucidated to the full amount of a rational satisfaction.

But the great PRINCIPLE of a COMPLETE INSPIRATION of the apostles, warranting our dependence upon the CERTAIN TRUTH of every declaration which they have delivered, as a doctrine, duty, elucidation, or application of religion; has been established by abundant proofs. Not to mention the authors of Systems of Divinity, some of whom have taken more than a superficial view of this subject, the following well deserve the student's attention. *Lampe de Divinâ Inspir. Librorum Sacrorum.* *Dr Edmund Calamy's XIV. Sermons on the Inspiration of the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testament.* Lond. 1710: a work of distinguished merit. *Whitby's General Preface to his Commentary.* *Prebendary Lowth's Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, in answer to *Le Clerc.* *Doddridge's Dissertation* on this subject, annexed to his *Paraphrase*, after the Historical Books. *Dr Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* *Dr Leonard Woods on the Inspiration of the Scriptures.* Andover, N. Am. 1829. *Mr Robert Haldane's Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation*, 2 vols. Edinb. 1834: a work possessing in many respects much excellence. Chap. v. is devoted to this subject, and it has been republished by the author, with chap. iv. on the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Scriptures, in a separate form, considerably enlarged. Following *Ridgley*, *Lampe*, and many other eminent divines, *Mr H.* maintains, in the most strenuous manner, the absolute and plenary inspiration of every the minutest word in every part of the Old and New Testament; and conceives that the most dangerous consequences to theology and religion follow from quitting, in any degree, this high position. But I must profess my conviction that the palm of superiority is due to the *Inquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Inspiration of the Apostles, and other Writers of the New Testament*, by the late Rev. WILLIAM PARRY, who, for many years till his lamented death, filled with distinguished ability the office of Theological Tutor in the Academy formerly under *Mr Belsham*, at *Daventry*, afterwards dissolved, and in 1799 re-established at *Wymondley*: the institution which was originally under the presidency of *Dr DODDRIDGE*, and for whose renovated purity and usefulness to the cause of scriptural religion I offer up the cordial prayer, May they ever flourish!—With peculiar satisfaction and gratitude I here refer to the Lectures of the Rev. *Dr Henderson*, DIVINE INSPIRATION, or the Supernatural Influence exerted in the Communication of Divine Truth; and its Special Bearing on the Composition of the Sacred Scriptures.

London, 1836.—More recently has been published a work of an eminently pious Genevese minister, the Rev. Lewis Gaussen (cited in p. 24), maintaining the system of the strictest verbal and literal dictation. In 1841, an English Translation, by some one who appears to have been not the most competent to his undertaking, was published in London; and it has the advantage of corrections and alterations communicated by the author, before they were published in his second edition. The excellent spirit of this work demands our best commendation, but its argumentative characters greatly disappoint me.

On this subject, chiefly in relation to the Old Testament, I have submitted my sentiments in a former Note. Some additional remarks, with a more particular view to the New Testament, may not be unsuitable in this place.

As was before observed, we are and in this life must remain ignorant of the *mode* in which that peculiar divine influence which we mean by the term Inspiration operated upon the minds of its subjects. But some things concerning it we may deduce from the sacred writings, especially in reference to the New Testament; and these it cannot but be useful for us to consider. I request the reader to connect them with page 24, and following, of this volume.

1. It was not a quality perfectly conferred at once, and possessed without variation in any of its exercises. This is evident with regard to the ancient prophets, from the frequent statement, “the word of the Lord came” to Jeremiah, Hosea, etc. etc. With respect to the apostles also, it is very plain that the whole of revealed knowledge was not given to them at once, but successively and as occasions arose: consequently the inspiration to communicate that knowledge must have been also successive. The Holy Spirit was given, to bring to their certain recollection what the Lord Jesus had said to them, to lead them into all further truth, and to make them acquainted with future things so far as the Divine Wisdom might see fit. But even on the day of Pentecost, this was not fully accomplished. It was not till after several years that the apostles understood the grand and important feature of the Christian religion, that it was to be communicated, without the reservation of any of its blessings, to all other nations equally as to the Jews. And, when this was made known to Peter, and more decidedly still to Paul, it was not without considerable difficulty and discussion that the other apostles acquiesced in it. In like manner we have good reason, from the internal evidence of the New Testament, to believe that other important truths were gradually developed.

2. It cannot justly be doubted, that the apostles, after every divine revelation, *retained in their minds a perfect knowledge* both of it and of all the preceding, and possessed *the ability to communicate* that knowledge by speaking or writing with infallible accuracy: and this ability or faculty is the quality of inspiration.

3. There would, therefore, be a certain point in their progress at which their acquaintance with the whole scheme of Christianity became *complete*. This complete acquaintance they undoubtedly retained, and they would be able on all occasions to communicate it to others; for the Omniscient Spirit was given to abide with them to the end of their lives and ministry.

4. The application of this knowledge, when at its fullest development, for the refutation of errors in religion as they might arise, and for direction in practical cases, would require the renewed influence of the Infallible Agent. His providence therefore furnished the opportunities of meeting such cases, by either speaking or writing, as might be the most suitable; and he excited and enabled the holy apostles to avail themselves accordingly of such opportunities. Thus the wisdom and goodness of God are manifested in the various occasions, which called forth the writing of most of the Epistles of Paul, the Gospel of Luke, and the Book of Acts: and which, though local and temporary, elicited decisions and instructions which are of universal and permanent obligation; and thus they could say, “We have the mind of Christ:—the things that I write unto you are the

“commandments of the Lord:—he that despiseth, despiseth not man but God, “who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.”

5. The instance of Peter (Acts x. 9–20), supplies some information upon at least one of the modes by which the Holy Spirit impressed the minds of the apostles with the knowledge of truth and duty, not possessed or not duly attended to before. Peter’s ignorance or non-recognition of the extent of the Saviour’s commission, his prejudices against its liberal spirit and design, his reluctance and tardiness to renounce those prejudices, are manifest. To remove these, an emblematical vision was employed, and thrice exhibited to him. This somewhat loosened his erroneous opinion, but yet “he doubted in himself.” Had he been left to be governed by his own judgment or conjecture, he might easily have misinterpreted the emblem; and he could, in no case, have been perfectly certain that his interpretation was the true one. But he was not so left: “the SPIRIT said to him” what the divine intimation signified. In a similar way, it appears probable that the guidance of inspiration was given to Paul: see Acts xvi. 9, 10; xviii. 9, 10; xxii. 10–21; xxvi. 16–19. Yet from these instances we could not draw a universal conclusion. No reason can we allege, why the modes of the divine impression and impulse might not have been indefinitely varied.

6. A general knowledge of the whole structure and the component parts of the christian system, would not alone have sufficed to qualify the apostles for their great work, after they entered upon the full execution of it, on the breaking down of the separation between Jews and Gentiles. It was essential that they should have constantly present to their minds *perfect notions* of the whole and of every part, and that they should be enabled to *clothe those notions in words the best adapted* for the purpose.

7. This adaptation of words and expressions to the matter which they had to communicate, I humbly venture to think, was not produced in one and the same way on all occasions. It appears never to have been the plan of the Infinitely Wise God to deviate by a miracle from the order of nature and providence by himself established, except that order was inadequate to the purpose. He who was about to raise Lazarus, commanded the stone to be rolled away by human strength, because, for that, a miracle was not necessary. Wherever, then, the ordinary habit and command of language, possessed by Peter, John, Paul, or any other, was *sufficient* for the purpose of *clearly and accurately* making known “the mind of the Spirit,” that ordinary faculty would most probably be employed: but *where the case required* a miraculous interposition for infusing into the understanding and memory terms or clauses which would not have occurred in the natural order of the mind’s operations, there such a miraculous interposition must have taken place.

It may be impossible for mortals to distinguish the particular instances which fall under these two classes: nor is such a discriminating knowledge at all necessary for us to acquire. It is sufficient to know, as we do, that we possess the truth of God conveyed to us in those forms of diction which are the most suitable to its nature and to our capacity for receiving it. We should not forget that the instruction or religious benefit, which is derived from any doctrinal position or historical fact applied to the mind, does not, strictly speaking, depend upon its inspiration, but upon that which the inspiration presupposes, namely, its TRUTH. That which is evinced to be *true*, whatever may be the channel through which it has entered our minds, we are bound by our relation to the system of God’s moral government to *believe*; and, having believed, we are equally bound to act according to it. Those well-meaning persons who think that they have *proved* the divine inspiration of a particular sentence (such as 1 Tim. v. 23, or 2 Tim. iv. 13), *because* their pious fertility has been able to educe a great number of important religious reflections from the advice,

the request, the motives, or the implied circumstances, in the case, are committing an egregious fallacy, the *non causa pro causa*. Let them put forth the same effort upon hundreds of sentences in the Apocrypha, or even in the Greek and Roman poets, and they will bring forth volumes of excellent moral and spiritual observations.

8. In some cases the sacred writers refer, for establishing the credibility of what they state, to the evidence of their own senses and memory (2 Pet. i. 16–18; 1 John i. 1–3; Acts iv. 20; John xix. 35), or to the testimony of other persons who were worthy of entire credit (Luke i. 2; Heb. ii. 3). Such testimony might have been either oral or written. Hence there are many indications that the first three Evangelists availed themselves of written documents previously existing, of indubitable authenticity and probably of original inspiration, containing single anecdotes or discourses of the Lord Jesus: but, from whatever quarter those portions might be derived, they received the seal of divine attestation, or, as some not improperly call it, *consequent inspiration*.

9. The sacred writers evidently expressed themselves as men in the most free exercise of their own rational and voluntary powers, and feeling according to their own particular genius, temperament, acquired habits of mind, connections, country, and characteristic style. Hence such passages as the following:—“Often I have purposed to come unto you, but I have been hindered hitherto:—as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you:—now having no more place in these parts, and having had for many years a great desire to come to you, whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I hope to pass your way and see you, and by you be helped forwards thither:—when I have finished this, I will come by you into Spain:—it hath been declared unto me by those of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you:—I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius;—I baptized also the household of Stephanas: as for the rest, I know not whether I baptized any other:—I shall come to you when I go into Macedonia,—and perhaps I shall stay with you, and even spend the winter:—in this confidence I was desirous of coming to you first, that ye might have a second benefit; and by you to pass onwards into Macedonia, and again from Macedonia to come to you, and by you to be helped forwards to Judæa:—Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is gone to Thessalonica; Crescens into Galatia; Titus into Dalmatia; Luke is alone with me; take Mark, and bring him with thee:—Silvanus, a faithful brother, as I suppose.” On such passages as these Dr Whitby observes,—“It is evident,—[that the apostles were]—left to the use of their own words;—which manifestly show that, in some cases, they had no such suggestion from the Holy Ghost as doth imply that he had dictated those words unto them.—It is not to be thought the Holy Ghost should incite him to promise, or even purpose, what he knew he would not perform. This also we learn from all those places in which they do express their ignorance or doubtfulness of that which they are speaking of.—That in all these things, they had no inspiration—may be gathered from all those places in which they only do express their hope, and that conditionally, of doing this or that: for the word *hope* implieth an uncertainty; whereas the Holy Spirit cannot be uncertain of any thing, nor can we think he would inspire men to speak so uncertainly; and there can be no necessity, or even use, of a divine assistance to enable a man to express his *hopes*, seeing all men do, by natural reflection, know them.”—*Gen. Pref.* p. vi.

10. The same fact, the same precept, the same doctrinal position, the same exercise of devotion, may often be expressed equally well in different words. For example:—Of some of the Psalms, there are two editions, with evidently designed variations: 2 Sam. xxii. and Ps. xviii.; 1 Chron. xvi. 7–36, and Ps. cv. 1–15, xcvi. 1–13; Ps. xiv. and liii.; Ps. xl. 13–17, and lxx.; Ps. lx. and cviii.—There are a few passages in the Prophets, where one exhibits the subject and the

imagery, with whole sentences and clauses, derived from the other: Jer. xlviii. compared with Is. xv. and xvi.; Obadiah 1-4, with Jer. xlix. 14-16; Micah iv. 1-7, with Isaiah ii. 1-4. In the Gospels, the same fact or discourse is often related with differences which, if a rigorous verbal conformity were insisted upon, would be irreconcilable, but which can create no difficulty if only the fair sense and meaning be regarded. The citations made in the New Testament from the Old are often widely discrepant from the Hebrew Text. There are persons indeed who assert with the utmost confidence that the two readings of any passage there dissonantly cited are both correct, because the Divine Spirit has an equal right to alter as to retain the exact citation of his own words: but they overlook the fact that these quoted passages are often introduced with the declaration "It is written," or some equivalent expression; so that their solution immensely increases the difficulty, and really goes the length of affixing a charge of untruth upon the divine declaration, *if* the hypothesis of a strictly verbal inspiration be insisted upon.¹

The attentive reader of the first three Gospels finds, in the dialogues and discourses of our Lord, many instances of diversity in the words of the same speech as related by the Evangelists, while the purport and effect are the same. The following may serve as principal examples:—

Matt. ix. 12-17; Mark ii. 17-22; Luke v. 31-39.—Matt. xii. 3-8; Mark ii. 24-27; Luke vi. 3, 4.—The Parable of the Sower, in Matt. xiii. Mark iv. Luke viii.—The discourse to the Apostles, Matt. x. Mark vi. Luke ix.—To the Pharisees, Matt. xii. 25-32; Mark iii. 20-28; Luke xi. 14-23.—To the Pharisees and the multitude, Matt. xv. 3-20; Mark vii. 6-23.—To the Pharisees and the Disciples, Matt. xvi. 1-12; Mark viii. 11-21.—The words of Peter, Matt. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 29; Luke ix. 20.—To the Disciples, Matt. xvi. 23-27; Mark viii. 33-38; Luke ix. 23-26.—To the same, Matt. xviii. 2-35; Mark ix. 33-50; Luke ix. 47-50, and xv. 4-7.—To the same, Matt. xx. 18-23; Mark x. 33-40.—To the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii. 25-35; Luke xi. 39-52.—The Parable of the Vineyard, Matt. xxi. 33-46; Mark xii. 1-11.—The Parable of the Talents, Matt. xxv. 14-30; Luke xix. 11-28.—The prophetic discourse, Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

11. It appears therefore reasonable to admit that different subjects would require different modes or degrees of inspiration. A sacred historian, relating what he knew from personal observation, indubitable human testimony, public notoriety, or authentic records, and a prophet penetrating into future ages, or declaring the hitherto secret counsels of the Deity,—would need divine influences respectively different. In the latter case, there must be a direct communication of such intelligence as no created being could by any means or efforts ever acquire; in the other, it is sufficient if the writer be directed to the most proper use of his materials, and preserved from mistake and misrepresentation. Yet, in each of these cases, the claim on us for the regard due to DIVINE authority is equal; since that which God attests as *true*, though it might have been originally acquired in the way of ordinary information, is not less true than that which he communicates immediately from himself.

12. It is perfectly consistent with the fact of a complete inspiration, in such mode as the case may require, that the writers should be left to the free and rational exercise of their own mental powers, in the use of words, phrases, and manner. The style and method will, of course, exhibit the natural varieties and peculiarities of idiom and personal character; yet the matter, whether historical, prophetic, doctrinal, or preceptive, will be of divine and infallible truth.

13. As the Scriptures contain a revelation from God, they must be adequate to every purpose intended by the wise and benevolent Author of revelation. The principal intention confessedly is, to instruct sinful men in the right way to obtain

¹ See other examples, and the whole argument admirably treated, by Dr Henderson, pp. 439-448.

the favour of God, and to furnish the most powerful motives to holy obedience. But this intention would have been frustrated, unless the gospel were transmitted to the successive generations of mankind in such records as could be safely relied on as a faithful representation of the Revealer's mind and authority. It is true that, independently of their inspiration, the writers of the scriptural books are satisfactorily evinced to have been men of the highest integrity. "But, since an honest man might possibly mistake, not indeed in facts which he affirms to be true upon his own knowledge," provided no failure of memory has intervened, "but in inferences from those facts, in precepts and doctrines, or in delivering the sentiments of others;—if we can say no more in behalf of the writers of the New Testament, their authority will be only human. There seems requisite something besides a good life, and a mind purified from passion and prejudice, to qualify them to be the first teachers of a new revelation, namely, a divine assistance, which we call *Inspiration*."—*Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Rel.* p. 250.

14. Some excellent divines have held the hypothesis of an equal and universal dictation of every word and expression, in every part of the Scriptures, by the Divine Spirit to the mind of the inspired writers; so that they were merely *penmen*; or, as it has been often expressed, in a situation analogous to that of a flute played upon by the breath of a musician, or a harp touched by his fingers.

Much stress has been laid on the use of the expressions mentioned before (p. 31), where *speaking, saying*, and the like, are ascribed to the Holy Spirit *by the mouth* of his servants; and such passages as these: "I will put my words in his mouth." Deut. xviii. 18. "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me." John xvii. 8. "We speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in those which the Holy Spirit teacheth." 1 Cor. ii. 13. Those who use this argument are probably not acquainted with the scriptural meanings of דבר and $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, especially the plural forms, and the idioms connected with them; that they denote, not *vocables*, or *single words*, but *combined speech*, the *matter* conveyed in the *tenor* and *total* of an oral or written address, *sermones*, *la parole*. Of this they might discover evidence if they would examine, in the Hebrew and Greek texts, the following passages, which are but a specimen of a very numerous body. Exod. xviii. 16, 19, 22, 26. xix. 6–9. 2 Sam. xi. 18. Ps. cv. 27. Jer. i. 1. Amos i. 1. 1 Chron. xxix. 29. Mark i. 45. John iv. 37, 39. Acts i. 1. xv. 32. xx. 7. 1 Cor. i. 17, 18. ii. 1, 4. xv. 2, etc. etc.—The passage 1 Cor. ii. 13 evidently refers to the expressions, style, and manner in which the apostle taught the truths of the gospel; and it declares that he did not use splendid eloquence and oratorical arts, nor resort to any other kind of allurements to captivate hearers (— ἐν λόγῳ κολακίας 1 Thess. ii. 5. — πλαστοῖς λόγοις 2 Peter ii. 3); but that he delivered his heavenly message in simplicity of diction, as taught and inspired by the Holy Spirit, "(πνευματικῶς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες)" adapting spiritual [expressions] to spiritual subjects."

I must confess that, after long and serious examination, this hypothesis of a universal verbal inspiration, does appear to me to be clogged with innumerable difficulties, and to be by no means required by the facts of the case and the statements of the divine word. In addition to the observations submitted to the judicious reader, in this and a preceding Note, I mention the following reasons.

(1.) It is an unnecessary supposition. For the divine influence on the mind of the inspired writer would as certainly guide his judgment and his faculty of expression to the selection of the *best* and *most suitable* terms and phrases, as if the words were dictated to a mere amanuensis.

(2.) It is attended with extreme difficulties. For example; in two, or three, of the evangelists, we often find the same discourse or sentence of our Lord, expressed by each in different words, though with the same ultimate sense. If, then, we demand a verbal inspiration, so as to give the exact words and order

of words spoken by Jesus, in any one of these cases, we destroy the possibility of it with respect to the correspondent passage. (See above, Obs. 10.)

(3.) It deprives all translations of their claim to the authority of *inspiration*; for, by the hypothesis, the original texts alone could possess that authority. Hence it would follow that the general body of Christians, who are under a necessity of depending on translations, are in fact destitute of any *inspired* scriptures. This consequence will also reach still higher. As the discourses of our Lord were delivered in the vernacular tongue of Judea, the recitals of them in the Greek Gospels cannot be in the *very words which he used*, but must be translations. On the other hand; the views of this subject which I have endeavoured to explain, afford an abundant satisfaction to the reader of any fair translation of the Scriptures, though it may fall very short of the beauty and energy of the original, that the inspiration of God is not lost, that it lies not in the forms of letters and sounds of syllables, but in the *things* signified, and that this glorious quality of divine and infallible assurance shines forth through the unavoidable disadvantages of the secondary clothing, so to speak, which a version must wear.

(4.) It gives a serious weight to the otherwise nugatory objection against the certainty of the Scriptures, from the existence of *various readings*. For no person, however well qualified, careful, and impartial, in applying the rules of criticism, could assure himself, and still less could he satisfy others, that he had in every one, or even in any one, of the thousands of instances, ascertained with *absolute* certainty the one genuine reading. But, if we regard the inspiration as attaching to the matter and sentiments rather than to the letters and syllables, any just objection is effectually precluded. It is not in one instance out of five hundred that the diversities of manuscripts and other authorities produce the smallest alteration in the sense, when duly considered. Thus, in the general course, it is all the same, as to practical effect, which reading is accepted: and criticism is called to put forth its utmost strength only in those comparatively few cases in which the meaning is affected.

Neither this, nor any other question in religion, is to be settled by human authority; but I adduce the following quotations as valuable contributions of information and evidence.

Dr Edmund Calamy.—"This divine inspiration, I apprehend, implies that they who delivered the oracles of the Old and New Testament to mankind, were not only stirred up by the Spirit of God to contribute their respective parts for the common benefit, but that they therein had his special assistance, both in forming their conceptions and framing their writings: and that they had such an assistance of his in their several composures as effectually prevented their inserting any thing that was false, or omitting any necessary truth.—The Divine Spirit not only immediately suggested and dictated to them such things as were matters of pure revelation, but he illuminated their minds in the several doctrinal and practical truths which they delivered in writing. He refreshed their memories, as to the things which they knew in a common way. He helped them to bring forth the things that were divinely impressed on their imagination; and so conducted them in all their composures, that they neither omitted any thing which he thought necessary and expedient, nor inserted any thing but what would serve his purposes; but selected those things that he knew would be most profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction to his people from one age to another.—Inspiration did not necessarily exclude thought and study in sacred composures, though it secured from error. The Holy Ghost used the sacred penmen as reasonable creatures, and made use of their judgments, memories, and affections; but they acted under his guidance in the whole of their work. Their style and language naturally differing, the Spirit did not hinder it from doing so in those writings which they drew up under his conduct, but it was of the same strain and make with what they used

ordinarily in expressing their conceptions, saving where God thought fit to interpose in some particular strains of majesty and authority.—But let it be observed, inspiration does not necessarily imply that persons learn what they report to others by immediate revelation. It is enough to denominate any one an inspired writer, that he be under such a conduct of the Divine Spirit, as secures him from mistake and error.—” *On the Insp. of the Old and New Testament*, 1710, pp. 30, 34, 36, 83.

John Fred. Stapfer, Pastor at Upper Diesbach, Berne, author of large and important works in both Latin and German; died in 1775.²—“We must distinguish between those parts of the sacred Scriptures which were written by the *immediate inspiration* of the Holy Spirit, and those which have been consigned to writing by his *direction* only. To the former class belong all the peculiar discoveries of revelation referring to the way of salvation for sinful man,—and the prediction of future events; subjects of which the knowledge is utterly impossible to have been deduced from the principles of reason. To the latter, those truths refer, which are already known from the grounds of Natural Religion, and which tend to inculcate moral obligation, and demonstrate the necessity of a revealed method of deliverance; or which are historical, belonging to the illustration and proof of revealed doctrines, and describing their progressive manifestation, the different dispensations of religion, and the various administration of the church as to its external form: and all these are requisite to be known, in order to the more ample explication of the discoveries of revealed grace.—These subjects, so far as they are purely historical, did not need an immediate revelation and inspiration: but by the providence of the Holy Spirit the memory of them was preserved, and they were committed to writing; and by the same divine care and direction, all mistake was guarded against, and the most suitable expressions were employed on every occasion. Thus there are many things in the books of Joshua, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles which required no revelation from Heaven, yet they were certainly recorded by the direction of the Holy Spirit.—With regard to the Gospel-History, it is asked, Whether it was communicated to the sacred authors by an immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit? I answer, that there was no need of such inspiration, while the sacred historians were describing matters of fact [which were known by the ordinary methods], such as the narrative of the birth, discourses, transactions, sufferings, and death of our Lord Jesus Christ: yet the Evangelists wrote under the directive influence of the Holy Spirit, so that they expressed faithfully, and in the most suitable words, every part of their statements, in relation to the discourses and actions performed by Christ, or referring to him; nor was any error permitted to creep in, with regard to even the minutest fact or circumstance.”—*Instit. Theol. Polem.* tom. ii. p. 859. iii. 269. Zurich, 1745.

Dr Timothy Dwight.—“The inspiration of the apostles I suppose to have consisted in the following things:—

“1. That they received immediately from God every part of the christian dispensation, which they did not know by other means.

“2. That, in the same manner, they were furnished with a foreknowledge of future events.

“3. That, in things which they did otherwise know partially, the deficiencies of their knowledge were in the same manner supplied.

“4. That those things which they had once known, and which were parts of

² His nephew was the patriot, statesman, philosopher, and christian, to whom the civil and religious interests of Switzerland and France are under indelible obligations, *Philip Albert Stapfer*, the author of many works of extraordinary value, literary and religious, in Latin, German, and French. On March 27, 1840, at Paris, aged 73, “this excellent man, this deep thinker, this distinguished scholar and philosopher, who, through a long succession of years, had laid his talents and attainments at the foot of the Redeemer’s cross, sweetly fell asleep, supported by the promises of his Saviour-God.”—*Sémeur*, April 1, 1840.

the christian dispensation, were, by divine power, brought distinctly and fully to their remembrance.

"5. That they were directed by the Holy Spirit to the selection of just such things, and such only, and to precisely such a manner of exhibiting them, as should be true, just, most useful to mankind, and most agreeable to the divine wisdom.

"6. That each one was left so far to his own manner of writing or speaking, as that the style was strictly his own; and yet that the phraseology, used by him in this very style, was so directed and controlled by the Holy Spirit as to lead him to the most exact and useful exhibition of divine truth; his own words being, in this important sense, words not devised by human wisdom, but taught by the Holy Ghost.

"And, 7. That each inspired man was, as to his preaching or his writing, absolutely preserved from error.

"All these particulars cannot be applied in the same degree, and some of them cannot be applied at all, to *all* the inspired preachers: but, in my view, every such preacher enjoyed the benefits of inspiration, so far as he needed them to enable him to preach the gospel truly and usefully to mankind; so far as to preserve him from false narratives, erroneous doctrines, and unsound or useless precepts."—*System of Theology*, vol. ii. p. 331, where he gives these positions as the summary of two most valuable discourses upon this subject.

Mr Parry.—"— It follows, that there was no necessity for inspiration, or immediate suggestion from the Spirit of God, to inform the apostles of many things in Christianity; for they knew them already, from the discourses of Christ and their own observation.—But it does *not* follow that, merely as honest and *uninspired* men, they could have given such a full, just, and consistent account of these things, as is contained in their writings.—Much they knew undoubtedly without inspiration: and therefore they themselves appeal to their personal knowledge of the things which they testified, as a circumstance which strongly corroborated the credibility of their testimony.—The Holy Spirit taught them *all* things respecting Christianity, which they did not already know:—*the whole* of that RELIGIOUS TRUTH which it was necessary for them to teach, or for men to know.—There was nothing in what they declared of the Christian system, but what they had received, either from the teachings of the Holy Spirit, or from the instructions of Christ, which were of equal validity, or from the evidence of their senses, which could not deceive them: so that they must have been preserved from error or mistake concerning it.

"Maintaining that the apostles were under the infallible direction of the Holy Spirit, as to every religious sentiment contained in their writings, secures the same advantages as would result from supposing that every word and letter was dictated to them by his influences, without being liable to those objections which might be made against that view of the subject. As the Spirit preserved them from all error in what they have taught and recorded, their writings are of the same *authority, importance, and use* to us as if he had dictated every syllable contained in them. If the Spirit had guided their pens, in such a manner that they had been only mere machines under his direction, we could have had no more in their writings than a PERFECT rule, as to all religious opinions and duties, all matters of faith and practice. But such a perfect rule we have in the New Testament, if we consider them as under the Spirit's infallible guidance in all the religious sentiments they express, whether he suggested the very words in which they are written or not. Upon this view of the subject, the inspired writings contain a *perfect* and *infallible* account of the whole will of God for our salvation; of all that is necessary for us to know, believe, and practise in religion: and what can they contain more than this, upon any other view of it?

"As the apostles had the infallible guidance of the Spirit of God, their testimony

is both the *rule* and *warrant* of our faith. Whatever religious sentiments they have declared are to be received and believed, *because they are divinely and infallibly true*; and whatever opinions in religion are contrary to the plain and unstrained language and sentiments of the apostles of Christ, ought to be rejected, because they are undoubtedly false.—” *Inquiry*, second ed. pp. 15, 16, 19, 20, 31, 32, 68.

Dr George Hill, Principal of St Mary's Coll. St Andrews.—“The objections which have been urged against particular passages of the New Testament are of no weight in overturning the doctrine of Inspiration, unless you suppose that the authors wrote continually under the influence of what has been called the *Inspiration of Suggestion*, i.e. that every thought was put into their mind, and every word dictated to them, by the Spirit of God. But this opinion, which is probably entertained by many well-meaning Christians, and which has been held by some able defenders of Christianity, is now generally abandoned by those who examine the subject with due care. And the following reasons will satisfy you that it has not been lightly abandoned. It is unnecessary to suppose that this highest degree of inspiration is extended through all the parts of the New Testament; because there are many facts in the Gospels which the apostles might know perfectly from their own observation or recollection, many expressions which would naturally occur to them, many directions and salutations in their Epistles, such as were to be expected in that correspondence. It is not only unnecessary to suppose that the highest degree of inspiration was extended through all the parts of the New Testament, but the supposition is really inconsistent with many circumstances that occur there. I shall mention a few. Paul, in some instances, makes a distinction between the counsels which he gives, in matters of indifference, upon his own judgment, and the commandments which he delivers with the authority of an apostle:—‘I speak this by permission, and not of commandment:—This I command; yet not I, but the Lord:’—a distinction for which there could have been no room, had every word been dictated by the Spirit of God. Paul sometimes discovers a doubt, and a change of purpose as to the time of his journeyings and other incidents, which the highest degree of inspiration would have prevented. It is allowed that there is a degree of imperfection and obscurity which, in some instances, remains on the style of the sacred writers, and particularly of Paul, which we cannot easily reconcile with the highest degree of inspiration. (2 Pet. iii. 16.) Once more, there are peculiarities of expression and a marked manner, by which a person of taste and discernment may clearly distinguish the writings of every one from those of every other. But, had all written uniformly under the same inspiration of suggestion, there could not have been a difference of manner corresponding to the difference of character; and the expression used by all might have been expected to be the best possible.

“These circumstances lead us to abandon the notion that the apostles wrote under a continual inspiration of suggestion: but they are not in the least inconsistent with that kind of inspiration which was found to be necessary for the purposes of their mission; which is commonly called an *inspiration of direction*, and which consists in this, that the writers of the New Testament, although allowed to exercise their own memory and understanding, so far as they could be of any use; although allowed to employ their own modes of thinking and expression, so far as there was no impropriety in their being employed; were, by the superintendence of the Spirit, effectually guarded from error while they were writing, and were at all times furnished with that measure of inspiration which the nature of the subject required. In his *History*, every Evangelist brings forward those discourses and facts which had made the deepest impression upon his mind: but while, from the variety which thus naturally takes place in the histories, there arises the strongest proof that there was no collusion, the recollection of every historian was so far assisted, that he gives us no false information; and, by laying together the several accounts, we may attain as complete a view of

the transactions recorded as the Spirit of God judged to be necessary. In the Book of *Acts*, we see the mind of the apostles gradually led, by the teaching of the Spirit, to a full apprehension of the whole counsel of God. In the *Epistles*, they apply the knowledge which had thus been imparted to them by revelation, in ministering to the edification, comfort, or reproof of the churches which they had established; and the Spirit, who had by this time guided them into all truth, abode with them, so that from the words and commandments of the apostles we may learn the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

"It hath pleased God, that the christian world should derive those treasures of divine knowledge which resided in the apostles, not by formal systematical discourses composed for the instruction of future ages; but by the short, familiar, incidental mention of the christian doctrines in their *Epistles*. This form of the doctrinal writings of the apostles has been stated as an objection to their being inspired: but, by a little attention, you will perceive the great advantages of their being permitted to adopt this form. Our industry is thus quickened in searching the Scriptures. The doctrines are rendered more level to the capacity of the great body of Christians, and more easily recalled to their minds, by this mode of being delivered; and the books containing the doctrines are thus made to bring along with them internal marks of authenticity, which could not have belonged to them had they been in another form. The inscription of the *Epistle* is a sure voucher, transmitted from the earliest times, that a letter had truly been sent by an apostle of Christ to a church. The character of the apostle is marked in his *Epistle*: and the many little circumstances, which his situation or that of the church introduces into an affectionate letter, while they exhibit the natural expressions of christian benevolence, bring a conviction, more satisfying than that which arises from any [formal] testimony, that the apostles of Jesus proceeded, in execution of the charge given them by their Master, to make disciples of all nations.

"In the *Prophecies* which the New Testament contains, there must have been the inspiration of suggestion. Neither the words nor the thoughts could there come by the will of man; and the writers spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Accordingly, Paul introduces his predictions with these words, 'The Spirit speaketh expressly:' and John says, in the Book of Revelation, that he was commanded to 'write what he saw and heard.'

"— We do not say that every thought was put into the mind of the apostles, and every word dictated to their pen, by the Spirit of God: but we say that, by the superintendence of the Spirit, they were at all times guarded from error, and were furnished upon every occasion with the measure of inspiration which the nature of the subject required. Upon this view of the matter, we can easily account for all the circumstances that are commonly urged as objections against the notion of Inspiration. We may even admit that the apostles were liable to err in their conduct, and were left ignorant of some things which they wished to know: and at the same time, we have all that security against misrepresentations of fact, or error in doctrine, which the nature of the commission given to the apostles, and the importance of the truths declared by them, render necessary for our faith. By this kind of inspiration, while a provision is made for the introduction of those internal marks of authenticity, by which the Bible is distinguished above every other book in the world, there is also a perfect fulfilment of the promise given to the apostles by Jesus, a justification of the claim which their writings contain, and a rational account of that entire submission which the Christian church, in every age, has yielded to the authority of the apostles."—*Lectures in Divinity*, vol. i. pp. 333–338. Edinb. 1825.

Dr Geo. Chr. Knapp, Prof. Theol. Halle; died 1825.—"With respect to the idea of *Inspiration*,—it may be best represented as an extraordinary operation of God during the very act of uttering a discourse, whether by word spoken

or by writing,—by which is made known to the persons so influenced **WHAT** and **HOW** they should write or say.—In John xiv-xvi. Jesus promises to his disciples the HOLY SPIRIT, a supernatural Divine Help, guiding them and preserving them from error. ‘It is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit;’ Mark xiii. 11. The Divine Help was to hand out to them not merely **WHAT** they were to say, but in addition, **HOW** they should say it.’—The constant, uninterrupted help of the Holy Spirit, as their (*Paraclete*) Counsellor and Director, whom they should *always* enjoy, whenever the circumstances of time and place should require. By them the Holy Spirit was to *teach* and *convince* the world; thus, they might either speak or write. Much, which Jesus had not yet said, was to be revealed to them. Even in things which might be already known to them by other means, in order that they might commit no failure, the Holy Spirit was to bring up into their memories what Christ had already said to them; and instruct them in every particular that might be necessary for the discharge of their office. He was to reveal to them things to come; where it might be necessary, to sustain their testimony by miraculous gifts; in a word, to communicate to them every thing, either which they had failed rightly to apprehend, or which had been altogether unknown to them. *Hence*, their whole teaching is to be regarded as *God’s teaching*.—*Vorlesungen üb. d. Chr. Gl.* vol. i. p. 80. Halle, 1827.

Dr Leonard Woods, sen. Prof. Div. Andover, N.E.—“The sacred writers were so guided by the Divine Spirit, that, in every part of their work, they were rendered infallible, and wrote just what God willed they should write; so that the sacred volume entirely answers to the mind of God, and has nothing, as to either manner or form, which he did not see to be suited to the great object of a divine revelation.”—It is evident that God did “exert his highest influence upon his servants, so as completely to guide them in thought and in utterance, in regard to subjects which lie chiefly within the province of their natural faculties.”—“Why should we suppose that God would set aside the natural powers of the writers, and would make thoughts and words for them, without any use of their minds or their organs of speech?”—*Lectures on the Insp. of the Scriptures*, pp. 90, 101, 104.

Dr Henderson.—“In entering upon the subject of Verbal Inspiration strictly taken, or the hypothesis that, in committing the contents of the Bible to writing, the penmen had all the terms immediately supplied to them by the influence of the Holy Spirit, it may be necessary to premise, that nothing can be more unjust than to charge those who deny it with a rejection of the dogma of inspiration, while they most explicitly avow their belief in its plenary and infallible characters.—If any person solemnly protests that he holds no partial or imperfect Inspiration of the Scriptures, but regards them as entirely the result of divine intervention, and, in his treatment of them, furnishes convincing evidence that he does so regard them, receiving their contents with a mind willing in all things to yield uncompromising obedience to their dictates as the oracles of Jehovah, we are bound to give credit to his asseveration, and consider him as a consistent believer, whatever consequences others may draw from his premises, or in what light soever they may think fit to represent him.”

Dr Henderson then proceeds to show that the position of a uniform verbal inspiration is “perfectly untenable;” and his arguments come under the following heads.—This hypothesis is no where asserted in Scripture;—it is unnecessary to the purposes of revelation;—it is contradicted by the existence of various readings;—it deprives faithful translations of all claim to the quality of inspiration;—and it is contradicted by the very facts of the case. This last is the same argument as that of Obs. 10 of this Note, p. 60; and is concluded by this paragraph:—“If the whole was composed as the result of direct verbal infusion, and the formulas are to be understood in the restricted sense in which they are inter-

preted by those who take this view of inspiration, we must inevitably abandon the consistency and truth of the documents altogether. To maintain that the Holy Spirit might immediately inspire the different wordings, and yet declare that they are verbally the original communications, is worse than trifling; it is to turn the truth of God into a lie, to expose it to the scoff of the infidel, and to cast a stumbling-block in the way of the honest inquirer. It is lamentable to reflect on the obstacles which are thus interposed between the word of God and the human mind, by the false and inconsistent interpretations which have been given of that word by [some of] its sincere friends."—*Lectures on Divine Inspiration*, pp. 398-448.

The late *Dr Thomas Arnold* "approached the human side of the Bible in the same real historical spirit, with the same method, rules, and principles, as he did Thucydides. He recognised in the writers of the Scriptures the use of a human instrument, language; and this he would ascertain and fix, as in any other authors, by the same philological rules. Further, too, the Bible presents an assemblage of historical events; it announces an historical religion: and the historical element Arnold judged of historically, by the established rules of history, substantiating the general veracity of Scripture, even amidst occasional inaccuracies of detail; and proposing to himself, for his special end here, the reproduction, in the language and forms belonging to our own age, and therefore familiar to us, of the exact mode of thinking, feeling, and acting, which prevailed in the days gone by.

"But was this all? Is the Bible but a common book; recording, indeed, more remarkable occurrences, but in itself possessed of no higher authority than a faithful and trustworthy historian like Thucydides? Nothing could be further from *Dr Arnold's* feeling. In the Bible he found and acknowledged an *oracle of God*, a positive and supernatural revelation made to man, an immediate inspiration of the Spirit. No conviction was more deeply seated in his nature: and this conviction placed an impassable gulf between him and all" [falsely called] "rationalizing divines. Only, it is very important to observe *how* this fact, in respect of scientific order, presented itself to his mind. He came upon it historically: he did not start with any preconceived theory of Inspiration; but rather, in studying the writings of those who were commissioned by God to preach his gospel to the world, he met with the fact that they claimed to be sent from God, to have a message from him, to be filled with his Spirit. Any accurate, precise, and sharply defined theory of Inspiration, to the best of my knowledge, Arnold had not; and if he had been asked to give one, I think he would have answered that the subject did not admit of one. I think he would have been content to realize the feelings of those who heard the apostles. He would have been sure, on one side, that there was a voice of God in them; whilst, on the other, he would have believed that probably no one in the apostolic age could have defined the exact limits of that inspiration. And this I am sure I may affirm with certainty, that never did a student feel more his positive faith, his sure confidence that the Bible was the word of God, than in Arnold's hands. He was conscious that, whilst Arnold interpreted Scripture as a scholar, an antiquarian, and an historian, and that in the spirit and with the development of modern science, he had also placed the supernatural inspiration of the sacred writers on an imperishable historical basis, a basis that would be proof against any attack which the most refined modern learning could direct against it. Those only who are fully aware of the importance of harmonizing the progress of knowledge with Christianity, or rather of asserting, amidst every possible form of civilization, the objective truths of Christianity and its life-giving power, can duly appreciate the value of the confidence inspired by the firm faith of a man, at once liberal, unprejudiced, and, in the estimation of even the most worldly men, possessed of high historical ability."—*Letter from the Rev. B. Price to Mr Stanley, in his Life and Corresp. of Dr Arnold*, vol. i. p. 198.

Finally, upon this subject I beg leave to recommend to serious study the *Inquiry into the Proofs, Nature, and Extent of Inspiration; by the Rev. Samuel Hinds, D.D., etc.* Oxford, 1831.

We now return to the point from which we were led into the preceding discussion, not, I trust, unsuitably or unprofitably.

The hypothesis, on the subject of the Inspiration of the New Testament, which stands opposed to the conclusions above laid down, is thus stated by Dr Priestley:—

“Let us read the canonical books of Scripture without expecting to find them perfectly unexceptionable in all the minutiae of things. Let us consider them as the productions of honest and faithful men, well informed concerning all the great things of which they write, but not equally informed with respect to every punctilio they mention. Let us consider the great truths which they deliver us from God, to be divine and worthy of our highest regard; but when they *argue* and *reason*, either from facts or revealed doctrines, advancing opinions which are plainly their own, and for which they do not pretend to have the authority of revelation, let us consider them as the reasonings and opinions of men in their situation, and with their means of information, which were in general very ample and sufficient, but still left them fallible,—and treat them accordingly. St Paul says expressly, that some of the things which he advanced were not from the Lord, but from himself only; and in other cases the nature of the things will help us to distinguish between them.” (*Instit. of Nat. and Rev. Rel.* vol. ii. p. 37.) “Paul says, 2 Tim. iii. 16, that *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God*; but this might—signify nothing more than that the books were written by good men, or with the best views and designs, and therefore were proper for instruction, etc., for they might answer all the purposes that he has there mentioned, without their being *inspired of God* in the usual sense of the phrase; and therefore there is no reason why it should be supposed to have that sense in this place. Strictly speaking, only the prophecies, and other messages from Heaven, were given by inspiration.”—(Dr P. in *Theol. Rep.* vol. iv. p. 202.)

This scheme, I conceive, is fully answered and overthrown by the investigation and the conclusions which we have gone through. I would add only a few specific remarks.

1. This hypothesis destroys the *proper authority* of Scripture. For, either we must have another revelation from God, to furnish us with a criterion for safely distinguishing between “great things” and “the minutiae of things;” or, for this most important discrimination every person must rely upon his own judgment. Thus the opinion of each individual, modified as it would be by the endless varieties of character, self-love, prejudice, and sinful passions, would be made in effect the *rule of faith* and the determining *authority* in religion: and the Scriptures would be deposited into a subordination to this self-elevated principle.

2. It is *inconsistent* and *self-subversive*. It admits that the apostles were “honest and faithful men,” and yet it plainly implies a discrediting of their veracity, in a case of the very highest importance, and upon which they have given their testimony in the strongest and most awful terms: “We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery; even the hidden wisdom,—which God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit. We have received—the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God: which things also we speak, not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth. We have the mind of Christ. Our sufficiency is of God, who also hath made us sufficient ministers of the New Testament. Be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour. The things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord. He,

"therefore, that despiseth, despiseth not men, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit." 1 Cor. ii. 7, 10, 16. 2 Cor. iii. 5. 2 Peter iii. 2. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. 1 Thess. iv. 8.

3. There is a gross *petitio principii* in the assertions that, in relation to some things, the apostles did "not pretend to have the authority of revelation," and that "St Paul says expressly that some of the things which he advanced were not from the Lord, but from himself only." The former of these assertions is unsupported by any attempts at proof; unless, in contradiction to the rules of sound logic, the particular instance referred to in the latter be made the ground of a general conclusion. How ill Dr Priestley understood that instance, or how unconsequently he argued from it, will appear from the following observations of the judicious and candid author mentioned in the former part of this Note.

"If the inspiration and guidance of the Spirit, respecting the writers of the New Testament, extended only to what appears to be its proper province, matters of a religious and moral nature; then there is no necessity to ask, whether *every thing* contained in their writings were suggested immediately by the Spirit or not: whether Luke were inspired to say, that the ship in which he sailed with Paul was wrecked on the Island of Melita (Acts xxviii. 1): or whether Paul were under the guidance of the Spirit, in directing Timothy to bring with him the cloke which he left at Troas, and the books, but especially the parchments (2 Tim. iv. 13); for the answer is obvious, these were not things of a religious nature, and no inspiration was necessary concerning them. The inspired writers sometimes mention common occurrences or things in an incidental manner, as any other plain and faithful men might do. Although, therefore, such things may be found in parts of the evangelic history, or in epistles addressed to churches or individuals, and may stand connected with important declarations concerning christian doctrine or duty, yet it is not necessary to suppose, that they were under any *supernatural* influence in mentioning such common or civil affairs, though they were as to all the sentiments they inculcated respecting religion.

"This view of the subject will also readily enable a plain Christian, in reading his New Testament, to distinguish what he is to consider as inspired truth. Every thing which the apostles have written or taught concerning Christianity; every thing which teaches him a religious sentiment or a branch of duty; he must consider as divinely true, as the mind and will of God, recorded under the direction and guidance of his Spirit. It is not necessary that he should inquire, whether what the apostles taught be true. All that he has to search after is their meaning; and when he understands what they meant, he may rest assured, that meaning is consistent with the will of God, is divine infallible truth. The testimony of men who spoke and wrote by the Spirit of God, is the testimony of God himself; and the testimony of the God of Truth is the strongest, and most indubitable, of all demonstration.

"The above view of the apostolic inspiration will likewise enable us, as I apprehend, to understand the apostle Paul, in the seventh chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where in some verses he seems to speak as if he were not inspired, and in others as if he were. Concerning some things he saith, 'But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment' (ver. 6); and again, 'I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful' (ver. 25). The subject of which the apostle here delivers his opinion, was a matter of christian prudence, in which the Corinthians had desired his advice. But it was not a part of religious sentiment or practice; it was not a branch of christian doctrine or duty, but merely a casuistical question of prudence, with relation to the distress which persecution then occasioned. Paul, therefore, agreeably to their request, gives them his opinion as a faithful man: but he guards them against supposing, that

he was under divine inspiration in that opinion, lest their consciences should be shackled; and leaves them at liberty to follow his advice or not, as they might find convenient. Yet he intimates that he had 'the Spirit of the Lord' as a christian teacher; that he had not said any thing contrary to his will; and that the opinion which he gave was, on the whole, advisable 'in the present distress.' But the apostle's declaration, that as to this particular matter, he spoke 'by permission, and not of commandment,' strongly implies, that in other things, in things really of a religious nature, he did speak by commandment from the Lord. Accordingly, in the same chapter, when he had occasion to speak of what was matter of moral duty, he immediately claimed to be under divine direction in what he wrote. 'And unto the married I command, yet not I but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband'. (1 Cor. vii. 10.) This would be a breach of one of the chief obligations of morality, and therefore Paul interdicts it under the divine authority. Respecting indifferent things, he gave his judgment as a wise and faithful friend; but respecting the things of religion, he spake and wrote as an apostle of Jesus Christ, under the direction and guidance of his Spirit."—*Parry's Inquiry*, pp. 26–36.³

4. Dr Priestley assumes, and elsewhere strongly urges, that the fact of a scriptural writer's *arguing and reasoning* is at variance with the supposition of his being inspired by God. Against the validity of this assumption it might appear sufficient to adduce the fact that arguings and reasonings entered largely into the discourses of Jesus Christ himself. (See as examples, Matt. xi. 25–28; xxii. 41–45; John vii. 23; viii. 17–19, 42; x. 34–38.) But the strongest proof of this would little avail to one who scrupled not to *hint* that Jesus was not exempted from false *reasonings*, to allow that he might be mistaken in his use and applications of scripture, and plainly to assert that, when Christ is said to have *had no sin*, we must restrict the meaning of the expression to his being free from "overt acts of iniquity, something that all the world would condemn as base and wrong." All this and more of the same kind was written and published by

³ Though it is not essential to the purpose of the quotation above made, yet justice to my late respected friend requires me to add that he afterwards adopted the interpretation of Dr Whitby upon the case considered by the apostle in v. 25–40. This, however, only makes the evidence stronger against Dr Priestley's view. In Mr Parry's Theological Lectures, he considered this subject anew: and an extract from those Lectures, of which I shall subjoin a few sentences, was prefixed to the posthumous edition of the *Inquiry*.

"This is the only instance of the three, that suggests [the semblance of] a denial of inspiration; and here it does not follow: for, by 'commandment of the Lord' may be meant *authority from the decision of Christ* (Matthew xix. 19), such as he had in the former case. The language however *does not imply* that, in this instance, he had no other assistance than an ordinary man, giving his opinion to the best of his ability: for he speaks of his ability to be faithful in his apostolic office, as in an especial manner derived from Christ: 1 Tim. i. 12."—Upon v. 40. "—'I think (*δοκῶ*) also that I have the Spirit of God.' This, as Doddridge has suggested in his note, cannot be admitted as the language of *doubt*; because then it would imply that the apostles might be mistaken in their opinion of their own inspiration. The apostle was addressing those among whom there were some ready to question his apostleship, who required 'a sign of Christ speaking in him,' and to whom, as Whitby observes, it was proper for him to say, 'I suppose I have the Spirit of God,' i.e. the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge, to enable me to give that advice which is agreeable to the will of God. Doddridge would render it, 'I appear to have the Spirit of God,' and considers it a modest way of ascertaining his own inspiration. He observes that *δοκῶ ἔχειν* often signifies the same with *ἔχω*. Luke viii. 18. Matt. xiii. 12. 1 Cor. x. 12; xiv. 37. Whitby says it might be rendered, 'I have the Spirit of God;' and supports this assertion by parallel instances.

"On the whole, I am inclined to think that, in the former case, respecting divorce, v. 10, 11, the apostle spake by the inspiration of suggestion, declaring an apostolic commandment as a divinely inspired messenger; and that, in the latter instance, he gave his opinion as one who was conscious that he spake under the direction and superintendence of the Spirit of God, and gave an opinion agreeable to his will, in a matter of a very delicate nature, as to what was most prudent in the present condition of the church; while every individual was at full liberty to act according to his own judgment and disposition.

"In either view [i.e. either this or the interpretation which Mr Parry had given in the *Inquiry*], these texts afford no solid objection to the plenary inspiration of the apostle, as to the sentiments which he taught."

It may be added that very often in Greek authors *δοκεῖν* is used to signify that the subject of the verb *appears or is judged* to be or do what is affirmed, not because it is a matter of surmise, but because it is a case *established by evidence*. Thus the meaning of the clause in question is, "I appear," i.e. I am shown by sufficient *proofs*, so as to put it out of doubt, "to have the Spirit of God" directing me by his infallible wisdom in all my apostolic teachings. See *Stephani Thesaur.* and *Ulpian* in Mr *Ewing's Lexicon* in voc.

Dr Priestley, under the signature of Pamphilus, in his *Theol. Rep.* vol. iv. p. 435, etc.—“JESUS SAID, I AM THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD: HE THAT FOLLOWETH ME SHALL NOT WALK IN DARKNESS, BUT SHALL HAVE THE LIGHT OF LIFE.” But, O thou man of Nazareth, after eighteen centuries a greater than thou has arisen, who, though an admirer of thy virtues and a believer in thy mission, has discovered that to follow thee implicitly would lead him into mistake; and who at length has proclaimed thine imperfections, detected thine errors, and convicted thee of ignorance and sin!—To this deadly point of impiety could the influence of Unitarianism freeze down the understanding and the heart of a man so estimable, on many accounts, as Dr Priestley was!

We may therefore fear that it would have made no impression on a mind so prepossessed, to be reminded that, even in those parts of the Scriptures which are delivered in the person of God himself, reasonings and arguings are occasionally introduced; as in Isa. i. 18; xvii. 10; xl. 28–30; Jer. ii. 9, 10; Ezek. xviii. 23–30, and other places. It is an opinion quite unauthorized by any declaration of Scripture, or by the reason of the thing, that revelation should be confined to the style of axioms and imperative prescriptions. It would appear the more probable expectation that the Author of revelation would address his inspired dictates to all the faculties of the human mind, and that he would excite the judgment to a becoming exercise of its powers, as well as enforce his commands on the will and the conscience. But who has a right to prescribe to HIM methods and limits under which he shall be obliged to frame his communications of truth and mercy to mankind?

5. The kind of interpretation which Dr P. employs on 2 Tim. iii. 16, is that which would nullify all the certainty and the use of language. It seems to me not too much to say, that, if such criticism be admitted, all hopes of discovering the meaning of authors are at an end.

A recent Unitarian writer has expressed himself with much more truth and sobriety, on this subject. I quote his words with pleasure, and general, though not absolute, acquiescence. His reference to 2 Pet. iii. 16, does not bear the construction which he has put upon it; and into which erroneous interpretation the late Dr Hill appears to have fallen, in the quotation made above from his Lectures. Peter does not assert that in the writings of Paul (which, be it observed, he definitely classes with the known and received “scriptures”) the *δυσνόητά τινα*, things or words difficult to be understood, occur frequently, or as a general character of his compositions; but only in reference to a particular class of subjects (*ἐν αἷς*, not *ἐν αἰς*), namely, those which concern “the day of the Lord, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat;” events of a mysterious character, and which, according to a known principle in the construction of prophecy, must be obscure, till illustrated by the accomplishment. Besides, it is manifest that the indocility and instability of those who *distorted* the doctrines of Paul, are represented as characteristic of a depraved state of mind: so that it is not only very incorrect, but it is quite contrary to the spirit and design of the Apostle Peter, to represent the “liableness to be greatly mistaken,” which arose from a criminal backwardness to understand, and a disposition to pervert the truth, as if it attached to persons *not so prejudiced*, “who lived in the same age, and spoke the same language.”

“The apostles did, indeed, affirm that they received their commission from Christ, and that they were instructed by him and by the Holy Spirit what was christian doctrine: but this was a very different thing from asserting, that every word they spoke or wrote in the discharge of their commission, was dictated to them by inspiration. Admit the former, and Unitarians do admit it as well as other Christians, and the authority of the apostolic writings is sufficiently established; and the appeal to that authority, on every question of christian

doctrine, is made decisive. Yet, on this hypothesis, it is fair to ask, may not the apostles, as well as other men, have conveyed their meaning in such terms as to make it difficult to ascertain at all times what they did mean? Undoubtedly they may: and Peter being judge, it is certain that the Apostle of the Gentiles, whose Epistles form so large a part of the New Testament Canon, did write things difficult to understand, and liable to be greatly mistaken even by men who lived in the same age and spoke the same language as himself. It is, therefore, in vain to contend that the interpretation, which would first, or generally occur to the most simple and unlearned readers, must be the true interpretation of his meaning. The same labour and rules of criticism must be applied to some parts of the sacred writings, and especially to the epistolary, for very obvious reasons, which are applied to other ancient writings, in order to arrive at the true interpretation."—*Monthly Repository*, October 1817, p. 596.

I conclude my attempt to assist the formation and establishment of just sentiments on this important subject, by citing the closing paragraph of a disquisition on the divine influence upon the *Prophets*, by the learned and devotional Hermann Witsius:—

"Yet I could not venture to press so far what I have advanced, as to lay it down for certain that the prophets always employed precisely the same words and the same order of composition, in their addresses to the people, which they had heard from the mouth of God. The contrary appears to be inferred from the example of Moses, who, in the book of Deuteronomy, repeats the law which he had heard on Mount Sinai, in a manner somewhat different from the terms of the statements given in Exodus. In this respect, every prophet used his own liberty, sometimes transposing words and clauses, sometimes substituting equivalent expressions, sometimes omitting what was sufficiently obvious, and sometimes adding what was necessary to render the meaning plain: all of which is evident to those who will examine the matter. Even the apostles and evangelists, when they recite the discourses of the Lord Jesus, and even when they introduce him directly speaking, do not adduce the very words which he used; as is manifest from the variety of expression which obtains in their respective recitals. Also, in their quotations from the Old Testament prophets, they do not tie themselves to the identical words. This observation should warn us not to be, in this respect, word-catchers; as if the wisdom of God lay in the mere syllables. Let only the principle be adhered to, that the prophets, when they spoke [or wrote] in their prophetic character, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, always spoke according to his will, and always faithfully expressed the mind of the Spirit."—*Miscell. Sacra*, vol. i. p. 86, ed. 1712.

CHAP. V.

ON THE MORAL STATE OF THE MIND AND AFFECTIONS IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT INQUIRY.

Hazard of intemperate passions in controversy, especially on theological subjects.—Common prejudices against divine truth.—Prejudices to which persons of reading and speculation are peculiarly liable.—Why some persons eminent in letters or in science have been inclined, or attached to Unitarianism.—How far that system is congenial with the essential dispositions and duties of practical religion.—Worldly amusements.—Observance of the Lord's day.—Effect of Unitarianism on christian communities.—Instance in the church of Geneva.—Favourably regarded by M. d'Alembert and other distinguished infidels—Voltaire—Franklin—Jefferson.—Degrading conceptions of God the basis of the worst errors.—Unitarians chargeable with entertaining such conceptions.—Comparison of their assertions with those of the Bible.—Necessity, in order to successful inquiry, of humility and a devotional spirit.

It is not the prosecution of theological controversy alone that has excited the hateful passions of the human heart. The wordy dialectics of the middle ages, and the controversies, philosophical and critical, political and historical, which have been agitated in our own times, furnish more than sufficient proof that, in any sort of contest, men can arouse each other's feelings to rancour, and can employ all the unworthy arts of aiming at the mere victory.

But frequently, in religious questions, there is more to interest the susceptible tempers of men than is to be found in other disquisitions; and that not only in the heat of controversy, but in the privacy of cool and silent reflection. Nor is it more injurious to the serenity and purity of the soul, to have our passions heated in the public polemics of religion, than it is to study divine things privately under an unfavourable state of the moral feelings, from any cause whatever. If, in human science, the mere exercise of the intellectual faculties may enable a man to escape mistake and discover truth (though even there rashness and party-passion often enslave the judgment); the same means will not ensure a similar issue in the investigations of religion. Here we have to contend, not only against the ordinary prejudices of education, custom, authority, interest, and connexions, but against a more potent and often less suspected cause of

erroneous conclusions; a deep-seated *aversion* from the very design of real Christianity, a secret *dislike* of those spiritual, sublime, and holy realities which are the seminal principles of true piety. It would be a hard task to persuade the slave-traders who even now infest the Atlantic, that their lucrative employment is detestable villany. As difficult, at least, must it be to open a way for the doctrine whose very genius is holiness, through the dark and cold mists of moral prejudice, the love and retention of sin.¹ An "evil heart of unbelief" denies free entrance to the light of "the truth which is according to godliness;" refuses a fair and honest consideration to its evidences; and treats it as a foe, whose first approaches must be resisted, from the presentiment that, once admitted, it will grant no quarter to the corruptions of the spirit, any more than to those of the flesh, and will unsparingly "cast down imaginations and "every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of "God."

Those who are superior to gross vices may be lying in the riveted fetters of mental sin. Ingenious persons, addicted to reading and inquiry, but little attentive to the moral state of their affections, are in no small danger of conceiving promptly but rashly, and concluding boldly but very erroneously, on religious subjects. They are unwilling to concede that the doctrines of the gospel require, for their discovery and their reception, any thing more than speculative research. With respect even to intellectual exercises, a readiness to believe ourselves in possession of all the information requisite as *data*, and a confident fearlessness in regard to the conclusions which we draw, perhaps without much labour or patience, and often with most unreasonable precipitancy, mark that pride of intellect which is often the parent of error, but is never a cordial friend to truth. If we take up our sentiments without humility, and maintain them without seriousness, they will bring us little good if even they be true; but the greater probability is that they will be erroneous, because the sacred truth of God will never coalesce with such a state of mind. I would submit the question to all per-

¹ Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῖν, τὸ αἴτιον αὐτῆς [τῆς χαλεπότητος]. "Ὅσπερ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν νυκτερίδων ὄμματα πρὸς τὸ φέγγος ἔχει τὸ μὲθ' ἡμέραν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἡμιστέρας ψυχῆς ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὰ τῇ φύσει φανερώτατα πάντων. "The cause of the difficulty lies not in the things, but in ourselves. For as the eyes of bats to day-light, so is the human mind to objects which in their own nature are the clearest of all."—*Aristot. Metaph.* lib. ii. cap. i.

sons who have formed habits of self-reflection ; what is the class of religious doctrines into which they are most ready to slide, when levity, self-confidence, the opinion of superior talent, or unholy feelings of any kind, have the predominance ; and what are those, on the other hand, which experience proves to be most congenial with all that is lowly, reverential, pure, and affectionate, in the spirit and practice of religion.

Upon these principles, it is not difficult to account for a fact which has appeared a paradox to some, and has been a cause of stumbling to not a few. This is, that so many eminent persons in science and literature have either openly espoused the Unitarian system, or have been evidently inclined to it. Let not the serious, but inexperienced inquirer, permit his judgment to be biassed, or his feelings to be dazzled, by this circumstance. Genius, high talent, and extraordinary attainment, are benefits of the same class with rank, riches, and power : each of them is a favour from Heaven, involving the greater responsibility, and capable of being applied to noble uses ; but history and experience show that each of these blessings is, in the majority of cases, *perverted*, so far as the moral and religious character of the possessor is concerned. The motives, which very generally are the remote causes, from which the exertions arise which earn worldly celebrity, are curiosity, self-confidence, the pleasure from gratifying a favourite passion, a jealous sensibility to human opinion, the thirst for contemporary applause and posthumous fame, and very frequently a great degree of known and cherished pride : while it is in only a few instances, compared with the general course, that those feelings are corrected by humility and piety. Such motives and principles are not barely unsuited, not simply unfavourable ; but they are positively and strongly *inimical*, to the acquisition of divine knowledge.² The temper

² "As spiritual pride is the worst sort of pride, so this is the worst degree of spiritual pride, when men do not acknowledge God in these things as they ought, but lean to their own understandings.—To suppose that persons under the predominancy of pride, self-conceit, and self-confidence, can understand in a due manner 'the mind of God,' is to renounce the Scripture, or innumerable positive testimonies given in them to the contrary. Principally are they exposed hereunto who, either really or in their own apprehensions, are exalted above others in secular learning, and in natural and acquired abilities. For such men are apt to think that they must needs know the meaning of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures better than others ; or at least, that they can do so, if they will but set themselves about it. But that which principally hinders them from so doing, is their conceit, that they so do : they mistake that for divine knowledge which is in them the great obstruction to it."—*Owen on Sp. Underst.* chap. v.

of mind which it requires in its votaries, is the absolute reverse of them all; a temper of which the reverential fear of God, love to his moral perfections, an implicit subjection to his authority, lowliness of spirit, and self-renunciation, are *essential* constituents. The reason of the case plainly shows that thus it must be; for the knowledge which has God and spiritual things for its immediate objects, and which is God's especial and transcendent gift, can never be received aright but in the spirit of dependence and humility, the spirit which comports with the relations of creature and Creator, subject and Sovereign, offender and Judge, "less than nothing" and Boundless Supreme. The testimony of God in his word is unequivocal. In such terms as the following has he declared the eternal and unalterable law of his moral kingdom:—"Wicked men understand not that which is right; but they that seek the Lord understand all. The secret of Jehovah is with them that fear him, and his covenant to make them know it. The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way. To this man will I look, the poor and the contrite in spirit, and who trembleth at my word. I praise thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and intelligent (*συνεταῖς*), and hast revealed them to babes! For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the intelligent I will bring to nothing. Where is the man of wisdom? Where is the man of letters? Where is the inquisitive disputant of this world? Hath not God regarded as folly the wisdom of this world? The world by its wisdom knew not God."³

If, however, any be disposed from this fact to deduce a presumption in favour of the Unitarian system, let them be reminded that the argument will carry them further than they may contemplate; for it is the melancholy truth that a large proportion (but there are splendid exceptions, and the scale seems to be happily turning the right way), of those who of late

³ Prov. xxviii. 5. Ps. xxv. 9, 14. Is. lxvi. 2. Matt. xi. 25. "—learned and clever.—" *J. D. Michaelis, Transl. of N. T.* 1790. 1 Cor. i. 19–21. *Συζητητής*, acutus et subtilis disputator;—homo instructus subtilitate sapientiæ humanæ. *Schleusner*. "—Where is the philosopher? Where is the linguist? Where is the skilful disputant of this world?" *J. D. Mich.* —"The wise, the scripture-learned, the school-wrangler—?" *De Wette's Transl.* 1832. The possessive pronoun inserted in v. 21, is required by the connexion and by a frequent usage of the article.—See *Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Gr. Art.* p. 126.

years have cultivated the mathematical and physical sciences to the highest degree, have been, with respect to *divine* philosophy, ignorant, presuming, and audacious infidels, and some avowed atheists.

Neither, on the other hand, are these remarks to be taken as disparaging to genius and noble talents, or discountenancing to any efforts for the advancement of science and erudition. The moral dangers with which those endowments have been so generally associated, are not their proper and necessary attendants, but are the results of human corruption; like the selfishness and tyranny which have been too commonly the abuse of high station and civil power. Such facts are serious lessons to mankind: they teach the obligations of humility, submission to God, habitual prayer (for what can be more rational than to seek wisdom at its Fountain?)—vigilance against the causes of error, and the being “jealous over ourselves with a godly jealousy;” and they add to the abundant demonstration, that the spirit of true religion is essential to the well-being of both individual and social man.

It is not the design, in offering these thoughts to the reader’s serious consideration, to lay in a stock of prepossessions for the unfair advantage of those views which my convictions have led me to maintain. The only result which I wish, for myself and my readers, is with full evidence and satisfaction to know **THE TRUTH OF GOD**: and the only means by which I would aim to secure that result, are a real **FREEDOM OF INQUIRY** and **HONEST IMPARTIALITY**. I wish to enter the most earnest protest against ignorance and flippancy, bitterness, uncharitableness, and haughty dogmatism, in those who are called orthodox, no less than in those who adopt a different creed. But my desire is also to promote the practice of **GODLINESS** and the exercises of **DEVOTION**, as instruments for the acquisition and improvement of divine knowledge, no less rational and necessary than excursive investigation and laborious research. “If any one desire to do his will, he shall know, concerning my doctrine, whether it be of God. What man is he that feareth the Lord? Him God will teach in the way which he ought to choose.”⁴

It cannot but have a most intimate relation to the object

⁴ John vii. 16. “—he shall arrive at certainty concerning my doctrine.—” *J. D. Mich. De Wette* uses *erfahren*, to perceive experimentally. Ps. xxv. 12. “—ought to choose.” The Hebrew future often expresses obligation.

before us, to inquire what description of religious feelings and practice is found, by fact and observation, to have the nearest affinity to the Unitarian doctrines, to be the most congenial with their ordinary and unconstrained influence, and to be the most promoted by the reception and profession of those doctrines. The religion taught in the Bible is very evidently the *religion of a recovered sinner*; a religion of which the primary and most essential parts are conviction of the unspeakable evil of sin, hatred of it, and conversion from it, self-abasement, lowliness of mind, a broken and a contrite spirit, habitual and conscious dependence on divine grace, a godly self-jealousy, a constant reference to Christ in the formation of our motives and the working of our affections, a daily and arduous struggle in the resistance of inward as well as outward temptations, in the mortification of sin, and in the vitality of active obedience. No impartial person who has seriously examined the Scriptures, can have failed to perceive the great stress which they lay upon these particulars, as the very elements of the Christian character. But are they the elements of the Unitarian character? Is the Unitarian system found by experience to exercise a congenial, propitious, and improving influence upon them? Is it, when these scriptural dispositions are the most strongly felt, that the Unitarian system appears the most lovely and inviting?—On the contrary, does not that system, in its most manifest and characteristic operation, shed a deadly chill upon them all? And, by the generality of those who imbibe it, are they not treated with indifference or hardened derision?

Unitarian writers have sometimes drawn out their views on the subjects of practical religion, either in arrangements of the whole, or in discussions of particular parts.⁵ In such compositions, do those primary graces and virtues appear in full proportion and prominent situation? Is even any place assigned to them? These disquisitions may be ingenious, acute, and instructive; they may display much knowledge of life and manners, and masterly delineations of the passions and characters of

⁵ See, for instance, Foster's *Moral Philosophy*, the Sermons of Bourn, Enfield, Priestley, Jardine, etc. etc.—Dr Priestley's *Institutes*, considered with respect to its practical bearings only, in which view it forms a melancholy contrast to Calvin's great work; Dr Cogan's *Ethics*; writings of Channing, Ware, and Martineau; and, among the best, Crellius's *Ethica Christiana*. Superior commendation is due to Dr Lant Carpenter's practical writings. But in all, the characters of deficiency above mentioned are apparent.

men; but are they not the ethics of Theophrastus and Aristotle and Seneca, with occasionally a cautious addition of a Scripture precept, or a tincture of christian improvement, and the argument from a future life somewhat more strongly urged,—rather than the “words which are spirit and life; the wholesome words “of our Lord Jesus Christ, the teaching which is according to “godliness;”—that which it is the characteristic of the man of God, with ardour to follow, “righteousness, godliness, faith, love, “patience, meekness, fighting the good fight of faith, laying hold “on eternal life?”⁶

Again: there are certain employments of talent and time which possess very fascinating attractions, and have all the recommendation that politeness and elegance and fashion can give; but with respect to which it is impossible to deny that the trains of thought which they excite, the feelings and character which they panegyryze, the passions which they foment, and the accessory circumstances by which they are invariably surrounded, are in *flagrant contradiction* to the spirit and the details of *christian* morality. Against these, and against all their shifting varieties, serious Christians every where bear their practical testimony: and, amidst the diversities on minor points of doctrine and on ecclesiastical order, this practical protest against the lusts and the course of the present evil world, is one of the uniting resemblances which bind together all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. How, then, does the practical spirit of Unitarianism operate in these instances? Does it generally and characteristically lead to “come out from among “them, and to be separate, and not to touch the unclean thing?” Is it not the truth, that all the forms of gay amusement and fashionable dissipation have *generally* the Unitarians of their neighbourhoods among their principal votaries, so far as station and circumstances afford opportunities? Let theatres and balls, card-tables and billiard-rooms, bear witness. Let the medicinal waters and the resorts for sea-bathing, which receive their yearly visitants for the regaining or the improving of health,—let them declare whether Unitarian families do not *generally* mix in the full vortex of *dechristianizing*, though the world will not deem them *demoralizing*, gaities.

The Lord’s day is the periodical season for religious ordin-

⁶ See John vi. 63. 1 Tim. vi. 3, 11, 12. See also Rom. xii. Col. iii. and the hortatory parts of all the Epistles.

ances: and the experience of Christians in all ages has proved how impossible it is to combine a right frame of mind for public devotion and profitable retirement with the sober routine of their secular business, still less with filling up any part of the day by diversions and amusements. Without urging the peculiarities of the Jewish ceremonial, they find that there is a foundation in reason and experience, as well as in New Testament sanctions, for "calling the sabbath a delight [dedicated] to the holy Jehovah, "and honourable;" and for "honouring it by not doing their "own ways, nor finding their own pleasure, nor speaking their "own words:" and they acknowledge the sanctity of the Lord's day as not more a becoming homage to the divine supremacy, than an appointment of most tender condescension to the circumstances of man. But how does the spirit of Unitarianism treat this sacred obligation? Are there many of its partisans who make conscience of a strict observance of this holy and most valuable season? Is it not generally with them made a day of worldly pleasure, either in part, or, if an extraordinary occasion should occur, in its whole? Has not an eminent Unitarian preached and printed to persuade men that "any employment, or any amusement, which is lawful on other days, is lawful on the Sunday?"⁷ And has not his example led many of his party to treat the sanctified observance of this day with contemptuous pity, and the scorn of ridicule?⁸ Is it not a frequent subject of complaint among Unitarians, that persons who are decidedly friendly to their views, who have become so, not from the mere passiveness of educational compliance or of accidental association, but from thorough conviction, and who are also entitled to be classed with the "intelligent and respectable;"—that such persons are not seldom found to be wholly, or in a very high degree, negligent of the duties of visible religion, and the appropriated seasons of public worship and instruction? Is not this a remarkable and truly peculiar circumstance? Was it ever heard that any other denomination of Christians had reason to lament that its "intelligent and respectable" and *avowed* friends were thus

⁷ Mr Belsham's *Letters to a Lady*; Lett. xii.

⁸ It is with sincere pleasure that I acknowledge the just observations of Dr Lant Carpenter, on the religious utility and obligation of the Lord's day, which he has given to the world since the first edition of these volumes, in his *Examination of the Charges made against Unitarianism, etc.* by Archbishop Magee; pp. 260-264. But my argument rests upon general facts.

living in habitual indifference to social religion, and in the contempt of its most obvious duties?⁹

There are in our country Unitarians of high respectability, descended from the sufferers for religion in the seventeenth century, and who preserve, with pious care, as family treasures, the manuscripts of their ancestors. Such persons are beloved for their fathers' sakes:—will they suffer me to accost them? Unlock, I respectfully intreat you, those cherished letters, diaries, meditations, and narratives; and dedicate a few hours to their serious perusal. Are you not impressed with the simplicity and powerfulness of the religion which once adorned your houses? Can you avoid being struck with the heavenliness of mind, the separation from the evils that are in the world, the subordination of earthly occupations and enjoyments to the government of exalted piety, the affectionate reverence for sacred things, yet far remote from superstition, the delight in secret prayer and every form and method of holding communion with God, the love and daily study of the Scriptures, and the labours to promote the everlasting welfare of those around them? Do you not also perceive, that those excellences arose from and were sustained by the very principles of which the rejection, often with ridicule and scorn, forms the essential character of your modern Unitarianism? Are you not fully aware that those characters of vital and vigorous religion have decayed and dwindled, as the old principles were permitted to expire? Is there not, as Mrs Barbauld hesitates not to assert, “still apparent in that class called *serious* Christians, a tenderness in exposing them, a sort of leaning towards them” [those old principles, which, however, she shows that she miserably misunderstood], “as, in walking over a precipice, one should lean to the safest side?”¹⁰ May you not, with advantage, reflect upon this contrast? The power of godliness, and the power of worldliness!—Where now are the devotions of the closet? Where is the religion of the family? Where are the indications of life,

⁹ “We have much to lament that, even in our own immediate neighbourhood, there is so great a number of intelligent and respectable men, who think and are willing to avow that they think, completely with us, and yet are never seen in our ranks, nor make a public avowal of their belief. The practice of going to the national church, or the custom of going no where to worship at all, keeps, alas! from our worship many who would be an honour to our cause, and would increase their own respectability by an upright and honest obedience to the dictates of their own minds.”—*Monthly Repos.* Dec. 1817, p. 717.

¹⁰ Mrs Barbauld's Works, vol. ii. p. 465.

sweetness, and energy, in the "work of faith and labour of love and patience of hope;" the rejoicing in tribulation, the calm descent of closing life, the triumph in death, the "desire to depart and to be with Christ?" Who among you, when age and sickness are imprinting their marks upon your failing bodies, are saying now, as was common with your ancestors, "Shortly I must put off this tabernacle: but I know in whom I have believed, and I can bear all things through HIM strengthening me. Gracious Shepherd of my soul! I know thy voice, I recline upon thine arms, I obey thy call, assured that I shall never perish, and that none shall tear me from thy protecting hand! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" Does unprejudiced reason supply no startling inference? Is there no application here of our Lord's maxim, "The tree is known by its fruits?"

Death actually arrives. Cases are not very rare of Unitarians, in their closing days, manifesting doubt and hesitation, uneasiness and alarm; shrinking from any mention of religion and eternity, and carefully excluding that class of topics:—yea, more;—fleeing into the arms of an evangelical faith, bearing witness to its consolatory power, "keeping themselves in the love of God, and looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." But are there any instances of the reverse? Have we ever heard of a man who, in health and vigour, was a consistent adherent to the doctrines of Redemption and Grace; and who, in the ebbing of life and the opening gates of eternity, cast away his reliance on "the unsearchable riches of Christ," and threw himself, for safety and comfort, into the system of Unitarianism?

From contemplating the state of mind and practice, with respect to religion, which experience shows to bear a close affinity to the Unitarian profession in individuals and families, it is natural to ask, What has been the effect of this system upon a more extended scale? How has it operated on communities of Christians? If it be the religion of the Gospel in its apostolic purity, we reasonably expect to find its general effects distinguished, above those professions which on its hypothesis are not only erroneous but impious and idolatrous, by apostolic fruits; such as conformity to the moral example of Jesus, separation from the corrupt world, and efficient zeal, not so much for converting men who are already professors of serious religion to a new system of speculative opinions, as for turning the careless, dissipated, and profane, to a life of piety, humility,

and purity. Does it appear to be the proper and natural tendency of Unitarianism, and in its most uncontrolled operation its usual and ordinary consequence, to make congregations adorned in "the beauties of holiness," and "stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord?" Is it the ordinary character of its public teachers to be "solid, affectionate, powerful, lively, awakening preachers; aiming at the advancement of real vital religion in the hearts and lives of men? Are they, particularly, men of great devotion and eminent abilities in prayer, uttered, as God enables them, from the abundance of their hearts and affections;—men of divine eloquence in pleading at the throne of grace, raising and melting the affections of their hearers, and being happily instrumental in transfusing into their souls the same spirit and heavenly gift? Is *this* the ground of all their other qualifications? Are they excellent men; because excellent, instant, and fervent in prayer? Does the presence and blessing of God appear in their assemblies and attend their labours? Are many converted, and built up in godliness and sobriety, by their prayers, pains, doctrine, and conversations?" Or, in opposition to all this, are they not "pursuing measures which have a manifest tendency to extinguish the light which [the primitive nonconformists] kindled, to damp the spirit which they enlivened, and to dissipate and dissolve the societies which they raised and formed?"¹¹

An instructive instance of this deterioration is presented to us, in the modern history of the church of Geneva, once the glory of the Reformation. For nearly a century, Arianism and Socinianism have been spreading themselves among the pastors and academical professors of that city; for the most part under the disguise of evasions, ambiguous phrases, and faint denials; but, during the latter half of that period, with increasing boldness. Our English Unitarians have recently been gratified with discovering that, in the new Genevese Catechism, "there is not only no exposition or defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, but not even an allusion to it;" and that "the Genevan pastors are on the high road of reformation, and their next catechism may not merely omit, but openly expose, pretended orthodoxy."¹² This writer was probably not aware, that he was humbly chanting to the tune which had been before sung by the con-

¹¹ See Note A, at the end of this chapter.

¹² *Monthly Repository*, April 1816, p. 235.

summate performers, d'Alembert and Voltaire. The article *Geneva*, in the French *Encyclopédie*, was written by the former of those authors, so illustrious by the splendour of their talents, so detestable for the baseness of their moral principles. From that elaborate and, but for its irreligious tincture, interesting article, I select some paragraphs.

“Very far indeed are the ministers from thinking all alike, even on those points which are regarded elsewhere as having the most important place in religion. Many have renounced the divinity of Jesus Christ, of which their leader, Calvin, was so zealous a defender, and for which he brought Servetus to the stake.—They explain the least unfavourably that they can, the express passages of Scripture which are contrary to their opinions.—In one word; all the religion that many of the ministers of Geneva have is a complete Socinianism, rejecting every thing called mystery, and supposing that the first principle of a true religion is to propose nothing to be received as a matter of faith which strikes against reason. Thus, when they are pressed upon the position which is so essential to Christianity, the *necessity* of revelation, many of them substitute in its place *utility*, as a softer term. If in this they are not orthodox, they are at least consistent.—At Geneva, less complaint is made than elsewhere, on the growth of infidelity; which ought to excite no surprise: religion is there reduced almost entirely to the worship of one God, at least with all above the lowest ranks: respect for Jesus Christ and the Bible is perhaps the only thing which distinguishes the Christianity of Geneva from pure Deism.”¹³

Great offence was taken by M. Vernet¹⁴ and other ministers

¹³ See Note B.

¹⁴ James Vernet, one of the Pastors and Professors of Divinity, who died about 1790, in extreme age. He continued and completed the work begun by John Alphonsus Turretin, *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, in ten vols. Geneva, 1730–1788. Such works, detailing (often in a dry and insipid manner) the external evidences of revelation, but destitute of any exhibition of its life-giving doctrines, and of all application to the conscience, were pronounced by the illustrious Ernesti, in reference to Dr John Taylor and similar English writers, as what might well content the Deists, doing indeed their very work for them.* Voltaire chuckled with delight that Vernet contended for the *utility* of Christianity alone, as distinguished from its *necessity* to the hope and happiness of man. The anecdote survives at Geneva, that presiding at the maintaining of a thesis, he called to the student, “Say any thing about Jesus Christ, only do not make a god of him.”

* Diess ist das ordentliche System der englischen Schriftsteller, sonst der Socinianer, die man anpreist. Die Deisten müssen ihr Interesse nicht verstehen, wenn sie sich dem so sehr entgegen setzen, und nicht damit zufrieden sind; denn es ist doch in der Hauptsache mit dem ihrigen eins. *Neue Theol. Biblioth.* I. 117; Leipz. 1760.

of Geneva on the publication of this article : and an ambiguous profession of faith was by them given to the world, which, instead of contradicting, in effect confirmed the representation of d'Alembert. The correspondence of that philosopher and Voltaire contains a great number of very curious passages on the alarm and agitation which were produced among the ministers, and on the ridiculous inutility of their evasive protestation. A few of those passages may not unsuitably be produced, as they give melancholy indications that Unitarianism is a "downward road," and that its progress was viewed with high delight by those desperate and malicious unbelievers.¹⁵

Another passage from the *Encyclopédie* will furnish additional evidence of the favourable eye with which the great leaders of infidelity viewed the character and progress of Unitarianism, and with what exultation they looked forwards to its ultimate effects. It is a part of a very long and elaborate article, evidently intended as a high panegyric upon the Unitarian system; though, as usual, the author writes under the disguise of an affected submission to the authority of "the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion."

"The Unitarians have always been regarded as Christian divines, who had only broken and torn off a few branches of the tree, but still held to the trunk; whereas they ought to have been looked upon as a sect of philosophers, who, that they might not give too rude a shock to the religion and opinions, true or false, which were then received, did not choose openly to avow pure Deism, and reject formally and unequivocally every sort of revelation; but who were continually doing, with respect to the Old and New Testament, what Epicurus did with respect to the gods; admitting them verbally, but destroying them really. In fact, the Unitarians received only so much of the Scriptures as they found conformable to the natural dictates of reason, and what might serve the purpose of propping up and confirming the systems which they had embraced.—A man—becomes a Protestant. Soon finding out the inconsistency of the essential principles of Protestantism, he applies to Socinianism for a solution of his doubts and difficulties; and he becomes a Socinian. From Socinianism to Deism there is but a very slight shade, and a single step to take: and he takes it."¹⁶

Such has been the accelerated course of departure from its former evangelical faith, which has dishonoured the church of

¹⁵ See Note C.

¹⁶ See Note D.

Geneva: and it is an incontestable fact, that this unhappy progression has been accompanied with an equally advancing, and at last a hideous, dissolution of public manners. During the twenty years that the chief priest and prophet of infidelity resided at Ferney, he frequently numbered among his admiring and flattering visitors, some of the pastors of Geneva. The bonds were weakened and ruptured which religious principle would have held unbroken; and as that little state depended more than almost any other for the preservation of social order and liberty, upon fraternal union among its citizens, it was torn in pieces by frightful and ruinous dissensions, long before it was involved in the vortex of the French revolution. Its moral state became not less deplorable. The unprecedented abandonment of public worship, the almost total abolition of family religion, the contempt of the Scriptures, the scandalous violation of the Lord's day, and an audacity of libertinism, threatening the destruction of all domestic virtues, have deeply shaded the recent picture of that always interesting and once happy people. Other causes may be admitted to have had a share in the production of these effects; but the great and predisposing cause was indifference, under the pretence of philosophy and liberality, to the doctrines of the Reformation; and then, the relinquishment of those doctrines, and of the spirit of humility and piety in which alone they can be truly held. Such is certainly the opinion of intelligent and respectable men, not only foreigners, but natives and residents of Geneva.¹⁷ Such, also, is a very fair inference from the fact, that, within the period which has elapsed since the restoration of independence, the measures which were speedily adopted for the reformation of manners, have been followed by strenuous efforts for the revival of the primitive doctrines of Christianity; but also by strong opposition and even persecution from the Arianized and Socinianized party;¹⁸ and by the necessitated secession of many respectable persons

¹⁷ See Note E.

¹⁸ The means of this opposition are characteristic of their principle. Besides opprobrious names, private mischiefs, and cruel outrages from mobs, prizes have been proposed for ludicrous and profane songs, ridiculing serious religion as hypocrisy, fanaticism, mysticism, methodism, puritanism, the ultra-orthodoxy of some *exagguérés* and *têtes exaltées*; and a petition has been presented to the government for the establishment of a new theatre, "in order to turn the minds of those quarrelsome individuals from religion."—*Letter from Geneva*, in the *Morning Chronicle* of Oct. 1, 1817.

from the church establishment, the formation of separate communities, and the founding of a new Theological Seminary.

It is also a truth that the Antisupranaturalists of Germany, the deniers of all positive revelation and of the miraculous facts of the gospel-history, look with much interest to the Unitarians of England and America, warmly expressing their approbation, and evidently regarding the Unitarian system as progressive towards their own.

The deeply fixed, though not obtrusive infidelity of Dr Franklin, stands recorded by himself.¹⁹ But when he had some motives for wishing to appear as like a Christian as possible, he chose the alliance of modern Unitarianism, undoubtedly because he regarded it as having the nearest affinity to his own opinions.²⁰ A similar remark may be made with respect to President Jefferson. After his plainest avowal of pure Deism, and rejection of every notion of supernatural revelation, he is lauded by no less a person than Dr Priestley, in these marked expressions: "He is generally considered as an unbeliever; if so, however, he cannot be far from us, and I hope in the way to be, not only almost, but altogether, what we are."²¹

But I go farther, and make my appeal to intelligent and candid Unitarians themselves, whether they are not perfectly aware that a proportion not inconsiderable or uninfluential of their congregations, at the present time, throughout our country, consists of persons who do not disguise their scepticism or even settled disbelief, with regard to the divine origin and paramount authority of the Christian religion. What has produced this coalition? Why does it continue, with every appearance of mutual contentment? Is not the undeniable cause, a congeniality of spirit; and a conviction on the part of those sceptics and infidels, that the theory of Unitarianism approaches so nearly to their own, that any remaining differences may be very well accommodated to the satisfaction of each party?

Will it be said that these are irrelevant digressions and uncandid insinuations? I reply, that they are not; that they are the honest statement of facts, and that it is fair and proper, and a very necessary duty, when we are contemplating a revolution in our religious faith, to look all around the point before we set our foot upon it; to consider thoroughly the tendency,

¹⁹ In several passages of the *Memoirs of his Own Life, addressed to his Son.*

²⁰ See Note F.

²¹ *Mr Belsham's Memoirs of Mr Lindsey*, p. 540.

the actual operation, and the living characteristics of the new system, before we venture to adopt it. Religious doctrines are not speculative positions merely; they are also practical principles: and if true, they will bear to be tried by every test.²²

The chief relation of all doctrines and notions in religion is to the Adorable GOD, and his attributes. To error here, all other error may be traced: and if this foundation be laid in truth, there is good reason to hope for a solid edifice; a provision is made for symmetry and durability, and facilities are afforded for detecting occasional deviations. When therefore a single sentiment, and still more when a whole system, is proposed to our consideration, we shall do well to examine its bearings on this primary principle: whether it recognize the infinite amplitude of the Uncreated Glory, and do unreserved honour to the Supreme Excellence in all perfection of goodness and grandeur; or whether it require us to check and shrink and narrow our conceptions, to depress one perfection that we may elevate another, to ascribe any imperfection to our Maker, or to make him, in any respect, the subject of creature frailties. At the same time, it must be avowed, and it ought never to be left out of our consideration, that the application of this principle cannot be safely made without close attention, extensive and careful comparison, and humble, reverential, and devotional affections. There are cases, however, in which the ground of application is so broad and palpable, that if rectitude and piety govern the observer's mind, he cannot fail to see the just conclusion.

It is, therefore, a reasonable question, How do the general

²² The reader will perceive the affinity of these brief observations with some parts of the late Mr Fuller's admirable work, *The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared with regard to their Moral Tendency*; a work, all the attempts to answer which have appeared, to my humble judgment, to amount to no more than a virtual, but complete surrender of the argument. It has lately, however, been ingeniously said:—"There are, we believe, few Trinitarians of any intellectual consideration, that would wish to rescue Mr Fuller's tedious indictment from the oblivion into which it is sinking."—*Monthly Repository*, April 1816, p. 235. It does not appear upon what authority this is asserted. So far as my opportunities of knowing have extended, I do not think that there is reason for the supposition of any such change in the common opinions of the most intelligent Trinitarians on the merit of Mr Fuller's book; but altogether the contrary. It is not impolitic in Unitarians thus to cry down a book which is to them irrefragable. The same argument is urged with what appears to me irresistible force, and in the most candid spirit, by Dr Beecher, in one of the sermons (entitled, *The Faith once delivered to the Saints*, with an Appendix of Notes), in his volume of *Sermons*, rich in the importance of subjects, in reasoning, and in eloquence. *Boston, N. E.* 1827.

qualities of the Unitarian scheme develop themselves in reference to this principle?

Faustus Socinus, and his immediate associates, were distinguished among their other obliquities, for their attempts to infringe upon even the natural perfections of God. They denied that the essence of the Supreme Being is immense, or his presence infinite; regarding the Omnipresence of the Deity as only an energy or influence, exerted or retracted as occasion serves.²³ They regarded the Eternity of God as an ever-growing time, so that the Deity is becoming older, and regards past and future spaces of duration as remote objects of perception, in the same way, though in a much nobler degree, that finite minds are obliged to do.²⁴

They maintained that God possesses not infinite knowledge; that he cannot have a determinate and certain acquaintance with future events, more especially with the future actions of intelligent beings;²⁵ and that he changes his mind, alters his purposes, and adapts his measures to rising circumstances.²⁶ They affirmed, that in the Divine will, there are passions and commotions of less or greater violence; such as wishing, hope, and gratification at gaining a purpose; or, suspense, anxiety, fear, disappointment, regret, and grief; but, to escape the conclusion that these notions are destructive of the perfect blessedness of the Deity, they observed, that, besides his internal sources of pleasure and delight, the number of external occurrences which are gratifying to the Divine Mind so incomparably exceeds that of unwelcome and disappointing events, as greatly to diminish, if they do not quite expunge, all sense of unhappiness.²⁷ So did those men imagine the Living God to be such a one as themselves! So did they attempt to reduce even his natural attributes to the level of a finite conception!—And for what reason? Why did they resist and elude the manifold evidence of the strict Eternity, the Simplicity, the Omnipresence, the Omniscience, the Immutability, and the perfect Happiness, of JEHOVAH? To me, candour and charity will

²³ *F. Socini Opera*, tom. i. p. 685.

²⁴ *Ib.* p. 545. *Crellius* (whose sentiments on the divine attributes are, in many respects, superior to those of his associates) *de Deo et ejus Attrib.* cap. xviii. pp. 44, ed. 1656.

²⁵ *Ib.* pp. 543, 549.

²⁶ *Crell. de Deo et ej. Attr.* cap. xxxii. p. 113.

²⁷ *Ib.* cap. xxxi. pp. 106, 107.

supply no other answer, than that those vast conceptions, plainly baffling all human intellect, could not be held in accordance with their proud and unreasonable principle (a principle not so much avowed, indeed, as implied), that nothing is to be admitted as a matter of faith which the reason of man cannot comprehend. I confess that to my apprehension, there is incomparably more truth and good sense, as well as modesty, in the maxim, "Of GOD we can comprehend nothing, but that He is incomprehensible."²⁸

Concerning the moral attributes of the Deity, the Polish Socinians held, that "neither justice nor mercy are essential properties of the Divine nature, but that they are optional effects of the Divine will; and that there is no righteousness in God, which as a matter of moral right, requires the punishment of sin, or with the dictates of which he may not readily dispense."²⁹

Now it is manifest that the surest indications of our spiritual and moral taste will be taken from the state of our affections towards the *moral* attributes of the All-perfect and Blessed Being, and particularly his Rectitude, as including the attributes of Holiness and Justice. Nor is it less plain that this test will equally apply to sentiments and systems of religion.

But let us hear our unerring guide. "O Jehovah, who is "like unto thee, glorious in holiness! Holy, holy, holy Lord "God Almighty, who wast, and art, and art to come! Who "will not fear thee, and glorify thy name; for thou only art "holy? Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and thou "canst not look upon iniquity. Jehovah is the Holy God; He "is the Avenging God: He will not bear your provocations nor "your sins. God is righteous, who taketh vengeance. The "wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness "and unrighteousness of men. To me belongeth vengeance: I "will repay, saith the Lord. It is a fearful thing to fall into the "hands of the living God!"³⁰

"The word of our God shall stand for ever." Compare it, Christian reader, with the system which asks your acquiescence. To this ever spotless holiness, to this eternal and unchangeable justice, is that system strange and reluctant? Does it shun their direct contemplation? Does it abound in softening and

²⁸ Attributed to Tertullian, in *Hoornbeekii Socin. Conf.* tom. i.

²⁹ *Socini Op.* tom. i. p. 566, tom. ii. p. 123. *Catech. Racov.* pp. 209, 210, ed. 1609.

³⁰ Exod. xv. 11. Rev. iv. 8. Hab. i. 13. Jos. xxiv. 19. Rom. iii. 5; i. 18. Heb. x. 30.

mitigating evasions? Does it, in fact, set up another god before the minds of men, in the idea of whose government the vain and carnal and worldly may feel more at ease?—It acts with reason. It is providing for the belief that sin is no very tremendous evil, nor its penal effects extremely to be dreaded: that salvation is not so great, nor grace so amazing, nor redemption so necessary and so precious, as to become the theme of all earthly and all heavenly praise, to deserve the admirations of eternity, and, above all, to require a Divine Redeemer, the Lord from heaven.

To you, my reader, who are seeking to know the truth, with a serious mind and a tender conscience, and whose heart is not yet hardened to the contempt and ridicule of devotional fervours; to you I would tender sincere and affectionate advice: and, allow me to say, “I speak experienced truth.” Cast not away the solemn convictions which you have received, the sacred habits which you have formed. If ever there was a moment in your life which demanded the zeal, the purity, the “wrestlings” of holy prayer, this is that occasion. Fail not, now, to “cry mightily to God” with your whole heart: “Show me thy ways, “O Lord, teach me thy paths: lead me in THY TRUTH, and “TEACH me: UNVEIL mine eyes, and I shall behold wondrous “things out of thy law!” Let not the imputation of weakness, nor the charge of enthusiasm, deter your application to the Throne of Light and Mercy, or lessen your hope of obtaining the blessing you implore.³¹ Those imputations are often the children of affectation. Those sneers often are the poor cover of dismal misgivings. *You* have not yet learned to “speak evil of the things which you understand not.”³² An enervating sophistry has not yet disciplined you to the fatal skill of neutralizing the plainest passages, and nullifying the most solemn warn-

³¹ Though the truth of God receives not testimony from men, it is pleasing to observe it recognised by men of intellectual greatness. John Augustus Ernesti, whom few will dispute to have been the most erudite and elegant scholar of modern Germany, declares his belief that “non est dubitandum viros pios et veritatis divinæ cupidos adjuvari à Spiritu Dei in scrutando scripturæ sensu, in iis quidem rebus quæ propriè ad fidem et mores pertineant.”—“It is indubitable that persons of piety, anxiously desirous of the knowledge of divine truth, are aided by the Spirit of God in searching out the meaning of Scripture, particularly in such subjects as have an especial reference to faith and religious practice.”—*Institutio Interp. N. T.* p. 11. Also, in his *Dissertation de Testimonio Spiritus Sancti, quod non sit in Verbis, sed in Rebus* (in the *Opuscula Theologica*), he speaks with much warmth and earnestness upon this heavenly blessing, and enforces the duty of Christians to seek it by constant prayer.

³² 2 Peter ii. 12.

ings. "Let these sayings sink down into your ears. Beware lest any man make you his spoil by a vain and deceitful philosophy, according to the tradition of men, according to the principles of the world, and not according to CHRIST; for in HIM dwelleth all the fulness of the Deity really; and ye are filled in him. No man knoweth the Son but the Father. Every man who hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto me. No man can come unto me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him. Without me, ye can do nothing. No man can call Jesus LORD, but by the Holy Spirit. The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him, and he cannot know them, because they are judged of spiritually."—Pray, then, without ceasing, as did the enlightened apostle, "that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, in the acknowledgment of Him. For God, who commanded light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to enlighten us with the knowledge of the glory of God, in the person of Jesus Christ." It is "the Son of God" himself who must "give us an understanding, that we may know him that is True," and the "eternal life which is in him."

But if we spurn this inestimable gift;—if we choose to confide in our own intellectual powers, our discernment, our acuteness;—most righteously shall we fall under the judicial declaration: "The Lord hath not given you a heart to perceive, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto this day."³³ We may please ourselves, and we may congratulate and praise each other; "we may kindle a fire and compass ourselves about with sparks; we may walk in the light of our fire, and in the sparks that we have kindled;" but this shall we have "at the hand" of an insulted Saviour and Judge, that "we shall lie down in sorrow."³⁴ "If the light that is in us be darkness, how great is that darkness!"^{35 36}

³³ Deut. xxix. 4.³⁴ Is. i. 11.³⁵ Matt. vi. 23.

³⁶ "O that the adversaries to the Deity of our Redeemer would well bethink themselves that CHRIST, whose glory they contest, is their LORD and JUDGE; in whose presence we shall all, ere long, appear, to give an account of the opportunities and means which we have enjoyed for acquiring an improved knowledge of the truth! Then will it be shown, who they are that have sought, with upright hearts, the glory of God and the possession of truth."—*Dr Geo. Fried. Seiler über die Gottheit Christi; Vorrede*, p. xiv.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. V.

Note A, page 85.

Dr Taylor's (of Norwich and Warrington) *Scripture Account of Prayer*; 1761. pp. 47-49. The citation is slightly altered, by being converted into interrogations. Dr Taylor had unhappily contributed not a little to bring about the revolution in the dissenting churches, which, within a few days of his death, he thus pathetically lamented.

In this connexion, very apposite and worthy of most serious notice are the statements of a candid, ingenuous, and interesting pamphlet: "*The Confessions of an Arian Minister*," etc., in a *Letter to his Son*, by the Rev. William Gellibrand. 1817. I extract a few paragraphs:—

"At the age of sixteen, I was removed to Hoxton, and admitted upon the trust of Mr Coward, with a view to receive that course of academical instruction, deemed essential by that class of liberal dissenters with which I was connected. Our tutors were men of distinguished eminence, for whom to this hour I feel sentiments of undiminished respect and regard. When I mention the names of the late Drs Savage and Kippis, and the present Dr Rees, you will not be surprised that I should thus feel and thus speak. The greatest possible attention was paid to our improvement in classical learning, in the knowledge of the *belles lettres*, and in every branch of mathematical science. The students in general were undoubtedly what the world would call respectable scholars: but for the great work of preaching the gospel, they were most inadequately prepared.—There were two young men amongst us, whose sentiments had a tincture of Calvinism: but they were, on that account, the ridicule of all their companions, by whom the reception of such principles was considered as incompatible, not only with truth, but even with common sense." Having completed his five years' course of academical preparation, Mr G. succeeded Dr Price as afternoon preacher at Newington Green. He afterwards removed to Ringwood, and from thence to Brentford.—"I was a determined Arian, advancing fast to what I then considered the pure and rational views of Christianity, as supported and recommended by Dr Priestley." Perhaps the author means that he was *determined* in his rejection of Trinitarianism, but not unlikely to make progress in the contrary direction.—"I had many valuable, respectable, and friendly people, who constantly attended my ministry, and honoured me with their affection and regard. But I felt little or no interest in the services of religion.—The cold, the dry, the uninteresting scheme I had embraced, could not preserve alive in my soul the love of religion. The services of the Sabbath were wearisome to me; and, if ever I felt the fervour of devotion, or the warmth of affection for the souls of men, glowing in my bosom, I checked its growth and restrained its expansion, fearing I might be guilty of what reason would censure, or philosophy condemn."

Note B, page 86.

"Il s'en faut cependant beaucoup qu'ils pensent tous de même sur les articles qu'on regarde ailleurs comme les plus importants à la religion. Plusieurs ne croient plus la divinité de Jésus-Christ, dont Calvin leur chef était si zélé défenseur, et pour laquelle il fit brûler Servet. Ils expliquent le moins mal qu'ils peuvent les passages formels de l'Ecriture qui sont contraires à leur opinion. Pour tout dire en un mot, plusieurs pasteurs de Genève n'ont d'autre religion qu'un Socinianisme parfait, rejetant tout ce qu'on appelle mystères, et s'imaginant que le premier principe d'une religion véritable est de ne rien proposer à croire qui heurte la raison: aussi quand on les presse sur la *nécessité* de la révélation, ce dogme si essentiel du Christianisme, plusieurs y substituent le term d'*utilité*, qui leur

paraît plus doux : en cela, s'ils ne sont pas orthodoxes, ils sont au moins conséquens à leurs principes. On se plaint moins à Genève qu'ailleurs des progrès de l'incrédulité ; ce qui ne doit pas surprendre : la religion y est presque réduite à l'adoration d'un seul Dieu, du moins chez presque tout ce qui n'est pas peuple : le respect pour Jésus-Christ et pour les Ecritures sont peut-être la seule chose qui distingue d'un pur Déisme le Christianisme de Genève."

Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert. ART. GENÈVE.

Note C, page 87.

"Un ministre me mande qu'on vous doit des remerciemens ; je crois vous l'avoir déjà dit ; d'autres se fâchent ; d'autres font semblant de se fâcher. Le théologien Vernet, qui a imprimé que *la révélation est utile*, est à la tête de la commission établie pour voir ce qu'on doit faire ; le grand médecin Tronchin est secrétaire de cette commission, et vous savez combien il est prudent.—Les magistrats et les prêtres sont venus dîner chez moi, comme à l'ordinaire. Continuez à me laisser, avec Tronchin, le soin de la plaisante affaire des Sociniens de Genève : vous les reconnaissez pour Chrétiens, comme M. Chicaneau reconnaît Madame de Pimbêche pour *femme très-sensée et de bon jugement*. Il suffit."—"One of the ministers charges me with thanks for you. I think I have told you so before. Some are vexed ; and some pretend to be vexed. Vernet, the professor of divinity, who printed that *revelation is useful*, is at the head of the committee formed to consider what must be done. The great physician Tronchin is the secretary to the committee, and you know how prudent a man he is.—The magistrates and priests are come to dine with me, as usual. Let me and Tronchin alone for this pretty business of the Socinians of Geneva. You admit them to be Christians, just as Mr Juggle acknowledges Mrs Lumpkin to be a *very sensible and judicious woman*. That will do." *Voltaire to d'Alembert*, Jan. 19, 1757. *Œuvres de Volt.* ed. Paris, 1784, vol. 68.

"—Il est impossible que, dans la ville de Calvin, peuplée de vingt-quatre mille raisonneurs, il n'y ait pas encore quelques Calvinistes ; mais ils sont en très-petit nombre et assez bafoués. Tous les honnêtes gens sont Déistes, par Christ!"—"It is impossible, that in Calvin's town, with a population of four-and-twenty thousand thinking persons, there should not be still a few Calvinists : but they are extremely few and well abused. All genteel people are Deists, by —!"—*Volt. to d'Al.* Aug. 29, 1757. (Almost every page of these letters flows with profaneness and blasphemies, under the form of witticisms, so dreadful as to make one's blood run cold.)

"—N'avez-vous pas vingt fois entendu dire à tous les ministres qu'ils ne regardent pas Jésus-Christ comme Dieu ? Vous avez donc déclaré la vérité ; et nous verrons s'ils auront l'audace et la bassesse de la trahir."—"Have you not heard the ministers say twenty times, that they do not consider Jesus Christ as God ? You have then published the truth ; and we shall see whether they will have the impudence and baseness to prevaricate."—*Volt. to d'Al.* Dec. 29, 1757.

"—S'ils disent que j'ai trahi leur secret, et que je les ai représentés comme Sociniens ; je leur répondrai, et je répondrai à toute la terre, s'il le faut, que j'ai dit la vérité, et une vérité notoire et publique, et que j'ai cru, en la disant, faire honneur à leur logique et à leur judiciaire."—"If they say that I have betrayed their secret, and represented them as Socinians ; I shall reply to them, and to all the world if necessary, that I have told the truth, and a notorious and public truth ; and that, in telling it, I thought I was doing honour to their powers of reason and judgment."—*D'Al. to Volt.* Jan. 20, 1758.

"M. de Malesherbes vous a, je crois, donné la Profession Servetina qu'on lui a envoyée pour vous. Servet, sans doute, aurait signé cette confession. C'est là

une des plus belles contradictions de ce monde. Ceux qui ont fait brûler Servet, pensent absolument comme lui, et le disent. On vient d'imprimer le Socinianisme tout cru à Neuchâtel; il triomphe en Angleterre; la secte est nombreuse à Amsterdam. Dans vingt ans Dieu aura beau jeu."—"M. de Malesherbes has given you, I suppose, the Servetine declaration which had been sent him for you. Servetus would, undoubtedly, have signed this confession. It is one of the finest pieces of contradiction in this world. They have just printed the rankest Socinianism at Neufchatel; it triumphs in England; and its partizans are numerous at Amsterdam. In twenty years God will have fair play."—*Volt. to d'Al.* Feb. 25, 1758.

"Si vous allez voir Luc, passez par chez nous: vous trouverez que Genève a fait de grands progrès, et qu'il y a plus de philosophes que de Sociniens."—"If you visit Luke [the King of Prussia], take us on your way. You will find that Geneva has made great progress, and that there are more philosophers than Socinians."—*Volt. to d'Al.* May 1, 1763.

"—Pour moi, mon illustre et incomparable voyageur, je ne vous pardonnerai jamais de n'être pas révenu par Genève. Vous dédaignez les petites triomphes; vous auriez été bien content de voir l'accomplissement de vos prédictions. Il n'y a plus dans la ville de Calvin que quelques gredins qui croient au consubstantiel."—"For my own part, my illustrious and incomparable traveller, I shall never pardon you for not having returned by Geneva. You disdain little triumphs; but you would have been delighted to see the fulfilment of your predictions. In Calvin's own town there are none now, but a few beggarly wretches, that believe in the divine nature of Christ."—*Volt. to d'Al.* Sept. 28, 1763.

Note D, p. 87.

"On a toujours regardé les Unitaires comme des théologiens chrétiens qui n'avaient fait que briser et arracher quelques branches de l'arbre, mais qui tenaient toujours au tronc; tandis qu'il fallait les considérer comme une secte de philosophes qui, pour ne point choquer trop directement le culte et les opinions vraies ou fausses reçues alors, ne voulaient point afficher ouvertement le Déisme pur, ni rejeter formellement et sans détours toute espèce de révélation; mais qui faisaient continuellement, à l'égard de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, ce qu'Epicure faisait à l'égard des dieux, qu'il admettait verbalement, et qu'il détruisait réellement. En effet, les Unitaires ne recevaient des Ecritures que ce qu'ils trouvaient conforme aux lumières naturelles de la raison, et ce qui pouvait servir à étayer et à confirmer les systèmes qu'ils avaient embrassés.—Un homme—se fait protestant: s'apercevant bientôt de l'incohérence des principes qui caractérisent le Protestantisme, il cherche dans le Socinianisme une solution à ses doutes et à ses difficultés; et il devient Socinien: du Socinianisme au Déisme il n'y a qu'une nuance très imperceptible, et un pas à faire; il le fait."—*Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert.* Art. UNITAIRES, written by Naigeon, the intimate friend of Diderot.

Note E, page 88.

Some of these statements rest upon general notoriety, and various publications by both natives and foreigners; others upon private information. The prevailing corruption of manners far exceeded that of Switzerland in general, and much resembled the condition of the great towns in France. The public honours which are paid to the memory of Rousseau, must have had a powerful effect in recommending his principles to all classes of the population, and especially to young persons. His fascinating, but licentious writings, and the equally pernicious ones of Voltaire, have been long the most popular literature of the Gene-

vese. Hence, while a regard to character and the decorums of their station, has preserved many of the superior families from descending to vulgar immoralities, the most open and offensive infidelity has become extremely common among the middling class and the artisans, with a bold exhibition of the sarcasm, malice, and blasphemy imitated from the latter of those writers. Yet persons of this description have been admitted, readily and as a matter of course, to the sacramental communion. Though this melancholy state of religion and morals was justly to be attributed, in a great measure, to the direct influence of infidelity, yet it is reasonable to conclude that the victims of the awful seduction would not have been so numerous, nor its desolation so extensive, but for that previous dereliction of the gospel which had taken place in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

Note F, page 89.

“Here is my creed: I believe in one God, the Creator of the Universe; that he governs it by his providence; that he ought to be worshipped; that the most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children; that the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life, respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion, and I regard them as you do in whatever sect I meet with them. As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think the system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is likely to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting changes, and I have, with most of the present dissenters in England, some doubts as to his divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it; and think it is needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble.”—*Dr Franklin's Letter to Dr Ezra Stiles*, March 9, 1790; in *Holmes's Life of Stiles*, Boston, 1798, p. 310; or in the *Private Correspondence of Franklin*, published by his grandson, London, 1817. Dr F. died on the 17th of the month following, in his 85th year. He shows himself to have been greatly mistaken in his estimate of the sentiments held by the majority of the English dissenters.

CHAP. VI.

ON MR BELSHAM'S PREFACE TO HIS CALM INQUIRY INTO THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

The author of the *Calm Inquiry*.—His account of his conversion to Unitarianism.
—Observations on that account.—The Theological Professorship at Daventry.
—The Professor's previous state of mind.—His transition of sentiment not a
subject of surprise.—Remarks on his plan of Theological tuition,—and on its
effect upon young and unprepared minds.

THE author of the *Calm Inquiry*¹ is respectable for his age, his knowledge, and his talents, for the amenity of his manners in social life, and for the variety, the copiousness, and the agreeableness of his conversation. What he is as a professed disciple and minister of HIM “who came into the world to save sinners,” is a question too awful for human decision: it will be determined in its own time by the RIGHTEOUS JUDGE, from whom “the Lord grant that he may find mercy in that day!” But we all participate the public right to judge of his merits as a divine, provided that we form our judgment with candour and integrity, and express it with decorum and respect. His sentiments on the most important subjects that can occupy the intellect of man, he has repeatedly given to the world, with an openness and boldness, if not unrivalled, yet certainly not exceeded. He cannot but approve the same frankness and zeal in others. If our most serious consideration will not allow us to acquiesce in his decisions, and approve his unmitigated language;² if we cannot regard him as an enlightened defender of the gospel, and an ardent friend to the best interests of mankind; no choice remains for us but to lament the misapplication of his zeal and abilities; and, by “speaking forth the words of truth and soberness,” to oppose what our convictions oblige us to regard as ruinous error.

¹ I had wished to exclude from this edition all personal references to the late Rev. Thomas Belsham, who died November 11, 1829, aged 80: but I have found it impossible without throwing obscurity upon important parts of the argument. As his work, which gave occasion to this treatise, is likely to retain its reputation among Unitarians, I trust it will be no disregard of justice or delicacy to retain such references to it as appear necessary to a clear understanding of the questions that arise.

² See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

This author has favoured us with an account of the progress and maturation of his own Unitarianism ;³ upon which, since he has himself thus opened the case before the world, it cannot be deemed uncandid or indelicate to offer some remarks.

Without any disposition to withhold due honour from the conscientiousness which led the Theological Tutor at Daventry to resign his office in 1789, it may be doubted whether the sentiments of the Professor in 1781, as he has here described them, were not even then inconsistent with "the design of the appointment." We can learn that *design* from nothing so satisfactorily as from the Will of the Founder, which specifies the purpose of the bequest in these words: "My will is, that my said Trustees, and those who shall succeed them as hereinafter directed, do take care that the said students be well instructed in the TRUE Gospel doctrines, ACCORDING AS the same are explained in the Assembly's Catechism." Now I am sure that the honourable mind of Mr Belsham will admit, that no man could act up to the spirit and unquestionable design of this testamentary appointment, who was not strictly and in good faith a believer of the doctrines asserted in the Assembly's Catechism. He will not affirm that, if the Trustees were knowingly to appoint or to continue an Arminian, a Pelagian, or an Arian in the office of Divinity Tutor on this foundation, an upright man could accept or hold it under such unfaithful connivance. Neither will he maintain that integrity of conscience would be satisfied by a Tutor's professing to "instruct" in doctrines which he did not believe; or by his making use of a text-book on which his lectures, if sincere, must have been in the style of reprehension and contradiction.

Though at the time referred to, the Professor was "a firm believer in the pre-existence of Christ," it does not appear that he held the proper Deity of Christ: but, on the contrary, it does appear that he was a Semi-Arian, with some remaining inclination towards a theory of which he now declares that, supposing one explication of it, "it involves an absurdity too gross to be allowed by any considerate mind," while, upon another interpretation, it "is perfectly similar to that which all Arians, Socinians, and even Unitarians have always maintained, and is in fact giving up the deity of the Son and the Spirit."⁴

That a mind in this state should be dissatisfied and fluctuating, is agreeable to experience and to all rational expectation. The

³ See Note B.

⁴ *Calm Inq.* p. 503.

transition from Arianism to the theory termed Unitarian, is not surprising or unnatural. The principal gist of the question between the two schemes is, in which rank of *creatures* the Redeemer is to be placed: and it can scarcely have failed to occur to a thinking person that, of all possible orders of created intelligences, the difference between the utmost extremes is but as nothing compared with the disparity between *any* creature and the Infinite God. Besides, the bold hand of Unitarianism sweeps away some difficulties which press heavily on the Arian scheme: and, as to the habit of mind and feeling which each hypothesis finds most congenial to its moral influence, how nearly that is identical in each case, has been very well evinced by the universal connexion and union of Arian and Socinian or Unitarian congregations and ministers, throughout the kingdom. The fact of this transition from the former to the latter has been so often exhibited, that it has seldom or never excited surprise; and it has been more usually a matter of expectation by friends and observers. Indeed the Arianism which crept into the dissenting churches in England during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, has generally become absorbed in the modish Unitarianism of the present day.—On these grounds, I presume to think that our Inquirer's "entire surrender of the faith in which he had been educated" was by no means worthy of being recorded as an extraordinary occurrence.

The learned writer favours us with an account of the method, which to him "appeared most eligible for conducting the minds of his pupils in this Inquiry." I venture to express some doubt whether the plan described was adapted to its purpose, and likely to produce a just result. A selection and arrangement of texts was certainly, so far as it went, a suitable means; provided a due regard were had to the completeness of the collection, and to the studying of each in its proper place and connexion. But to throw down before a company of inexperienced youths, a regular set of rival and discordant expositions, "in general without any additional, or at least, doctrinal, comment of the compiler's own," appears to me to have been a method not well calculated to lead into the path of really free inquiry, convincing evidence, and well ascertained truth. It might excite party feeling, wordy disputation, unholy levity, and rash decision: but, so far as either from the theory of the case or from experience I am able to form a judgment, I could not expect a better result, except in rare

instances indeed.⁵ Difficult is the task to assist, in the personal and successful search after SACRED TRUTH, young minds whose judgment is immature, their experience nothing, their reading hitherto scanty, their conceptions eager, and their self-opinion often strong. If, in relation to this subject, I may presume to express my opinion and my wishes, they would be to demand, in the first place, certain PREREQUISITES for the study : good intellectual powers, the habit of deliberate and patient thought, a respectable acquaintance with the language, style, and idiomatical peculiarities of the inspired writers, a memory well stored with the contents of the Bible, some practice in theological reading, and, ABOVE ALL, *and without which all the rest will be nugatory*, a heart governed by genuine piety, humility, the spirit of prayer, and love to God as the God of perfect holiness. In minds thus prepared, and thus with conscientious and holy diligence exercised, the seed of heavenly truth would find a congenial soil, and a happy harvest might be expected, under His blessing who alone giveth the increase. But, without this discipline, “the truth which is according to godliness” will be unwelcome and distasteful ; plausible error will be agreeable, and will meet a ready reception ; and the lofty boast of free inquiry will end in deep and confirmed self-delusion.⁶

But were not the Inquirer’s pupils thus disciplined for the toils of theological controversy ? Were they not such as had their mental and moral “perceptions exercised to the discrimination of both the good and the evil ?”⁷—The declaration avers that, of the “*many*,” who gave pain and mortification to their tutor, there were “*some* of the best talents, the closest application, and the most serious dispositions, who had also been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine.”

That the author of this assertion made it with the consciousness of veracity, I entertain not a doubt : and if any should construe the observations, which I feel it my duty to make, into

⁵ “The Theological Professor” [Mr Belsham’s predecessor] “prided himself on the steady impartiality with which he held the balance betwixt the contending systems, seldom or never interposing his own opinion, and still less betraying the slightest emotion of antipathy to error or predilection for truth. Thus a spirit of indifference to all religious principles was generated in the first instance ; which naturally paved the way for the prompt reception of doctrines indulgent to the corruption and flattering to the pride of a depraved and fallen nature.”—*Mr Hall’s Memoir of Mr Toller*, prefixed to his posthumous *Sermons*, p. 5.

⁶ See Note C.

⁷ Τὰ αἰσθητήρια γυγνυσσάμενα. Heb. v. 14.

an impugning of that veracity, they would do me great injustice. But I do think that the impressions on the author's mind, which were the grounds of his belief, must have been erroneous. That any of the young men who from 1781 to 1789 entered as Divinity Students at Daventry, "had been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine," appears to me exceedingly improbable; except the case was that they, or their friends under whose direction they acted, had previously either renounced or become indifferent to that system of doctrine. My reason for this opinion I frankly give. It is, that, during the Calm Inquirer's presidency, the Academy at Daventry was generally known and recognised by all parties as the FOUNTAIN of Arianism and Socinianism; so that when a Dissenting congregation, which had embraced or was inclined to those principles, became destitute of a minister, it usually and as a matter of course applied to Daventry for a successor; while a Trinitarian congregation so circumstanced, as usually, directed its inquiries and expectations to some other quarter. That this is a correct representation, I appeal to every person acquainted with the sentiments, feelings, and practice of the Dissenting churches. Now, to suppose that any young man, seriously and conscientiously a Trinitarian, would commence his studies for the christian ministry in a seminary notoriously adverse to his principles, hopes, and purposes, is certainly to make a supposition falling little short of the incredible. The only conjectures which I can make, to give the colour of probability to the statement under consideration, are, that rarely an instance might occur of such a young man's being influenced to this step by overruling connections or injudicious advisers; or that the individuals referred to were the sons or friends of some ministers of an unclassified description (a small number of which *then* existed) whose indecision of sentiment led them to make professions of orthodoxy when in the society of the orthodox, while their more cordial associations lay with the latitudinarian party. It is evident, however, that the words must not be strictly construed, if said of the latter kind of young persons, that they "had been educated in *all* the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine."

It is also asserted that the persons referred to possessed, not only "the best talents, and the closest application," but "*the most serious dispositions.*" Of this I can only judge from

analogy and presumptive considerations; and I am sensible that I am advancing to tread on delicate, and to me distressing, ground: but truth must be spoken. Through more than five times the number of years that Mr Belsham presided at Daventry, I have been exercised with the trials and duties of a similar situation: and I also have known the bitterness of disappointed hope and a wounded heart. Some of my friends and pupils have renounced the faith which they once professed to hold dearer than life, and have become Unitarians.—To them I have no personal enmity; I entertain towards them the sincerest commiseration; but I lay my hand upon my heart, and in the most impartial manner that I can command, I endeavour to form an estimate of the state of religious feeling which could predispose to such a change. It is not for me to judge the hearts of my fellow-men; nor would I make my own mind a standard for others.—My old friends who still remain in life, I intreat to pause, reflect, and pray. They cannot have forgotten their early professions; the humiliating sense of sin, in the burden of its guilt and the misery of its consciousness; the pangs of contrition; the renunciation of self-dependence; the reliance on Christ as their all-sufficient Saviour; their resolving to love and serve him for ever; their feelings and professions at the commemorative table; their social and secret prayers; their exhortations and admonitions to other persons.—What processes of mind conducted them to renounce the principles upon which those affections and actions rested? Was it a more intense contemplation on the beauty of holiness, a warmer veneration for the moral attributes of God, a more tender sensibility of conscience, a setting Jehovah always before them, a drawing near to Him as their exceeding joy, and finding their meditation upon Him to be sweet? Was the cause of the revolution in their religious profession, more vital piety, a more holy life, in a word, an improvement in *Christian* “seriousness of disposition?” Is their love to God more pure, more active? Are they imbued more completely with the moral spirit of the doctrine of Jesus? Have his BEATITUDES a strong hold upon their affections? In the office of the ministry, are they taking heed unto themselves and to their flocks, watching for souls as those that must give account, not shunning to declare the whole counsel of God; following after righteousness, godliness, love, patience, meekness? Do they often meditate upon the realities

of the judgment to come ; and are they looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life ?

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. VI.

Note A, page 99.

Mr Belsham has informed us, that he was educated a Calvinist, in the midst of Calvinists, and fully instructed in the creeds and catechisms, and modes of worship of this "straitest sect of our religion."—*Reply to the Animadversions of J. P. Smith*, 1805. But his horrid pictures of what he calls Calvinism force us to believe, either that he had forgotten his former faith, or that his early Calvinism was but the incoherent impression of instructions received with indifference, ill understood, and worse retained. It is a melancholy recollection, that one who was distinguished for the suavity of his personal intercourse, could dip his pen in rancour, when he had set himself to describe the religion of his first and dearest associations, and of many whom he acknowledged to have been among "the wisest and best characters."

His pictures of Calvinism are wrought up in the darkest colours of abhorrence and disdain. But every intelligent Calvinist will protest against the admission of those pictures as in any degree just or true. They are, indeed, professedly founded on the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, and other commonly approved books ; but they are constructive senses, against the equity of which we appeal to the explications and arguments of all our best writers.

"As for those who suppose that, in the study of the Scriptures, all things come alike to all ; to the clean and to the unclean ; to the humble and the proud ; to them that hate the garment spotted with the flesh, and those who both love sin and live in it : they seem to know nothing of the design, nature, power, use, or end of the gospel."—*Owen on Sp. Und.* ch. v.

Note B, page 100.

"At the time when this Inquiry was begun, the author was himself a firm believer in the pre-existence of Christ ; and was fully persuaded that the Spirit which animated the body of Christ was the eternal Logos asserted by Dr Clarke ; nor had he then altogether renounced the plausible hypothesis of Dr T. Burnet and Dr Doddridge, that the Son is God by the indwelling deity of the Father. He had been at that time, A.D. 1781, recently appointed to the Theological Chair in Mr Coward's Academy at Daventry, and Unitarianism being then 'the great controversy of the age,' he was dissatisfied with the slight notice taken of this controversy in Dr Doddridge's Lectures, which was the text-book of the institution, and regarded it as an imperative professional duty to enter more fully into this important discussion, which had of late risen into increased celebrity, partly by the controversial writings of Dr Priestley, but chiefly by the meritorious sacrifice which the venerable Theophilus Lindsey had made not many years before, to the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and by the new and singular phænomenon of a flourishing congregation of Christians, avowedly Unitarian, having been formed under his auspices in Essex Street.

"Now the plan which to the author appeared most eligible for conducting the

minds of his pupils on this Inquiry, was to form a collection of all the texts in the New Testament which in any way related to the person of Christ, and to arrange them under different heads, beginning with simple pre-existence, and advancing through the various intermediate steps to the doctrine of the proper deity of Christ. Under each text was introduced the comment of one or more learned and approved Trinitarian, Arian, or Unitarian expositors, in the commentator's own words, and in general without any additional, or at least doctrinal comment of the compiler's own, as it was his wish to leave the texts thus expounded to make their proper impression upon the minds of his pupils. Nor did he at that time entertain a doubt, that in the judgment of every serious and impartial inquirer, the result would be a clear discernment of what he then thought the superficial texture of the Unitarian arguments, and a confirmed conviction of the pre-existence, and superior nature and dignity, if not of the proper deity, of Jesus Christ.

"The first consequence of this mode of conducting the lectures was to himself very unexpected, and not a little painful and mortifying. Many of his pupils, and of those some of the best talents, the closest application, and the most serious dispositions, who had also been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine, to his great surprise became Unitarians. This, however, he was disposed to attribute to the fickleness of youth, and to the caprice of fashion. As to himself, though he was at first struck with the small number of passages which he could discover, which explicitly taught the doctrine of our Lord's pre-existence, yet, being satisfied in his own mind that they were decisive upon the question, it was some time before the arguments of the Unitarians made any considerable impression upon his mind: and his early opinions were too deeply rooted, and too intimately associated with the whole system of his religious feelings, to be easily abandoned. But being under the necessity of reviewing the subject from year to year, and at every review finding himself obliged to give up some posts as untenable, which were once deemed impregnable, he was at last compelled, though with great reluctance, to an entire surrender of the faith in which he had been educated concerning the person of Christ, and of adopting those opinions to which he certainly had no previous attachment, and the erroneusness of which he had once flattered himself he should easily have detected. Then, at length, he regarded it as his duty to speak out: and being no longer able to fulfil the design of his appointment, he resigned his office in January, 1789, into the hands of Mr Coward's Trustees, took leave of an affectionate congregation, and of a flourishing seminary of estimable pupils, and retired with no other expectation or prospect at the time, but that of passing the remainder of life in obscurity and silence."—*Calm Inq. Pref.* pp. v–viii. It is a little remarkable that the retired professor should have looked for his lot in "obscurity and silence," when his numerous and active friends were exerting themselves to give all possible celebrity to his conversion.

Note C, page 102.

"Hæc si negligentur monita, scioli redduntur, non docti; vani, non solidi; animique paulatim inescantur insatiabili multa sciendi pruritu, pleni interea cœlestium, spiritualium, divinarum rerum fastidio."—"If these admonitions are disregarded, young men will become meresciolists, instead of truly learned; empty pretenders, instead of solid divines; and their minds will be gradually ensnared by an insatiable desire of miscellaneous knowledge, while they are filled with proud contempt for heavenly, spiritual, and divine realities."—*Franckii Manuductio ad Lect. SS.* 1706, p. 11.

"It is Truth, it is Heavenly Truth, we inquire after; that, on the knowledge or ignorance whereof our eternal blessedness or misery doth depend. And in a due perception thereof alone, are the faculties of our minds perfected, according to the

measure which they are capable of in this life. Therein alone can the mind of man find rest, peace, and satisfaction, and, without it, must always wander in restless uncertainties and disquieting vanities. It is a notion implanted on the minds of all men, that all truth lies deep, and that there is great difficulty in the attainment of it. The minds of most are imposed on by specious appearances of falsehood. Wherefore all wise men have agreed that without our utmost care and diligence in the investigation of the truth, we must be contented to walk in the shades of ignorance and error. And if it be thus in earthly things, how much more is it so in heavenly? As spiritual, supernatural truth is incomparably to be valued above that which relates unto things natural; so is it more abstruse, and of a more difficult investigation.”—*Owen on Sp. Underst.* chap. v.

Yet, far, far from us be the least approach to self-gratulation; “the having confidence in ourselves that we are righteous and despising others!”—Let us “take heed to our spirits,” at all times, but above all when we are dealing with arguments of this kind; “that none deal treacherously” with his opponents, or his friends, or himself. Here lurks great danger. The merely intellectual illumination of the most precious of all truths, is not the “faith by which the heart is purified.” We may “hold the truth in unrighteousness.” It is not the insulated theory of correct doctrine that is the subject of praise or blame; but it is the moral state of the mind,—the *heart*, the disposition producing, or leading to the theory, or involved in it, or fostered by it,—that constitutes the value of our religious sentiments. The congenial partizans of “the wicked one—will perish, BECAUSE they receive not the Love of the Truth, that they may be saved.” All right dispositions of the moral feelings must have their foundation and enduring support in *some* Truth: and it is a problem which man cannot solve, how far an interpolation of dangerous error may be held in check, by the sincere though imperfect and inconsistent *clinging* of the heart to some *capital truth*,—“the faith of God’s elect,—the truth which is according to godliness;—the gospel,—by which we are saved.”¹ On the other hand, nothing can be more evident to a rationally serious mind, than that there must be truths, the rejection of which cannot consist with a right state of the moral feelings. It is also a fact, which should excite our gratitude to the Author of all good, that the *essence* of many Truths may be comprised in very different *forms of expression*. The form may be objectionable, at least to us; but the living thing remains. The varying peculiarities of human minds, the associations of childhood and youth, the system of education, the characters and habits of those whom we have loved and venerated, and the ambiguity and other imperfections inherent in language,—render one *manner of conceiving* ideas, one *form of clothing* them in words, adapted to one class of minds; and *some other* mode of thought and sign, better adapted to another class. Here is room for a diversity, considerable it may be, but not illimitable: its limits will not fail to be suggested by good sense and piety.²—Let the following citation be considered.

¹ Tit. i. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2.

² As a supplement and justification of these suggestions, I feel it my duty to advert to a Unitarian minister, with whom indeed I never had much personal intercourse, but with whose character I have enjoyed the means of something not unlike to intimate acquaintance, the late Dr Lant Carpenter, to whom reference is made in several parts of these volumes. He was drowned in the Mediterranean, April 5, 1840. I would hold forth his character as an exemplification of the sentiments above written.

“Facts which we know, give a most engaging light into the interior of Dr Carpenter’s character. Not controversial dispute, but works of love and the exercises of practical piety, were his delight. In his private reading, he was particularly attached to the writings of Richard Baxter, and most especially his *Dying Thoughts*. His constant companion-book, chosen above all others, always on his desk or carried with him in travelling, was the *Self Employment in Secret* of the eminently wise and holy nonconformist, John Corbet.—There is no truth whatever of which the merely intellectual or theoretical belief will bring salvation to the soul of man: such belief is hardly worthy of the name; it is a mere *opinion*.—The *possession* of holiness is the decisive characteristic of those for whom heaven is reserved; not the *way* and *manner* of its attainment.—When we see a fellow-man and fellow-sinner, whose character is adorned, not only with blameless morals and with those honourable decencies of life to which the world pays homage, but with untiring activity in excellent deeds, warm-hearted beneficence, exemplary virtue in all the walks of

"Although I have not scrupled occasionally to enlarge on those points of doctrine which distinguish us as a denomination, I have been, I hope, far more anxious to inculcate great and general principles, leading to sound conclusions in relation to Christian practice, as well as Christian faith.

"I believe, and have maintained from this place, that my Saviour has conferred upon me a right to judge for myself in matters of religion. 'Why even of yourselves,' said he, while upon earth, 'judge ye not that which is right?' I believe that man is responsible to God for the *dispositions manifested* in his belief. In this sense only, and that not a proper one, is he responsible for his belief. It is for his 'evil heart of unbelief' that he shall be judged, not for his unbelief itself: and God, who alone readeth the heart, is qualified to judge him. For a man, a Christian, and, above all, a protestant, to say of his fellows, as it has been expressed, 'Come, let us discuss this question; but remember, before we set out together, that if you should not arrive at my conclusion you will be eternally punished,' appears to me to be a rash and almost profane mode of proceeding in search for truth.

"Further: I am willing to abide by the words of my great Instructor and Saviour, as they stand in the sacred text, not even as they are connected together so as to impart to them a new meaning in the creeds and discourses of his fallible disciples, still less in their own unauthorized language, professing to give his sense.

"I believe that, if all that Popes and Cardinals ever decreed, all that Luther, Calvin, and Socinus, Secker, Priestley, and Wesley have ever written, together with all the ingots of the East, and all the treasures which the world contains or the universe comprises, were placed in one scale, and a single sentence of my Redeemer and my Lord in the other, the former would immediately kick the beam.

"I believe that the terms of salvation were announced in substance under the ancient covenant, when Jehovah thus spake by his prophet Isaiah: 'Come *now* and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool;' because the prophet had immediately before called upon the people to repent and reform. 'Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings;' and then, and not till then, he adds, 'Come now and let us reason together,' or cast up our account—'though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow.' But I see these terms more fully and clearly revealed, and put beyond all question to the end of time, in our Saviour's parable of the prodigal son. The character of the father cannot here be mistaken. It is the undoubted picture of the Father of the universe, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The returning prodigal declares his resolution to go to his father, and repeats beforehand certain words of contrition intended to be spoken in the presence of his offended parent. But the father, while the trembling offender is yet a great way off, sees him and has compassion on him, and falls on his neck and kisses him, and will not listen for a moment to the words of self-reproach which he had prepared to utter. The father prescribes no change of opinions in his son, although the sensualist life he had led had probably had its usual effect, of

life, and the clearest evidence, to those who possess full and close opportunities for the observation of constant 'walking with God,' not in the solemnities of public worship only, but in the family and the most retired privacy; and when this habit of life has been sustained, with unaffected simplicity and uncompromising constancy, during a life long, active, and exposed to searching observation;—when such a character is presented to our view, it would warrant the supposition of an obtuse understanding, or, what is worse, a cold heart, not to resemble Barnabas, 'who, when he came and saw the grace of God, was glad:—for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith.' Where there is 'the fruit of the Spirit,' we are warranted to believe that there is the work of the Spirit: where there are 'the fruits of righteousness,' we know that they 'are by Jesus Christ to the glory and praise of God,' notwithstanding clouds of imperfection and obscurity."—*Eclectic Review*, New Series, vol. ix. pp. 668–671; June, 1841.

blinding the eyes of the mind, and leading him almost to deny the existence of a God. It is his sins, and not his errors in creed, which he is required to renounce. Our heavenly Parent's heart is as wide as the universe he has made, and embraces with impartial affection every penitent and obedient child.

"Once more: I believe that 'we have redemption through his (Christ's) blood, even the remission of sins through the tender mercy of our God.' But in *what mode* his death contributes to this event is not revealed. And although Luther, Calvin, or Socinus should tell me they know the way, if I look in vain for any account of this matter in holy scripture, I am bound to reject their doctrine. I am content that others should understand the language of scripture in a sense ever so different from mine, according as the light which God has given them may be more or less than mine. 'Who am I that I should be the servant of another? To his own master he standeth or falleth.'

"In one thing I cannot be mistaken; 'for I perceive of a truth,' and from the first moment that this great truth beamed upon my mind from the word of God down to my latest gasp of life, I have rejoiced, and will rejoice therein,—'of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but that, in every nation, he that feareth God and loveth righteousness is accepted of him.'

"I reverence my Saviour, my King, my Lord, my Judge! Him, having not seen, I love. His name is music in my ears. I kiss the sceptre placed in his hand by his Heavenly Father, that I may live. But I would say to those who claim him as exclusively their Christ, or they his, on account of their notions of his person, 'that as they are Christ's, so also are we.' I hail him as the Prince of Peace, the bright and morning Star, the first born of the creation, where I believe reference is made to a far nobler creation than that of perishable sun, or sickly moon, or twinkling star, even that new and spiritual creation of which he is the Archetype and Head. Wilfully to tear from that mediatorial diadem which encircles his honoured head the smallest gem of which it is composed, were a crime which, unrepented of, were not to be expiated by ages of woe.

"But if, treasuring up every word which fell from his lips, and reverencing his silence more than the words of men, when I stand before his searching eye, I should still be found to have diminished ought from the real dignity of his person, I firmly believe that He who prayed for his murderers on the cross will pray to his Heavenly Father, 'Father, forgive him, for he knew not what he did.'"*—Farewell Discourse at Hampstead, July 13, 1845; by the Rev. George Kenrick; pp. 26-29.*

Upon this touching passage, I offer a remark, not to offend, but to awaken and serve. I fear that it carries in itself the common fallacy, that the *Faith*, the *Belief of the Truth*, which the New Testament demands as an indispensable condition of *Salvation* (that is, deliverance from the greatest evil, *sin*; and the acquisition of the greatest good, *holiness* with its attendant happiness)—is a bare intellectual act, a necessary result of an impression on the perceptive faculty, having in itself, no more of moral quality, good or evil, than a nervous sensation or a muscular movement: in other words, Religious Faith is a mere *Opinion*. If this be assumed, it is no wonder that men declaim upon the Innocence of Error, and the Non-responsibility of Man for his Belief or Unbelief. But the case is not such. Allow the supposition that Mr Kenrick, urged by no selfish motive, but only by his characteristic benevolence, were to send me information upon some subject which affected *my welfare* in the highest degree, and that therefore his amiableness of disposition led him to wish ardently that I should receive the intelligence according to its importance, and act upon it as the case required: and suppose further, that I refuse to pay attention to the message, that I will not take the pains to understand it, that I am content to put upon it some paltry construction, that I even treat it with unblushing contempt;—what would

any upright man say of me?—Would he admit my disbelief to be an innocent mistake, a harmless opinion? Would he not hold me culpable in a very high degree? Would he not dwell, with severe reprobation, upon my ingratitude to my intentional benefactor,—my insult to him, in refusing to give him credit for veracity,—my stabbing his generous heart, by rejecting the valuable benefit which he would fain confer?—

Scriptural Faith, and its opposite, implies each a *state* of the moral faculties or feelings; and the testimony given most clearly involves a responsibility proportionable to the greatness of the interest at issue, and the dignity of the Being whose notification is thus admitted or rejected.

Let a man reflect upon this obvious view of the case, and he will surely see the wisdom and equity of the declarations;—"God so loved the world, that he gave his Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.—He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the Only-begotten Son of God.—He shall not see life: the wrath of God abideth on him." John iii. 16, 18, 36.—It cannot be said that these passages assume a more intense meaning, by being detached from their context.—Read, O man, the whole portion! Read all the words of Jesus: read all that his messengers have written: and then ask whether one of them did not present a faithful summary when he wrote;—"This is the **TESTIMONY** of God, which he hath testified concerning his Son. He who believeth on the Son of God hath the testimony in himself: but he who believeth not God hath made HIM a liar [by implication of so dire impiety]; because he hath not believed in the testimony which God hath testified concerning his Son." 1 John v. 9, 10.

Upon this infinitely momentous subject, I entreat my reader to peruse *Dr Wardlaw's* invaluable little volume, *Man responsible for his Religious Belief*.

CHAP. VII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTRODUCTION TO THE CALM INQUIRY.

Apparent assumptions repelled.—Caution against evasions in argument.—On the connexion between words and ideas.—Want of argumentative equity in statements and demands.—Value of indirect and circumstantial evidence.—Duty of impartiality.—The *Calm Inquirer's* omission to inculcate a devotional spirit, as an essential assistance to the investigation of religious truth.

AFTER concisely describing the “three principal hypotheses” which “have been maintained concerning the person of Jesus Christ,” the author of the *Calm Inquiry* invites his readers to observe that, “in this inquiry, the whole burthen of proof lies upon those who assert the pre-existence, the original dignity, and the divinity of Jesus Christ.” If no more were intended by this assertion, than to bring our controversy within the general rule, that he who advances a position in argument is bound by the laws of common sense to adduce proof of his affirmative, in case of its being questioned; we readily accede to it, and the challenge here implied is accepted: but if the observation be understood as implying that the Unitarians are already in possession of the vantage ground; that they confessedly hold all that is clear and important in the question; that all beyond is matter of uncertain and needless speculation; and that they may safely and properly decline to trouble themselves with any condescension to the reasonings of those on whom this “burthen of proof” is imposed;—then we reject this preliminary as insidious and unjust. Now it is, to my apprehension, more than probable that the majority of those who think with Mr Belsham do understand every remark of this kind, with these or similar tacit implications. This apprehension is not lessened by another position, introduced as the corollary of the former. “In this controversy, therefore, the proper province of the Arian and Trinitarian is to propose the evidence of their respective hypotheses;—*the sole concern of the Unitarian is to show that those arguments are inconclusive.*” This might be well enough in men of no conscience or moral honour; worldly controvertists, possessing no love to truth nor sense of its value;

theological prize-fighters, caring for nothing but victory, or the semblance of victory. But such expressions comport not with the mind and motives of a sincere, and serious, and "calm inquirer," after an object so momentous as SACRED AND ETERNAL TRUTH. To obtain that object *ought* to be the *sole concern* of Unitarians and of all other men: and it behoves those who are pleased with this consequential flippancy of assertion, to examine, with deep seriousness, the state of their own hearts before Him who will not be mocked.

On a similar ground, I am obliged to object to the repeated use of the phrase "a real man," as if it were synonymous with *a mere man*; and to the assertion that "it is by no means necessary for the Unitarian to adduce proof of the proper simple humanity of Jesus Christ." This method of entwining what is admitted with what is denied, what is certainly true with what is disputable, is a contrivance that may serve the purpose of Mr Belsham's book. Assumptions of this kind are apt to work their way into the mind of an unsuspecting reader; and may bring him, ere he is aware, to acquiesce in the confusion of ideas, the bad logic, and the unfair prepossession which they include. The *real* and *proper* humanity of Jesus we hold, though the Unitarians are assiduous in affirming the contrary; but, whether the whole person of Christ consisted of a *mere* and *simple* humanity, is a distinct question. Fair argument will not permit these two ideas to be confounded. We deny the latter, while we maintain the former as strenuously as our opponents can do. To assume that the doctrine of the deity of Christ is incompatible with his *real* and *proper* humanity, is a mere *petitio principii*, neither auspicious nor honourable to the cause in which it is employed. The true state of the question is, What is the doctrine of the Scriptures concerning a point of *pure revelation*,—the person and character of the Moral Deliverer of mankind?

"If Jesus or his apostles peremptorily and unequivocally declare the doctrine of his pre-existence and original dignity, their evidence must without hesitation be admitted. They could not be mistaken."¹ Candid as this appears, I cannot but express an apprehension, founded on the modes of criticism and interpretation which are resorted to in Mr Belsham's volume, that the qualifying words are posted here to render nugatory all the rest. According to his philology, I am afraid that no terms

¹ *Calm Inq.* p. 3.

can be imagined, which, *if found in the Scriptures*, would be admitted as *sufficiently* "peremptory and unequivocal" to establish the doctrines in question. One of his ultimate resorts, in the case of a text which appears to bear strongly in favour of the orthodox doctrine, is that it does not "*necessarily*" bear such or such an interpretation.² Now so imperfect is human language, that it is hardly possible to select a term or to frame an expression which cannot *by any possibility* be taken in more senses than one: and peculiarly is this the case in propositions upon moral or any abstract subjects. If the plain and obvious sense of terms and clauses deduced by a competent attention to the construction and use of the language, may be abandoned on this allegation, a sophist must be very deficient in ingenuity who cannot invent some analogical or figurative turn, which he may *plausibly* give to any phrase, in order to neutralize his opponent's argument.³

That this apprehension is not dictated by ungenerous jealousy, may appear from another observation of our author. "Impartial and sincere inquirers after truth must be particularly upon their guard against what is called the natural signification of words and phrases. The connexion between words and ideas is perfectly arbitrary; so that the natural sense of a word to any person, means nothing more than the sense in which he has been accustomed to understand it. But it is very possible that men who lived two thousand years ago might annex very different ideas to the same words and phrases; so that the sense which appears most foreign to us, might be most natural to them."⁴

If the writer meant only to assert that the interpretation of a language must proceed on an enlightened acquaintance with its idioms, he has said no more than a school-boy knows and practises every day. But it is doing no service to the improvement of reason or the investigation of truth, to represent the phrases "natural signification" and "natural sense" as if they were properly or usually applied to the bald and blundering methods of translation which betray those who use them to be ignorant of the principles of language. I am greatly mistaken

² See *Calm Inq.* p. 15.

³ "Is an interpretation false, because the words can possibly be tortured unto some other sense? Let him name me the text (wherein any doctrine is delivered that is of merely supernatural revelation) of which it is not possible to devise some other meaning, not more remote, alien, or unimaginable than theirs of most of the disputed texts."—*Howe's Calm and Sober Inquiry*, § 25.

⁴ *Calm Inq.* p. 5.

if the established use of those expressions, with correct speakers, is not to denote that sense of a word or phrase which it would carry, at the time and under all the circumstances, in the minds of the persons to whom it was originally addressed. It is true that the *original* "connexion between words and ideas" was, in a measure, though by no means entirely, "arbitrary:" but, when that connexion has been once established with the radical terms of any language, its remaining part, which is by far the most considerable, is arbitrary no longer. Usage, indeed, exercises its sway, but by no means a sovereign sway: it is regulated and modified by the laws of association governing human thought, and by those of derivation influencing the production of new words as to both their formation and their signification. It is true enough that "men who lived two thousand years ago *might* annex to the same words and phrases, ideas very different" from those which may *seem* most "natural" to ill-taught persons in modern times, who fancy themselves competent to interpret the remains of an ancient language, because they can find the words in a lexicon: but it would be an affront to any person of decent pretensions to scholarship, to be linked with another who should say, "the sense which appears most foreign to *us* might be most natural to them." We are not destitute of means by which a moral certainty is attainable as to the *true* signification of the words and phrases of ancient writings; and, with respect to the Scriptures, we have signal advantages, such as arise from the cognate dialects of the Hebrew, the ancient versions of both the Old and the New Testament, and the series of Christian writers descending from the apostolic times. These are additional to the general means of acquiring a satisfactory knowledge of the grammar and idiom of an ancient language, by studying its structure, comparing authors and passages, close attention to the context, and acquiring a familiarity with the genius and peculiarities both of the language and of the particular writer.⁵

I hope to be forgiven for formally making observations which

⁵ I acknowledge with pleasure that Mr Belsham, in another of his observations, recognised the principal rules of interpretation:—"In order to judge of the true sense of a disputed text, it is necessary to consider the connexion in which it stands; the scope and design of the writer; the customs and modes of thinking which prevailed in the age and country in which the author wrote; his own turn of mind and peculiar phraseology, and whether he means to be understood literally or figuratively. Also, similar passages and forms of expression must be compared with each other, so that what is obscure and doubtful may be illustrated by what is clear and intelligible."—P. 4.

to many readers must appear trite. They have seemed necessary to meet a remark, which is either a mere truism, or a denial of all certainty in philological studies.

In the same dashing and injurious manner, the author goes on to affirm: "The inquiry [concerning the person of Christ] is into a plain matter of fact, which is to be determined like any other fact, by its specific evidence, the evidence of plain unequivocal testimony; for judging of which, no other qualifications are requisite than a sound understanding and an honest mind. Who can believe that the decision of the great question, whether Jesus of Nazareth is the true God, and the Creator and Governor of the world, depends upon a critical knowledge of the niceties of the Greek article? With equal reason might it be maintained, that no person can know any thing of the history of Greece, who is not perfect in the metres of the Greek dramatic writers."⁶

When the emperor Commodus chose to amuse himself with gladiatorial contests, he had his own arms of the highest temper and keenness to which steel could be brought; but he took care to allow his hapless antagonists none but *leaden* weapons. It is mournful that the Inquirer's talents and respectability did not raise him above this vulgar art of controversy. He knew that his man of "sound understanding and honest mind" could not judge on any question, if he understood not at all, or but imperfectly, the terms in which the statements are conveyed to him: and if it should so happen, that "a critical knowledge of the niceties of the Greek article" were *necessary* to a competent apprehension of the meaning of a clause or sentence; must not the man of understanding and honesty furnish himself with that requisite, either by his own attainment, or by testimony on which he could rely? Equally did the writer know, that the argument for the use of the Greek article is only a minor branch of the evidence adduced by the advocates of the Deity of Christ, and that it bears a very small proportion to the whole of that evidence. Where, then, is the integrity of these representations? Where is the applicableness of the pretended parallel which rounds his period?

A similar want of argumentative justice appears in the choice of terms to represent our doctrine,—“Jesus of Nazareth, the true God.” No correct and considerate orthodox writer would adopt this mode of conveying his doctrine. *Jesus* is the universally admitted name for the *human* nature of our Lord: and if

⁶ *Calm Inq.* pp. 5, 6.

we were constructing a clause for the purpose intended, we should express the subject of our proposition by some term which would designate the official character, or according to our conceptions, the whole person of the Being spoken of. The language selected, whether from carelessness or from unhandsome design, imputes to us the opinion of a *conversion* of the humanity into the deity; though our opponents cannot but know that both the ancient and the modern assertors of the divinity of the Messiah, have earnestly protested against such an imputation.

In a still more painful style of misrepresentation, this author takes upon himself to stigmatize our doctrine, as if it taught "the incarceration of the Creator of the world in the body of a helpless puling infant:"⁷ a notion about which it would be absurd to talk of "evidence direct, presumptive, or circumstantial,"⁸ for it is a *palpable and self-evident impossibility*. The Unitarian advocate may gain his cause with very small trouble, if he can persuade his admirers that believers in the deity of the Saviour hold such opinions as this. It would, however, be no disparagement to any man, to meditate on the maxim of Scripture, often verified by unhappy experience—"a scorner seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not."⁹

Another preliminary caution is laid down by the Inquirer:—"Nevertheless, when a fact is contrary to the established order of Nature, and the antecedent improbability is very great, the direct evidence must be proportionably strong. The doctrine of the pre-existence and high original powers of Christ ought not to depend upon a few obscure, mystical, and ambiguous texts."¹⁰

I wish not to indulge an unreasonable jealousy, nor a disposition to cavil: but notwithstanding the plausible appearance of this paragraph, it does seem to me to involve some inequitable assumptions. It must be ever kept in view, that the question is *not*, whether one, who "was to outward appearance a man like other men,—is not a real man;" but is, whether, in a case which is perfectly *sui generis*, and without example, parallel, or analogy, known to us, a *real* man may not have been produced in a preternatural way, and united to the Deity in a manner so much above all other instances of influence, inspiration, presence, or communication, as to be the most stupendous of miracles, and to form, by such union of the two natures, one complex and indiscernible person.¹¹ In such a case, therefore,

⁷ *Calm Inq.* p. 6.⁸ *Ib.*⁹ Prov. xiv. 6.¹⁰ *Calm Inq.* p. 4.¹¹ See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

it is little relevant to speak of "the established order of nature, and antecedent improbability." There is no "order of nature" to which we can appeal on this inquiry; or on that which is connected with it, What is the mode of the existence of the Divine Being? The only line in which reasoning *à priori* is admissible, would lie in considerations on the moral circumstances of mankind as rendering necessary, in the mercy and wisdom of God, a Great Spiritual Deliverer; and on the functions which that Deliverer would have to discharge. Had we just and complete views of all that is included in the "GREAT SALVATION," we should have some data on which to ground probable conclusions with regard to the powers and the nature of Him who should achieve it. But though philosophical argument on this solemn theme is not to be despised,¹² the Scriptures are our ultimate and our only certain ground of appeal. It cannot, however, be too seriously impressed on our minds, that correct views of the great deliverance from sin and its consequences, must proceed on right apprehensions of its real evil, its demerit, and its influence. Where slight and diminishing thoughts, or practical feelings, are entertained of the latter; it cannot be that exalted views should be received of the former. It unspeakably regards every man's interest to lay this matter to his heart; no less than as it enters most deeply into those dispositions of mind, that intellectual preparation, without which our investigation of the Scripture doctrine concerning the Person of Christ will be partial, defective, and misjudging.¹³ False principles on the nature and extent of our moral ruin, cannot but be pregnant with error, in relation to the character and the work of one who can redeem from that ruin.¹⁴

¹² See the fragments of admirable reasonings on this topic, in *President Edwards's Posthumous Observations on Theol. Subj.* vol. ii. chap. vi. in his *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 500-535. Leeds ed.

¹³ It was, therefore, with unhappy consistency that Dr Priestley regarded "the principal article of our Saviour's mission"—to be "the revelation of a future life."—*Theol. Rep.* vol. iv. p. 436.

¹⁴ Can an instance be found in which Mr Locke's caution is of more important application?—"The mind, by proceeding upon false principles, is often engaged in absurdities and difficulties, brought into straits and contradictions, without knowing how to free itself: and in that case, it is in vain to implore the help of reason, unless it be to discover the falsehood and reject the influence of those wrong principles. Reason is so far from clearing the difficulties which the building upon false foundations brings a man into, that if he will pursue it, it entangles him the more, and engages him the deeper in perplexities."—*Ess. Hum. Und.* book iv. chap. xvii. § 12.

That the evidence of such a doctrine should be "*strong*," is most readily admitted. But I am not convinced that we should admit the prescription of the Inquirer, or of any other person, as to the *kind* and *form* of the evidence. He requires that it should be "direct:" and we have not a little of *direct* evidence which in its proper place will be adduced. But are we entitled to dictate beforehand, what particular modification of evidence we will acknowledge as valid? Is it not enough if we have evidence *sui*ted to the nature of the subject, and SUFFICIENT, whatever its particular form may be, for the purpose of a rational assent? And are there not innumerable cases of moral and judicial investigation, in which an accumulation of *minor*, *indirect*, and *circumstantial* proofs (such proofs as, taken *singly*, might be parried off), produces a total sum of evidence equally satisfactory with the strongest direct proof?—I may go farther, and advance a position which I believe every competent judge will recognise as true: that in matters to be judged of by the evidence of testimony, and particularly in the interpretation of written documents, an accumulation of indirect and presumptive proofs, minute, circumstantial, and unconnected, will often produce a sense of certainty superior to that which is effected by a direct and positive affirmation. The reason is, that the single direct assertion is exposed to the chance of fraud, or of an erroneous reading, in a greater degree than can possibly attach to a multitude of independent circumstances, which are secondary, unstudied, and comparatively small. Of this nature is a considerable part of the scriptural evidence on the Person of the Messiah. It consists of allusions, implications, and assumptions; and it extends to an immense number and variety of particulars. That one or two of these particulars might be applied to an inspired reformer and the greatest of prophets, on the Unitarian hypothesis, by hyperbole or some other bold figure, might possibly be admitted. The occurrence of similar and stronger examples in a greater number would render such admission more difficult: but, when the instances are multiplied to a very great degree, the solution supposed goes on diminishing in probability, till it becomes wholly untenable. An *accumulation* of indirect and secondary proofs may amount to the highest moral demonstration.

There is, also, the semblance of prejudging and of unfair assumption in the closing sentence of the paragraph last quoted.

"The doctrine of the pre-existence and high original powers of Christ, ought not to depend upon a few obscure, mystical, and ambiguous texts." The object desired by the writer would doubtless be promoted, if he could have worked into the minds of his readers the prejudicate opinion, that on such slender twigs as these is suspended the doctrine which he wished to decry: and certainly it will be very convenient to have in readiness, as the last resort for the evasion of scriptural evidence, the gratuitous assertion that the texts adduced are "obscure, mystical, and ambiguous." But we reject this assumption as an unrighteous judgment. The passages which we conceive to furnish evidence of the deity of Christ, are not "few," but are exceedingly numerous; and with respect to their qualities of clearness, plainness, and determinate signification, we appeal from the prejudiced dogmatism of an adversary to the judgment of the truly calm and sincere inquirer.

Mr Belsham's Introductory Observations conclude by reminding us, that "inquiry to be useful, must be impartial," and that we ought to keep the mind open to conviction, ready to follow evidence whithersoever it leads, to sacrifice the fondest prejudices, and to embrace the most unexpected and unwelcome discoveries of truth."¹⁵ This is just and proper: and let the admonition be carefully obeyed, *on both sides*. Let each of us conscientiously guard against *all* the sources and occasions of error. But let our vigilance respect not the intellect alone; let it include a serious attention to the state of our religious affections. It would have been no disparagement to that writer, to urge the duty of cherishing impartiality, sincerity, and the love of truth, *by the means* of assiduous PRAYER to the Author of Truth, a recollection of our amenableness to his tribunal, and a holy state of our mental feelings, in reference to his presence and perfections. Without these moral cautions, can it be expected that our inquiries will be really candid and impartial, or will terminate successfully? The principles of human nature, and the righteousness of the divine government, equally forbid the expectation. Happy are they who realize the devotion and the faith of him who said, "With THEE is the fountain of life: in THY light we shall see light!"¹⁶—But on such subjects the *Calm Inquiry* observes the silence of death.

¹⁵ *Calm Inq.* p. 6.¹⁶ Ps. xxxvi. 9.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. VII.

Note A, page 116.

On this great subject, I thankfully avail myself of the caution of a masterly writer¹⁷ in one of our public journals:—"Whatever was the mode of that mysterious combination of the divine with an inferior nature, we are required religiously to beware of all approach toward such an idea as that of a *modification* of the Supreme Nature, and to preserve the solemn idea of a Being absolute, unalterable, and necessarily always in entire possession and exercise of all that constitutes its supremacy and perfection. But the Divine Nature 'manifested' in the human in the person of the Messiah, continued then and ever in such an unlimited state of glory and action, that it might be then, and at every moment of the mediatorial dispensation, making innumerable other manifestations of itself, and performing infinite wonders of grace and power altogether foreign, as the remote scenes of their display, from this world and the interposition for its redemption; an interposition which could in no manner interfere with any other interpositions, of a kind indefinitely dissimilar from it and one another, which the Sovereign Agent might will to effect in other regions.

"The inexplicable indwelling in the person of the Mediator, could in no manner affect the plenary presence and energy of the Divine Nature, as, while so indwelling, pervading also all the other realms of the universe; and, while that mighty Essence imparted immeasurable virtue to the mediatorial work and sacrifice, it yet could not sustain any difficulty, degradation, or injury."—*Eclectic Review*, Nov. 1817. vol. viii. n. s. p. 473.

In the same periodical work appeared a critique on the *Calm Inquiry*, from which I select some passages, both for their appropriateness and intrinsic worth, and on account of their being among the last earthly labours of a very superior mind. These considerations are my apology for the length of the quotation. That article was credibly imputed to Dr EDWARD WILLIAMS, who died March 9, 1813; and whose memory as a divine, a tutor, a friend, and a Christian, will never perish from the gratitude and veneration of those who had the happiness of witnessing the powers of his intellect, and the fervour and simplicity of his piety.

"Mr Belsham assumes, *in limine*, that 'all Christians agree that Jesus of Nazareth was to outward appearance, a man like other men.' In other words, he takes for granted that all Christians agree to be Socinians; since who, besides these, professing Christianity, will concur in this assertion, without a corrective limitation of the similarity? To that declaration of the apostle, indeed, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, 'in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren,' as explained by the apostle himself, all Christians, worthy of the name, will unreservedly subscribe. Some of the ancient visionaries who assailed the fundamental articles of the Christian church, contended, it is true, that he had not a real but only an apparent human body. But these dreams are gone. It is now universally maintained, as those who take the Holy Scriptures, common sense, and right reason for their guides, have ever maintained, that Jesus Christ had a true body and soul, that is, a human nature, subject to the innocent infirmities of that nature. But the Scriptures assert that in other very extraordinary respects he was *not* like other men. They testify that, while in this world, 'he was holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners,' that 'he knew no sin,' or was no sinner, 'did no sin,' but was 'without blemish and without spot.' This is an essential difference of 'appearance,'—and the Bible teaches us the reality. In this respect, at least, Jesus appears a perfect unique of character, among the countless millions of free agents who have inhabited our globe as the descendants of the first man. To that declaration, universally true when applied to others, 'there is not 'a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not,' he was a perfect exception. Must we ask Mr Belsham's pardon for thus calling in question one of his first principles?—No.

¹⁷ Supposed to be the late Rev. John Foster.

"—The investigation regards the person and qualifications of one who, it is allowed on both sides, is represented as 'a saviour from sin and misery.' But the conscience of no man 'awakened to righteousness,' and the reason of no man who has a proper knowledge of his own character and relations, can be satisfied, without some superior evidence to the contrary, that a being *merely human* may be such a saviour. Therefore 'the whole burden of proof,' consisting of some superior evidence, lies upon him who obtrudes the assertion: an assertion which alarms and offends conscience, and insults reason. No one can willingly entertain, *à priori*, a probability of meeting any divine testimony so ruinous to his hopes; although a man of sincere and upright mind, who is disposed to place implicit confidence in the infinite wisdom and paramount authority of that Being who has represented himself as 'merciful and gracious,' will not refuse to hear all the arguments of an assailant, professedly founded on divine revelation.

"In order to know the proper meaning of any revealed doctrine or testimony, some facts necessarily, from the nature of the case, must be presupposed; as, that the assertion is consistent with the possibility or nature of things, with other parts of Scripture, with the divine character and dispensations, with the actual state of mankind, and with the first principles of knowledge. Here, however, it concerns us to exercise the greatest caution, lest we arrogantly assume that any thing is *absolutely* incompatible with primary truths, merely because *we* cannot comprehend the nature of the evidence,—except, in addition to this, we have clear evidence to the contrary. He, therefore, who enters on inquiries into subjects long controverted, and especially subjects which involve the eternal interests of men, should beware of adopting weak assumptions as the basis of proof. They, for example, who assume that mankind are not in a degenerate state, or, that the consideration of their degeneracy is of little moment, in reference to a plan of recovery, will inevitably, while retaining that opinion, put a very low construction on various revealed doctrines; that is, a construction degrading to the nature of the subject—a construction unsatisfactory to men of enlarged views and accurate observation—a construction, we will add, totally different from that of others, whose persuasion is opposite, supposing their critical skill, in other respects, to be equal. In proportion as any one values his final happiness, and knows in what it consists, as a matter of settled conviction, he cannot be, and ought not to be if he could, indifferent to the result, whether he interpret a divine testimony in a way that is favourable to that happiness, or that threatens to destroy it. In all inquiries of this nature, it is obvious, the previous state of the mind, not only its accuracy and comprehension, but also *its moral taste and habitude*, has a very great, not to say a decided influence. Suppose two persons approach the sacred oracles for information on the present subject, the Person of Christ, each equally disposed to submit to their decision; if one, from previous associations, thinks that his happiness is not at stake on whatever side he may finally settle, and the other, for weighty reasons, is persuaded that, if he mistake the truth through ignorance or disaffection, his everlasting welfare is in danger,—is it not plain, that the inquiries of the latter will unavoidably be serious, marked with ardent solicitude, with an habitual regard to conscientious integrity, while those of the former will be of a character directly the reverse? The investigation of the one being more practical, he will be in less hazard of adopting a wrong interpretation, or even a false rule of interpreting; while that of the other being more speculative, he will be more exposed to the influence of selfish ends, the suggestions of fancy, the indulgence of sceptical doubts, and the adoption of false conclusions.

"Gibbon has somewhere an observation to this effect—that the best employment of reason is to defend what we like most. While very far from approving of this fascinating writer's vacillancy and laxity of moral sentiment, and farther still from tolerating his licentious insinuations, we think that his observation characterises a general *fact*. The mind's inclination to a result, and too commonly when in the wrong direction, prescribes to the reasoning faculty, as a reward, its office of defence; while reason seldom checks the devious and rapid strides of its leader. When, indeed, the inclination is directed, by the light of real knowledge, to the most eligible good, reason cannot be more laudably employed than in defending its elections and forwarding its progress. Let it be supposed that 'Jesus or his apostles peremptorily and unequivocally declare the doctrine of his pre-existence and original dignity,'—who

is to judge what is peremptory and unequivocal? Is it not clear, that no declaration will be admitted to be of this character by one who assumes not only the inutility of the doctrine, but also its prior improbability? He will not fail to seek, nor be long unsuccessful in finding, innumerable evasions and expedients—canons of criticisms, doubts of inspiration, difference of copies, and critical conjectures without end. The conduct of another who regards that declaration as not only possible, but also probable, and useful to his highest interests, is necessarily very different. He considers himself as an offender against the infinite moral Governor, whose every law is equitable and good, and who has declared that he ‘will by no means clear the guilty.’ Though he has revealed himself merciful, and ready to remit the offences of the penitent, it must be in some way consistent with the rights of moral government; by some wonderful expedient whereby the attributes of justice and mercy are made to harmonize. To Socinianism the inquirer looks in vain for a solution of his difficulties; it offers only vague declamations on the benevolence of the Deity, and does not even pretend to show how God ‘declares his righteousness’ in the remission of transgressions. It has nothing to suggest, but what is altogether unsatisfactory both to reason and conscience, in reply to the question, How is the exercise of general benevolence in pardoning a guilty sinner consistent with the claims of moral government and the sanctions of its laws? Does repentance itself, or the appointment of repentance, or divine benevolence, annihilate the penal sanction? The fact, indeed, of repentance being required as a condition, and of pardon being promised as a consequence, is plainly announced in the sacred code; but this, like every other fact, must have an appropriate cause. Press a modern Unitarian to assign one which is rational, consistent with peremptory sanctions, the honour of a holy law, the unsullied dignity of moral government, the sacred character of a judge, or the wisdom of a benefactor—a cause, which does not even involve the subversion of these sacred and essential relations; and you will hear nothing but round assertions without proofs, and fanciful conjectures without probability;—you are invited to a chaos of critical doubts and discordant interpretations.

“The serious inquirer reflects that infinite wisdom *can* assign a satisfactory answer, why the forgiveness of sin is *not* inconsistent with sacred relations: why this act of benevolence involves nothing irreconcilable with the claims of justice, an attribute infinitely awful. And he considers it probable, that in the New Testament, the product of matchless counsel, and the fulfilment of the dispensations of God towards mankind in this world, this problem *will* be solved. He feels it to be extremely interesting to his happiness to have some discovery in this revelation, how the divine justice, government, and laws, may be honoured, while grace and mercy are dispensed to sinners. He reflects, that the Supreme Being, in his nature, is infinitely different from every other—that he may be so as to the mode of his existence, for aught that reason has to advance to the contrary—that, as his existence cannot possibly have any other analogous to it, it is probable, if not absolutely certain, that his manner of subsistence has no point of resemblance among created objects on which analogy can be founded: that finally, as the Old Testament contains frequent intimations of some mysterious essential distinctions in Deity, whereby the grand and infinitely interesting problem in question may be solved; so, probably the New Testament will unfold its nature, as far as divine realities, which have nothing strictly analogous to created natures, are capable of being conveyed by the language of mortals (language so imperfect at the best, and formed originally for other purposes), while all is communicated in a manner consistent with a state of moral probation. The assumptions of Mr B. however, if admitted, would extinguish every spark of hope.

“—To pronounce it impossible for the Deity to form a personal union with our nature, in order to reunite man spiritually and for ever to himself, and that the operations of justice may have a full and honourable course in perfect accordance with the exercise of mercy,—every modest person must regard as most presumptuous arrogance. Is there any thing in this, antecedently more incredible than the creation of the world, the formation of man, or the use of temporary appearances as ‘the mere organs of the Deity, used for the purpose of making himself known and understood by his creatures,’—which is Dr Priestley’s conjecture respecting ‘what are called angels, who had the forms of men, who even walked and spake, etc. like men?’ (*Hist. of Early*

Op. Vol. I. p. 5.) Is the supposition more incredible than the doctrine of the resurrection, which is professed by the Unitarians themselves? A serious and reflecting mind cannot be so positive, so dogmatical, so arrogant, as to set bounds to the capabilities of power, of benevolence, and of wisdom in the Deity. No: he comes to the revealed will of God in *expectation* of finding some 'unusual' truths, which no other source of information could supply: truths in which his peace and felicity are deeply interested. In proportion, indeed, as he is humble and pious, he submits his understanding, his will, and all his powers to the disposal of that Almighty Friend who has indulged him with a revelation of truths 'hidden from ages and generations,' and is resolved to receive them with acquiescence, whatever may be the result of his inquiries. Approaching the revealed testimonies in this temper of mind, he thinks he discovers in Moses and the prophets, and more clearly in the New Testament, exhilarating intimations of a solution of his difficulties, and a pleasing prospect that his hopes will be realized. The point where his inquiries commence is a state of conscious guilt, moral darkness, and sinful depravity; a state of deviation from rectitude, contrariety to infinite holiness, and exposure to penal evil. And having discovered in Scripture what he *thinks* admirably calculated to remove his fears, and to promote his happiness, by casting great light on the doctrines of justice and mercy, he cannot but regard every hypothesis of an opposite tendency, and which threatens to deprive him of these advantages, with a jealous eye. He naturally feels as one who, when possessed of a treasure, encounters a suspected thief or a robber; while, in point of argument, he has an undoubted right to lay 'the burden of proof' on his aggressor. Mr Belsham, however, follows a process diametrically opposite, and recommends the same to others. He sees nothing excellent, nothing desirable, nothing important in any respect, in a mysterious union between the divine nature and the human: in a Messiah perfectly righteous, 'made a sin-offering for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;' but regards such representations, however often they seem to occur in the Christian revelation, as forbidding, offensive, and absurd—throwing them aside as the corruptions of Christianity, instead of valuing them as its glory and its riches. Some, no doubt, will be glad to imitate him in this; such as dread a rational inquiry into truths and relations below the surface of sensible appearances, who are content to estimate moral evil as a trifle, and who are willing to admit that mysterious truths and impossibilities are the same thing.

"It is willingly allowed that learning and acuteness are not necessary to settle this important subject, except in so far as they assist in detecting sophistry and in setting the true state of the question in a fair light. The inquiry, indeed, is to be determined by its specific evidence; but few, notwithstanding, can instantly agree as to what evidence is decidedly specific in the case, and fewer still can coincide with our author when he speaks of it as 'a plain matter of fact.' There are a thousand other questions respecting 'matter of fact,' which are by no means 'plain.' 'It is a fact,' for example, that the human mind is either immaterial or material; Mr Belsham decides for the latter, but where is his 'plain unequivocal testimony' for that decision? It is a 'fact,' that the conception of our blessed Saviour was either miraculous or after the common course of nature; Mr Belsham pronounces the latter to be the case, but is the judgment founded on 'a plain unequivocal testimony?' It is a 'fact,' that the Logos existed before Abraham, or he did not; Mr Belsham asserts the latter, but does he support his assertion by 'a plain unequivocal testimony?' Were this the question, Whether Jesus had a human body and mind, or appeared as a man among men, his observation would be admissible, for it would relate to 'a plain matter of fact;' but this, we repeat over and over again, is *not* the true state of the question; it is no part of the dispute, because the affirmative is conceded on both sides. In our apprehension the point at issue between the Trinitarians and the Antitrinitarians, respecting the Person of Christ, is this, Whether the Supreme Being, whose existence, it is demonstrable, *is* essentially different from every other, and whose mode of existence *may* be so, for aught that reason can allege to the contrary,—that Being whose energies of wisdom, power, and goodness unfolded themselves in the work of creation, beginning with a rude chaotic mass, and proceeding to innumerable forms of order and beauty, regularity of operation, and usefulness of result,—whether this First Being, in some wonderfully mysterious manner, a manner not less mysterious than creation

itself, united himself to human nature as the basis of a new order of things in reference to the moral world? It is universally admitted, that out of nothing he produced a chaos 'without form and void,' and that from this chaos he educated unspeakable grandeur and beauty, in order to manifest the glory of his perfections, and to communicate his goodness in a manner worthy of himself. Why then, we ask, should it be thought incredible or improbable, that the *moral* order of things, to which the physical is infinitely subservient, should originate in the predestined assumption of human nature,—and that this took place at the fulness of time? Why may it not be concluded of this, 'The foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men?' (1 Cor. i. 25.) The nature and perfections of Deity, his works of creation and providence, the generation and growth of animals and plants, the formation of mineral substances, are full of mysteries; and is it to be expected that the moral world, so much less within the sphere of sensible observation and experiment, should be grossly and palpably plain?

"It is not true that the advocates of the Trinitarian doctrine respecting the person of Christ maintain, as their opponents are anxious to insinuate (we do not pretend to assign the motive), that God was converted into man, or that the humanity of Christ is God. It is not true that they hold that any *change* whatever took place in the Godhead, on the assumption of our nature. They are not so grossly ignorant as to suppose it possible. But they *do* maintain, as a grand and glorious truth, a truth calculated to satisfy the largest desires, the most importunate cravings of the mind, to shed the most exhilarating light on the laws and sanctions, the justice and government of God, and their consistency with the exercise of his pardoning and purifying mercy,—that the human nature of Jesus was so assumed by a modal distinction of Deity (which distinction no terms in any language of mortals is adequate to express), that it had no personal existence independently of that assumption. Human languages are formed on physical analogies, but here an exact analogy cannot, it is obvious from the nature of the case, be found to convey the ideas intended. Here, different expressions are used in several connexions, or else recourse must be had to circumlocutory explanations; which, after all, to a mere verbalist, or a cavilling objector, must unavoidably leave much room for petty criticism. Whether the terms Form, Son, Word, Wisdom, Power, Subsistence, Person, or any other, be adopted out of human vocabularies, in order to express that modal distinction in Deity by which the human nature was assumed; still the reality intended cannot rationally be expected to be adequately designated by words and phrases originally formed to convey ideas so essentially different.

"Of this inadequacy of language to define, or even to describe supernatural realities, many of the Antitrinitarians, both ancient and modern, have taken a disingenuous advantage. This also is the frequent practice of sceptics and infidels, in their allusions to the phraseology of Scripture. But all such men, and especially those who wish to retain the Christian name, must be either pitied or blamed; because, if they are free from lamentable ignorance, they are chargeable with criminal perversity. Whether the language of our author be not too often tinged, we may say, strongly tinged, with this species of pollution, let the christian reader judge for himself.

"The *incarceration* of the Creator of the world in the body of a helpless *puling* infant, is a fact, the credit of which must rest, like that of all other facts, not upon grammatical subtleties, but upon evidence direct, presumptive or circumstantial, upon the validity of which every person of common sense is competent to decide."—P. 6.

"In what an awful state of obdurate impiety must the mind of that man be, who could pen such a paragraph as this! The sentiment, indeed, is worthy of an infidel; but for the credit of our nature, we hope that the bad eminence of being able to express it with the same degree of coarse and vulgar levity belongs to Mr Belsham. With equal justice might a malignant spirit (if, at the period to which we are going to allude, spirits there were who had rendered themselves vile), deride such mysterious propositions as these,—that the hidden energies of the Omnipotent, operating in the first dark and formless embryo, would, in a very short time, develop themselves in a bright and beauteous universe, that should continue through revolving ages pregnant with interesting wonders and glorious benevolence—that the same energies would shortly, through the medium of a very small portion of inert matter, show

themselves in an organic form of astonishing mechanism and admirable symmetry, as the lord of a terraqueous globe, the organ also of an intellect, of powers and passions, capable of dignity, of happiness or misery beyond description—that these energies, also, would fix upon an insignificant part of the same created form, and cause it to evolve itself into a structure resembling the other, with diversities, however, full of wisdom and design—that the same omnipotent energies, moreover, would, by a mysterious law, fix on a recondite particle, as a physical rallying point, in perpetual succession, and produce a race of human beings of different sexes, with an exact adjustment of numerical proportion of each—that, finally, when all these bodies should be reduced to their primordial inert particles, these divine energies would assume some physical points, around which other subtile atoms would instantly rally, unfolding themselves into as many forms as existed before, but far more splendid and permanent, as suited to a corresponding exalted state of things, and possessing so much of comparative identity (an identity of moral use), as to justify their being called resuscitated bodies. Had these facts been announced to the malignant spirit we have supposed, he would have laughed them to scorn as incredible fables; and yet they are facts acknowledged, we presume, by modern ‘Unitarians,’ though, *à priori*, not more credible than what the Trinitarians consider as a fact attested by various representations in the New Testament; a fact at once mysterious as to the *modus operandi*, interesting above all comparison to every human being, and infinitely glorious in its consequences. This fact implies that a particle of material nature is assumed as the element evolved by the animal principle,—that both are unfolded by a rational more interior principle,—and that for reasons infinitely wise and benevolent, all are expanded by the indwelling energy of the divine Word, or Wisdom, or Power, or Son of God, for manifesting the glories of his nature, his relations and perfections, to a degree far more transcendent and sublime than any other process in the universe. Such are the characters of the two natures, the divine and human, it is maintained by some, as implied in scriptural declarations and their uses: and such the supernatural union subsisting between these natures, the one assuming and the other assumed, though in themselves abstractedly considered objects infinitely dissimilar, that the humanity has no personal existence but the modal subsistence of Jehovah, which, as before observed, is variously expressed; and that this divine subsistence has neither development nor exercise in redeeming men from sin and misery, but by the humanity as its organ. So that Jesus, it is maintained, is the organic medium of the divine nature, *sui generis*, in a way essentially different from every other prophet. In and through this medium, the Deity displays himself to the enlightened, intelligent universe, by the fullest expansion and glory of which the human nature is capable, through endless ages. Inadequate as may be this representation of the subject, as indeed every verbal one must unavoidably ever be, it harmonizes, we apprehend, with that which is contained in the New Testament, without having recourse to the strained, far-fetched, and unnatural comments of Socinianism. It fully justifies the scriptural application of names and titles, works and offices, to Jesus Christ, and the strong ascriptions of honour and praise so frequently applied to him; instead of reducing them, as the Socinians effectually do, by their critical alembic, into a mere *caput mortuum*.

“It is a calumny often urged by these ingenuous persons, that the Trinitarians are guilty of idolatry in worshipping Jesus Christ. Now this charge can have no appearance of pertinency, except on one of these two suppositions: either that there is no personal union between the divine and human natures, which is to beg the question in dispute; or that the human nature of Jesus is regarded as an object of worship, which is peremptorily denied. The consistent Trinitarian does not worship the human nature, though assumed by the divine, and though ‘crowned with glory and honour’ inexpressible, but Him to whom that nature is hypostatically united, and who is discriminatively identified by that union. Nor does he present religious homage to three ultimate objects, when he adores the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit; but to the one Eternal Existence who has revealed himself under these personal relations; relations, however, which are understood to be essential to that Eternal Existence, and without which he would not be Jehovah. Through the defect of language, terms of analogical relations are unavoidably employed; but no sentiment is admitted which implies any

possible change in deity, and much less is it supposed that these expressions of personal relations are intended to countenance the absurd notion of their being effects of power and will.

"It will be readily granted, that a critical knowledge of the niceties of language contributes but little towards an accurate perception of celestial truths. (1 Cor. i. 19, etc.) 'A sound understanding and an honest mind' are, doubtless, of greater moment; but it is not easy to convince any man that his understanding is not sound, that his heart is not honest: and many will suspect that the short passage last quoted does not proceed from sources quite so respectable,—'the incarceration of the Creator of the world in the body of a helpless puling infant.' What could produce this profane effusion, but strong and unrestrained prejudice at the commencement of the inquiry. The latter of these marked expressions will appear to most 'calm' inquirers, as an exuberant ebullition of contempt against the doctrine itself, which is here impiously ridiculed, and against myriads of Christians of unquestioned virtue, talents, learning, piety, and integrity. The former expression indicates either a want of knowledge or a culpable misrepresentation. It conveys to most readers, and to all, in its plain construction, that the Creator is enclosed or circumscribed by the human nature of Jesus, as a man is by the walls of a prison! Is it possible that this representation can proceed from a mind imbued with the slightest tincture of candour or decency? What Trinitarian was ever absurd enough to entertain for a moment the sentiment here imputed to the whole body? Do they, when they with reverence represent the Deity as assuming the essential principles of our nature for the purpose of expanding them to the utmost limits of which that nature is capable, and of illustrating before adoring myriads, the harmony and grandeur of divine perfections in the salvation of countless multitudes of the human race,—do they deserve to be outraged with the low ribaldry we have quoted—a mode of expression, we will venture to say, which is much more appropriate to the character of a renegade, than a Christian? Mr Belsham would do well to reconsider what he has written, with 'a sound understanding and an honest mind.' In truth, his efforts to characterise 'the Saviour of the world' as a mere prophet, who has delivered to us great truths, but who does not 'save his people from their sins,' either by a propitiation or by power, resembles that of a man who should diligently labour to sink a ship, without being able to furnish the crew with even a plank for their escape; or that of one who should attempt to blow up a citadel, when he has not the means of providing a cottage or a tent for the dislodged garrison. A prophet may be more or less influenced, or filled with the divine impulse; but this does not constitute him different from other men in his original formation, or in his mode of subsistence; and consequently he would be destitute of the most essential requisite of 'a saviour from sin and misery.' Nor is it conceivable that such a man, however 'full of faith and the Holy Ghost,' however endowed with knowledge and wisdom, with graces, energies, and miraculous gifts, could make approximations, even the smallest, towards removing the difficulties introduced by sin in the way of our happiness, or casting any light on the character, the government, and the dispensations of God."—*Ecl. Rev.* 1813, vol. ix. pp. 155 and seq.

BOOK II.

ON THE INFORMATION TO BE OBTAINED CONCERNING THE PERSON OF THE MESSIAH, FROM THE PROPHETIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

"They have MOSES and the PROPHETS: let them hear THEM."—*Luke* xvi. 29.

"Prophecy came not at any time by the will of men: but holy men of God spake, moved by the
HOLY SPIRIT."—*2 Pet.* i. 21.

INTRODUCTION.

THAT the *distinguishing character* for the highest benefit of the human race, which all Christians believe to have been sustained by JESUS of Nazareth, was the *object of prophecy* from God and of solicitous expectation on the part of man, under the earlier schemes of divine revelation, is a position which it is difficult to suppose that any can contradict, who make serious pretensions to the name of Christian. Nothing can be more evident than that upon this fact he built his claims to be received, for all the objects of philanthropy to which, in living and dying, in word and action and suffering, he devoted himself. The Anti-supranaturalists of Germany, boldly denying the existence of inspired prophecy, would act consistently by forbearing to call themselves by that sacred name:¹ yet even they admit the hopes and expectation of a Messiah to have sprung up in the Hebrew nation soon after the age of David, and to have been cherished with enthusiastic ardour in subsequent periods; while they vainly labour to account for it solely on the principle of patriotism mingled with piety, the groanings of calamity and captivity, and the desire of national renown. It seems an easy and obvious consequence of this fact, that any rational inquiry into the person, or functions, proper to that character, should begin by collecting every descriptive particular from the records of the Old Testament, by singly scrutinizing their import, and by a just comparison and combination of them all. Whether such a course of inquiry would be, of itself, sufficient to determine the great question at issue, or not; it could not fail to be a useful preparative to the examination of the Christian Scriptures. The writers of the New Testament suppose in their readers an acquaintance with the facts and doctrines of the preceding dispensations: they build upon them as the foundation of the Christian system, and they rarely appear

¹ Supplementary Note, page 130.

solicitous to deliver anew those facts and doctrines which it was thus their habit to regard as known and admitted.

Obvious and natural as this line of investigation appears, the author of the *Calm Inquiry* has scarcely given it a place. He has introduced a very brief section on the question, whether "the Jews expected a pre-existent Messiah:" but the question is instituted solely in relation to the contemporaries of Jesus and the apostles; a subject materially differing from that now proposed. I say nothing at present of the summary proceeding by which a question, certainly not trivial nor very easy, is dispatched in a few lines: the argument will, in its course, come before us. In another place,² indeed, he approaches more nearly to the view of the question on which we are now entering: but, in this instance, he only mentions five or six passages from the prophets; passages which are of the most weak and dubious kind as arguments in this controversy; and which, after a bare recital and two or three short remarks, are dismissed with a *coronis* not surely very "calm" nor very candid:—"Such arguments admit of no reply. One can only wonder that learned men can impose upon themselves by such slender and miserable sophisms." Unmoved, however, by this scorn, we shall pursue the course of investigation which the reason of the case requires.

But, though the *Calm Inquiry* will not assist us far in this part of our pursuit, the interpretations any where proposed by its author, and by other Unitarian writers, will be considered in their places.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE, page 129.

Even the man who moves in the highest orbit of this class, I might even say unrivalled among them as a scholar, a psychologist, a man of fine taste, and an acute logician, Dr Leberecht de Wette, of Basle, has professed his belief that, under circumstances which he very remarkably supposes, the human mind might of itself form the idea of a Messiah.—"Very many, both Rationalists and Supernaturalists, proceed upon an erroneous view of *Reason*; as if it were something wholly self-dependent and exclusive, and therefore quiescent" [as to outward exciting causes]. "Reason has indeed in itself a certain self-dependence, to which belong the unchangeable laws of mathematical and logical unity: but it is moreover dependent, susceptible, and excitable; and, as a stream augmenting as it flows, is continually receiving fresh accessions. These accessions come, partly from without, in visible ways, by the descent of knowledge from one generation to another, and by communication in speech, social intercourse, and reciprocal

² *Calm Inq.* p. 311. The passages cited are Isa. lxiii. 8, 9. Hosea i. 7. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, comp. with Zech. xiii. 7. Hosea iii. 5, comp. with Micah iv. 7.

influence; and partly from within by *invisible ways*, through the intervention of spiritual beings which have their own original and proper existence [ursprünglich eigenthümlicher Geister]. So far Reason stands under the influence of the historical progress of human nature: but, finally, in accordance with just views both philosophical and religious, *under the guidance of God's universal government*, it comes into contact with the *invisible kingdom of spirits* and with *God's eternal creative-working*.—Can you point out any indubitable truth, which might not have come from human Reason under the premised circumstances of divine guidance and inworking?—For example, the idea of the Messiah is indeed not to be explained as a conclusion of Reason out of its own necessary and constant activity, for in that case it would have come universally into the minds of men. But who can prove that it absolutely could not have proceeded from Reason, under the conditions presupposed? So much is certain that the fundamental idea of a Messiah is one of the ideas which universally belong to Reason, namely, the earnest longing and hope for victory in the contest of good against evil. The particular, individualising, form of the idea belongs indeed to the Jewish nation as one of its exclusive peculiarities." *Théol. Studien und Kritiken*; v. Ullmann und Umbreit: vol. i. p. 566. Hamb. 1828. The words in Italics are correspondently distinguished by the author himself. After such admissions, we may well ask, Why should this great man object to the belief of direct revelation and inspiration? Probably he would say that it wants the condition of universality; and we then would refer him to an author whom he too probably knows not, our Bishop BUTLER, in his *Analogy*.

"These men retain the name of Christianity and its distinctive forms of thought and language, only that they may the more effectually destroy it. The kiss is given, only that the wound may be the more sure. They have a Trinity, an Incarnation, an Atonement, a Holy Spirit, a Gospel, a Salvation; but all in a philosophical sense of their own, and not at all in the sense of Holy Scripture. On this system, juggle and hypocrisy are every where written. Whatever truth may be in it, it is, as a whole, the great [greatest?] fraud which the learned of a nation have descended to practise upon the unlearned. The right of these men" [so far as human authority has jurisdiction over them], "to be sceptics, atheists, any thing they please, we do not question: but this retention of the shell of Christianity, for selfish purposes, by men who have thrown away the kernel, is an *abomination* against which we most solemnly protest." *British Quarterly Rev.* vol. ii. p. 317; Nov. 1845.

Upon the general character of the Old Testament, its claims to divine authority, its application to Christianity, the principles of its rational and sound interpretation, and, in these views, with an extensive and most scrupulously impartial examination of both the antecedent and the most recent objections of the Anti-supranaturalists,—it is with peculiar delight that I recommend my readers to the perusal of Prof. Moses Stuart's recent work, *Critical History and Defence of the O. T. Canon*; Andover, U. S. 1845: especially on the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the writings ascribed to Solomon, the book of Esther, and the two books of Chronicles. It cannot but be to me a subject of lively gratitude to the Father of lights, to find so wisely and religiously confirmed, by the researches of that admirable scholar, sentiments which have been many years before the public, in the former parts of this volume, particularly in the Notes on Book I. ch. ii. and iv.

CHAP. I.

ON THE TERM MESSIAH.

IN the primitive ages of mankind, the poverty of rude language, and the difficulty of conveying information to distant places and future times, led to the invention of symbolical actions, as means of communicating and perpétuating the knowledge which was deemed valuable. Some of those actions were of divine institution; and it was not beneath the wise and provident care of Heaven, to adopt others which might be purely of human contrivance, as a vehicle for the transmission of truths the most interesting for mortals to know. One of these primeval symbols was the affusion of oil, to denote *consecration to the immediate service* or homage of the Deity. The earliest records in the world inform us, that, in commemoration of distinguished mercies from God, Jacob reared a rough stone for a pillar, and “poured oil upon the top of it, and called the name of that place Bethel,” the HOUSE OF GOD.¹ To this action is made the first application of the word *to anoint*, which occurs in Scripture.² It is afterwards applied to the consecration of persons; and denoted a ceremony of inauguration to the most important offices known among men,—the PROPHETIC, the SACERDOTAL, and the REGAL: offices to which the highest ideas of SANCTITY were annexed.

1. In the patriarchal times, the dignity and office of PROPHET was the highest with which a mortal could be invested. The prediction of future events, by the inspiration of the Omniscient, was only an accessory to this function, and not necessarily included in it. The earliest use of the Hebrew appellative,³

¹ Gen. xxviii. 18. Such anointed and consecrated stones were, in the earliest times, frequently made the corner-stones at the foundation of temples; and peculiar sanctity was attributed to them.

² Gen. xxxi. 13.

³ נְבִיא see *Witsii Miscell. Sacra*, tom. i. pp. 2-5; also *Winer, Gesen. and Fürst, in Lex.* And so the Greeks used *προφήτης* as the title of the presiding priest in the temples, who was believed to receive and make known the oracles of the gods; as is shown in the *Timæus* of Plato, § 392, and in a disquisition under the word in *Stephens's Thesaurus L. Gr.* col. 9960 of Valpy's edition.

points it out as signifying one who was distinguished by the peculiar favour of God, and intimate communications from him, the interpreter of his will, the minister by whom he gave commands to men, and an intercessor on their behalf, to deprecate deserved punishments and to obtain signal blessings. This exalted title occurs first in application to Abraham, then to Moses, and in one of the retrospective Psalms, to Abraham and Isaac, and perhaps to some others of those who were the subjects of the primeval revelations.⁴ It is clearly enough implied that this dignity could be assumed by no one, without an express divine call and appointment. This designation from God, in relation to even the early patriarchs on whom it had been conferred, is represented by the action of anointing: "Touch not mine *anointed*, and do my *prophets* no harm." We have not, however, information that an actual ceremony of unction took place in any of those instances: yet, arguing from the action of Jacob above-mentioned, which must have been the result of established ideas and practices, it cannot be thought improbable. But in a more advanced period of the preparatory dispensations, we find Elijah commanded by the Most High to "*anoint* Elisha, to be *PROPHET* in his room."⁵ Also the great future Personage, who was to proclaim the glad tidings of peace, liberty, and consolation, is solemnly introduced as "*anointed by Jehovah*" to his gracious mission.⁶

2. The honour and duty of the priesthood was to *draw near* to God, on the behalf of men conscious of sin and demerit, and to *propitiate* for their offences. In the ecclesiastical constitution of the Israelites, the rite of anointing was used, by the command of *JEHOVAH*, in setting apart the *HIGH PRIEST* and his brethren to their office. "Thou shalt put [the sacred vestments] upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, and shalt *anoint* them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them; that they may minister unto me in the priest's office:—for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations."⁷

⁴ Gen. xx. 7. Exod. vi. 1. Judges vi. 8. Ps. cv. 15.

⁵ 1 Kings xix. 16.

⁶ Isaiah lxi. 1.

⁷ Exod. xxviii. 41; xl. 15. These institutions, observes the illustrious John David Michaelis, "have indeed a strange appearance:—but those priests were prefigurations of a greater and more holy Person, who should actually atone before God for all our sins, and render acceptable to him all our sincere works of piety. Reflecting upon this, we shall cease our surprise at what may seem extraordinary

3. Saul, David, and their successors in the throne, were, by divine direction, designated to ROYALTY, by "the pouring of oil upon the head; because the Lord had *anointed* them to be captains over his inheritance."⁸ They were not arbitrary monarchs, nor kings in their own right; but they were the vicegerents and servants of Jehovah, the only true King of Israel. The "anointed of the Lord" was, therefore, the common appellation of the Jewish kings; and it is in prophecy applied to Cyrus, the Persian monarch, on account of his being raised up, directed, and prospered in his enterprises, by a peculiar providence, and because the epithet would be understood by the Jews as an assurance that he was a sovereign under the divine sanction.⁹

Thus we have evidence, that this rite was practised under the Jewish dispensation; that a great and exclusive importance was attached to it, for it was employed only in the cases enumerated; that it implied the idea of peculiar sanctity; and that it was observed upon the ground of DIVINE institution.

If a conjecture may be indulged on the reason of this symbol, perhaps we may not absurdly suppose that it was intended, by the fragrance and costliness of the preparation made use of,¹⁰ to signify both the high importance of the functions which were thus, above all others, distinguished, and the valuable and excellent qualifications which ought to adorn the persons designated to those offices.¹¹

The annotator on the *Improved Version of the New Testament* asserts that "the Israelites are called Christs, or anointed, *i. e.* a chosen and favoured people, Psalm cv. 15; Hab. iii. 33."¹² But neither of these instances will bear out the allegation. The first, as we have seen, refers to Abraham and the other chief patriarchs, who were princes, priests, and prophets:¹³ and, in these laws."—*Anmerkung. zu* Exod. xxviii. 38. The author has endeavoured to investigate the origin and primary notions of the Priesthood in the second of *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, Atonement, and Redemption*; Fourth Edition, Edin. 1859.

⁸ 1 Sam. x. 1.

⁹ Isa. xlv. 1-5, 13.

¹⁰ Exod. xxx. 23-25. A compound of several highly odorous essential oils, in large proportions, with olive oil.

¹¹ This conjecture seems to be countenanced by the comparison in Ps. cxxxiii. 2, and by the turn of the argument in Ps. xlv. 7.

¹² Note on Heb. xi. 26. The apparent design of this gloss is to preclude the supposition that the piety of Moses had any respect to the hope of a Messiah.

¹³ "Because, in the time of David, it was the custom to anoint priests and prophets, the poet, in order to intimate that the patriarchs were priests of the

the other passage, the epithet in the singular number, "thine anointed," is put, by a common poetical enallage, for the chiefs of the Hebrew nation, as distinguished from the general mass of the people.

Such was the origin, and such the primary signification of the sacred appellative, *Anointed*; which, in its Hebrew and Greek forms, *Messiah* and *Christ*, has been adopted into most other languages.

True God, and were therefore to be revered as consecrated persons, calls them *anointed*; and in the corresponding hemistich, *prophets*, as indeed Abraham is expressly denominated, Gen. xx. 7. Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and other Rabbinical commentators, understand, by *anointed*, princes and chieftains: see Gen. xxiii. 6, and that they were called *prophets*, because they predicted future events." *Rosenmüller, jun.* Psalm cv. 15.

CHAP. II.

ON THE EARLY EXPECTATION OF THE MESSIAH.

THAT from the earliest times an expectation prevailed of a great personage to arise at some future period, and to be the Deliverer and Saviour of mankind from their moral and natural miseries, is a fact well known to all who have studied primeval history, and is generally received by believers in revelation. This expected benefactor was the MESSIAH described in the Hebrew sacred books; who should unite in his own person the dignities of prophet, priest, and king, that he might confer SALVATION on our fallen world.

Those books, whether considered as the only credible monuments of the remotest ages, or as invested with the authoritative character of a superintending inspiration, are our best evidences of the existence and the grounds of such an expectation, and of the particular ideas which it included. In an ensuing chapter those passages will come under review which can be regarded with sufficient evidence as prophetically descriptive of the Messiah. It will be sufficient now to mention some proofs of the fact, that this expectation was entertained by the early generations of mankind.

On the birth of her first-born, Eve expressed her gratitude and her hope, in uttering words which have been deemed worthy of being preserved to all ages: "I have obtained a man from Jehovah."¹ It may not appear an extravagant supposition, that the mother of mankind had respect to the promise of a Deliverer which had been certainly, though in obscure terms, intimated to her immediately after the fall.

Whether there were or not any allusion in this instance to the great object of human hope, it cannot reasonably be doubted that the expectation was kept up in the following ages. While

¹ Gen. iv. 1. Some, understanding the particle *וְ* demonstratively, which is its proper acceptation, read—"a man, the Jehovah." The question will be examined in the following chapter.

in some cases the tradition was aided and preserved pure by patriarchial piety and by new communications from Heaven, in other channels it contracted the impurities of fable and polytheism. There is scarcely a people, ancient or modern, barbarous or cultivated, of which we possess any authentic information, whose traditions do not keep up the memory of a primeval period, a *golden age*, in which the virtue and happiness of mankind far exceeded those of the following times, and which was celebrated as the favourite subject of fond memorial and melancholy regret. Equally extensive appears to have been the hope cherished of a *future age*, which should revive the enjoyments of the lamented period, in which vice and misery should be greatly diminished or wholly extirpated, and in which the noblest interests of the human race should be advanced to a perfection never before attained.

Abulpharaj, an Oriental Christian of the thirteenth century, asserts that the ancient Persians had definite expectations of the Messiah, as the deliverer from vice and misery, and the restorer of religion and righteousness: but the passages cited from him by Dr Hyde appear tinctured with a Christian origin. At least, we cannot repose much confidence in those representations, having no sufficient certainty of the prior authorities upon which they rest.

The sacred books of the Persians, attributed to Zoroaster, and to a period several centuries before Christ, have some remarkable passages bearing upon this subject. Their genuineness has been contested; but, as they consist of several parts, the conflicting opinions may be reconciled by distinguishing. I believe that the current of opinion, with the latest inquirers, and the best qualified to form a judgment, is in favour of the genuineness of the part which contains the passages referred to.²

² An epitome of them by Prof. Kleuker, is in B. III. ch. v. Note B. The genuineness of at least a considerable part of the Zendavesta [Word of Life] is said to have been satisfactorily established by Prof. Rask, in a "Dissertation on the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language, and the Zendavesta," translated from the Danish into German, by F. Hagen; Berlin, 1826. Few men have been better qualified than is this celebrated linguist and critic, to determine this question, so interesting in relation to the history and the theosophy of the ancient Persians. He travelled into Persia, for the express purpose of pursuing this class of inquiries; he sojourned long in Teheran and Shiraz; he enjoyed high advantages for prosecuting his investigations; and in 1823, he returned to Copenhagen, fraught with the treasures of rare and ancient oriental manuscripts, purchased for the University of Copenhagen. Thirty-three of

Dr Hyde cites a passage from Sharistan, a Mohammedan author, of whom he and our learned contemporary Hengstenberg speak as entitled to high respect as a genuine and faithful reporter of the history or other evidence which came before him: but of the age in which he lived I have been able to obtain no information.

"Of the predictions declared by Zerâdusht, in the book Zendavesta, this is a portion; that in the last days shall appear a man called Oshânderbeghâ, which signifies man of the world, and that he will adorn the world with religion and righteousness. Afterwards, in his time will also appear Petyâra, or the devil; who for twenty years will molest his interests and his kingdom. Then at length shall appear Osiderbeghâ, who shall revive righteousness among the inhabitants of the world, and redress injuries, and restore to their former places the customs which had been relinquished; that kings also shall obey him and promote his objects; that he will bring succour to true religion; and that in his time peace and rest shall be secured, there will be an allaying of dissensions and a departure of troubles."³

these relate to the ancient Persian literature, in particular the Zendavesta. Prof. Rask had before not less distinguished himself by his studies in the history and languages of the old northern tribes of Europe. His *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* has been translated into English by Mr B. Thorpe, and has met with high approbation.

³ Hyde, *Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum*, pp. 388, 390; ed. 2d, Ox. 1760.—That most exalted views of a Great Deliverer of mankind from sin and its consequences have, from remote time, deeply filled the minds of meditative and devout Orientals, even those who, from their unhappy circumstances, have been the victims of the great impostor, is supported by good evidence. By living scholars, familiar with the moral writings of the Arabian and Turkish Mohammedans, I have been assured that the best of them frequently bring forward sentiments, on the holiness and law of God, the evil and inexcusable-ness of sin, and the possibility of salvation only by God's sovereign grace, which remarkably accord with the grand doctrines of the true revelation; and that they express these with a tenderness of humble and solemn feeling not less remarkable. D'Herbelot gives a literal version of some Persian verses, by a Mohammedan, addressing Jesus:—"Le cœur de l'homme affligé tire toute sa consolation de vos paroles. L'âme reprend sa vie et sa vigueur, entendant seulement prononcer votre nom. Si jamais l'esprit de l'homme peut s'élever à la contemplation des mystères de la Divinité, c'est de vous qu'il tire ses lumières pour les connaître, et c'est vous qui lui donnez l'attrait dont il est pénétré." (The heart of the afflicted man draws all his comfort from thy words. The soul resumes its life and vigour, when it only hears the sound of thy name. If ever the mind of man can rise to the contemplation of the mysteries of the Deity, from thee alone can it draw its knowledge; thou must bestow the power which penetrates and charms.) *Bibliothèque Orientale*, tome ii. p. 351.

A more probable, though offensively gross and corrupt, emanation from the primeval expectation of a Divine Saviour, appears in the doctrine of the ancient Hindu books, concerning the *avatars*, or incarnations of *Vishnu*, the second power of the Indian *Trimurti*.⁴ "Those incarnations represent the Deity descending in a human shape; either to accomplish certain awful and important events, as in the instance of the first three;—to confound blaspheming vice, to subvert gigantic tyranny, and to avenge oppressed innocence, as in the five following; or, finally, as in the ninth, to establish a glorious system of benevolent institutions upon the ruins of a gloomy and sanguinary superstition."⁵ It will not be denied that,

Who would say that, into such minds, there was not an irradiation of holy light, from Him who gave himself a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and after whom their souls have longed under all their darkness?—Indeed, the *Turkish Catechism* of Nedshmuiddin Omar Nessefy, written in Arabic, in the twelfth century, and of which a German translation, by C. H. Ziegler, was published at Hamburg in 1792, teaches more respect and reverence for Jesus than some do in our days, who call themselves Christians. We have many still more remarkable examples in the *Collection of the Flowers of the Oriental Mystic Doctrines* ("Blüthen-sammlung," etc. Berlin, 1825); in poems translated from the Arabic, Persic, and Turkish, by Prof. Tholuck, the man of rare talents and exalted piety, a distinguished blessing to Germany and to the world.

⁴ "The Hindus understand by the word *Trimurti*, the three principal divinities whom they acknowledge; namely, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. It signifies *Three Powers*, because the three essential energies of Creation, Preservation, and Destruction, severally pertain to these three gods. These three deities are sometimes represented singly, with their peculiar attributes; and sometimes as blended into one body with three heads. It is in this last state that they obtain the name of *Trimurti*.—It must be allowed that the fable of the *Trimurti*, or of the three principal deities being united in one body, is less consistently supported than any other doctrine in the Hindu books."—*The Abbé Dubois's Description of the Character, Manners, and Institutions of the People of India*. 1817, pp. 367, 368. A more ample account is furnished by the late justly lamented Baptist Missionary, the Rev. William Ward, in his admirable work, the *View of the History, Literature, and Religion, of the Hindoos*, vol. i. book i. chap. ii.

⁵ *Maurice's Indian Antiq.* vol. v. p. 91. The more accurate information of M. Dubois makes nine past incarnations, and they are far from being all of the benevolent description which Mr Maurice has been led, by earlier and less accurate authorities, to represent. "The Tenth *Avatara* has not yet taken effect; but the Hindus trust that it will be realized. They expect it with the same ardour as the Jews look forward to their Messiah. This tenth *Avatara* is to be the most beneficial and the most wonderful of all. The books which announce it, do not assign the period when it will arrive, nor how it will be brought to pass; but the Hindus confide that it will restore the *Satya-yuga*, or Age of Happiness."—*Dubois*, p. 436. This is, in Mr Halhed's manner of expressing the Sanscrit words, the *Suttee Jogue*, or Age of Purity.—*Code of Gentoo Laws*, Pref. p. xxxvi.

under a mass of the most extravagant or puerile fictions, a nucleus of original truth may exist.

Among the Egyptians, the fable of Osiris and Isis, and their contests with the malevolent Typhon, appears to have been, in its origin and design, a mythological representation of the pristine innocence and happiness of man, destroyed by a wicked seducer, and restored by means of the labours and deadly sufferings of a benevolent deity. The recent investigations of the Egyptian monuments, and the wonderful success in the interpretation of their figures which has been attained by Young, the Champollions, Rossellini, Wilkinson, and others, have disclosed remarkable vestiges of primeval Trinitarian recognitions.⁶ The northern tribes of Europe, both Scandinavians and Teutones, probably conveyed the same general ideas, under their descriptions of the combats of Thor with Lokke, the seducer to wickedness, and his final victory over the being in which Death is personified.⁷

The recent researches into the antiquities of the earlier inhabitants of Mexico have placed, upon a ground of most reasonable belief, their derivation from some Hamite tribe, and their similarity in arts and manners with both Egyptians and Phœnicians. "Every circumstance tends to prove, that the *creed* of this people was all but blameless, being a form of patriarchal deism, which, however, permitted some few varieties of symbolic representation. The two contending serpents——attest the presence of an Ophite people and of an Ophite worship. It was the symbol by which, throughout the East (and especially in Persia), the conflict of light and darkness, of good and evil, was depicted. But the chief god (according to this universal and primitive religious system) whether he was called Adoni-Siris, Horus, Hercules, Balder, or Oromazes, was destined, after a temporary descent into hell, and in the two first instances a three days' entombment, to triumph over the grave, to supersede darkness by eternal light, moral vicissitude by unchange-

⁶ "Travels, Biblical commentaries, histories of primitive times, Encyclopædias, learned and unlearned disquisitions affecting ancient Egyptian questions,—whenever they are not penned with a knowledge of what in the last fifteen years has been accomplished in the Champollion school,—are in 1843 *valueless* on Ancient Egypt. Are not Egyptian studies, and the mythology, philosophy, and doctrines of that misrepresented race, interesting to the divine who attests the Unity of the Godhead, and the Holy Trinity?"—*Gliddon* (U. S. Consul at Cairo) on *Ancient Egypt*; p. 30. New York, 1843.

⁷ *Tholuck, Lehre v. d. Sünde*, etc. *Beylage* iv. from the Icelandic *Edda*.

able good, and to set his heel upon the crushed head of the serpent of evil, by whatever name that serpent was designated in different countries, Typhon, or Saturn, or Ahrimanes. This would appear to be [to have been] the simple creed of the Tultecan nation."⁸

The sense of misery in a fallen state, and the longing hope of a restored golden age, are the fundamental ideas in the well-known poetry of Hesiod and Ovid.

Plato represents Socrates as saying; "We must wait then, till one shall teach us our duty to the gods and to men." Alcibiades asks; "When, Socrates, will that time come, and who will be that teacher? Most happy should I be to see this man, whosoever he is." The sage replies; "He is one who is concerned for thee.—He feels for thee an admirable regard."⁹ I can perceive no method of accounting for this language, so rational as to suppose that it is the feeble and distant echo of the early tradition, or of the Hebrew revelation.

To that revelation must unquestionably be attributed the rumour mentioned by Tacitus and Suetonius as having extensively prevailed, supported by the uniform voice of antiquity and the sacred writings, that out of Judea those should arise who were destined to possess the empire of the world.¹⁰ Nor will the impartial reader of the Pollio think the supposition incredible, that its beautiful anticipations were derived, though mediately and remotely, from the predictions and the imagery of the Jewish prophets.¹¹

To those divine oracles, therefore, as the sources of satisfactory and authoritative information, we shall now attend; with a view to ascertain by a cautious induction what were to be the characters and attributes of the Messiah, according to the descriptions and prophecies of the Old Testament. But it will be necessary to premise a statement of the principles on which we

⁸ *Foreign Quarterly Review*, art. *Mexican Antiquities*, vol. xviii. p. 50. 1836.

⁹ *Platon. Alcib. Sec.* § 12, 13.

¹⁰ *Tacit. Hist.* v. 13. *Sueton. Vesp.* § 4.

¹¹ "Nam omnino non est cui alteri præter Dominum Christum dicat genus humanum:—

'Te duce, si qua manent, sceleris vestigia nostri
Inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.'

—quoniam fortassis etiam illa vates aliquid de unico Salvatore in spiritu audierat, quod necesse habuit confiteri."—*Augustini Epist.* 155. Op. Cologne, 1616, vol. ii. p. 140. He enlarges to the same effect in the *De Civit. Dei*, X. xxvii.

conceive that the application of particular passages may be justly determined to the expected Messiah.¹²

¹² "Whence came these melancholy aspirations, among the heathen, destitute of any special revelation? As we have before said, they might be the utterance of the most deep-seated feelings in human nature, which finds not perfection and harmony in the existing state of things, and therefore seeks them at the beginning and the end of the world: and their narratives of the sufferings and conflicts of a divine being with the miserable and wicked being, might equally be the expression of the holiest feeling and deepest consciousness of men, [involving the sentiment] that all which is divine in this world, corrupted and ruined with respect to them, can be maintained only by a severe conflict; yea, that in this world there is a hostile power, more mighty and more successful than the divine, which is thus compelled often to bow and submit; but that, notwithstanding this fearful struggle, what is born of God overcometh the world, and the final triumph awaits that which is divine. If those traditions and narratives represented nothing more than these ideas, they were the precious relics of the primeval world, the dearest heritage of the human race. But why should not those images and notions be much rather considered as drops from the rich stream of divine revelation, which at the beginning of the ages came down from heaven to men? From that primitive source, might they not have descended to all nations? The remarkable unanimity of these traditions speaks strongly in favour of a common historical origin; and, therefore, that from the time in which man, fallen from his happy state, received the promise of an heroic deliverer, who should tread upon the serpent's head,—from that very time, longing desires and expectations of a future restoration, and a period of recovered happiness, were transmitted in the lines of all families and nations, a beam of consoling light in the gloom of an unsatisfying and comfortless world."—*Tholuck*, as above, p. 247.

CHAP. III.

CRITERIA OF THE APPLICATION OF PASSAGES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE MESSIAH.

A DISTINGUISHED prelate has shown, with much force of evidence, that the main scope and supreme object of the whole scheme of Old Testament prophecy, is the Great Messiah, his character, his office, and his reign.¹ Obscurities and difficulties undoubtedly there are in pursuing the details and application of this principle: but they must be met with fairness, and discussed with sober and honest criticism. It pleased the sovereignty and wisdom of God, that his plan of mercy to mankind by a Redeemer should be developed by a long and slow series of representations; that those representations should be wrought into a continuity with a vast extent of other matter in the history and religious institutions of a particular nation; and that the whole should form a system, rising and spreading through the dispensations of many ages, and thus by the wisest gradations representing the purpose of "the God of heaven, to set up a kingdom," a constitution of authority and grace, a moral and spiritual legislation, an establishment for the glorious diffusion of holiness and happiness;—a kingdom which "shall stand for ever;—to the intent that unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, may be made known, by the church, the manifold wisdom of God;—to the praise of the glory of his grace."

The plain language of the Christian Scriptures is, that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy;" and that, with respect to the Jewish prophets, "the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, which was in them, testified before of the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow."² But, however certain is the general principle, and however predominant its influence over

¹ See *Hurd's Introd. to the Study of the Prophecies*: Serm. ii. Also much valuable matter in *Vitrinæ Typus Doctrinæ Prophetiæ*; pars ii. cap. ii. v. especially § 10-14.

² Rev. xix. 10. 1 Peter i. 11.

all the other parts of the prophetic plan, we cannot arbitrarily assume its application in any given case: evidence must be afforded that the interpretation, in each instance, is the genuine sense and intention of the passage. The principles of such evidence are expressed in the two following rules:—

1. Our first criterion is the common rule of all rational interpretation; that *the sense* afforded by a cautious and critical examination of the terms of the passage, and an impartial construction of the whole sentence according to the known usage of the language and the writer, *be such as naturally and justly refers to the Messiah, and cannot, without violence, be applied to any object exclusive of him.*³

The application of this criterion will be strengthened in those cases in which the Targumists,⁴ or the Jewish commentators of later periods, have admitted a reference to the Messiah. Not that those writers have any claim of authority over our judgment; or that they are entitled to any high regard for the soundness of their understanding, or the correctness of their principles of interpretation; but their testimony is valuable, as an historical document, giving us relics of the better knowledge and the purer faith of their remote ancestors.

2. The other criterion is one which, indeed, presupposes the divine authority of the New Testament, and which could not therefore be employed against an advocate of modern Judaism: but, in any controversy between professed Christians, it *ought* to be held unexceptionable; and assuredly, those who have the lowest opinions on the inspiration of the apostolic writings, will not refuse its claim to very respectful regard. This ground of authority is the *sense assumed*, positively *averred*, or manifestly *implied*, by the writers of the New Testament, in citations from the *Old.*⁵

It is not without cause that I have expressed myself thus guardedly on this topic; for we have seen that the persons whose leading sentiments are examined in these pages are far from reposing confidence in the judgment and accuracy of the apostles, or even the Lord of the apostles, when citing the oracles of God.⁶ These modern teachers have no difficulty in representing themselves as better expositors of the ancient

³ See Note A, at the end of this Chapter.

⁴ See Note B.

⁵ See Note C.

⁶ Pages 20, 21, 54, 55, 72, of this volume.

Scriptures, than those whom Christ himself had instructed, who possessed "the mind of Christ," whom his Spirit was to "lead into all the truth," and who declared, appealing to miraculous attestations of their veracity, that he who "despised them, "despised not man, but God, who had given to them his Holy "Spirit."

It is admitted that the apostles and evangelists have sometimes cited sentences and phrases from the Old Testament, in the way of *accommodation* to subjects not contemplated in the original design of those passages, but between which and those passages there was some instructive analogy, and that not arbitrary, but founded on some ground (which often may escape our superficial attention) of reason, in reference to the Theocratic system of the Old Testament. To deny this would be to refuse them that liberty of observing striking coincidences, and of making useful applications, which writers of all ages have exercised: and the scriptural books were almost the only literature of the Jews. We should, however, be slow and cautious to admit this solution, and well consider the probability that, in such cases, there may be a ground of appropriation, the want of observing which is owing to our ignorance of some circumstance connected with the *original* intent of the passage: and, the more we study the Old Testament and compare it with the New, the more we discover the system of designed predisposal and correspondence running through the whole; and which forms organic ligaments between the two, often in minute circumstances. But when a portion of the ancient "oracles of God" is introduced in the New Testament, explicitly as an assertion of fact or doctrine, or as a prophecy of the event to which it is applied, we must either admit the propriety of the application, to the full extent to which it is carried by the sacred writer, or we must attribute to him mistake or presumption, notwithstanding his professions of inspiration. That the latter part of this alternative differs little from pure deism, it would be needless to remark.⁷

⁷ See Note D.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. III.

Note A, page 144.

“Quodsi vel sublimius est in personæ illustris ac beneficii magnitudine describendâ, quàm quod cadat in Judæorum aliquem aut regem, aut prophetam, aut statum, vel alienum à conditione auctoris; tum justum, nedum necessarium, sit id ad augustius Messiaæ ævum transferri.—Quodsi autem formulas, quibus vates utitur, planè repugnare auctori perspicuè intellectum est; tum maximè Messiaæ majestatem, fata, animum declarari evincitur.” “If a prophetic description of the greatness of an illustrious person, and the blessings conferred by him, be more exalted than can belong to any king, or prophet, or any circumstances of the Jews; and if it be clearly foreign to any thing in the situation of the prophet; then it is proper, and even necessary, to consider it as belonging to the more noble dispensation of the Messiah. If it be manifest that the expressions employed by the prophet cannot, with any propriety, be applied to himself or his situation; we are authorized to regard them as declaring the dignity, character, and history of the Messiah.”—*Doederlein Inst. Theologi Christiani*; vol. ii. p. 178. Norimberg, 1784. These declarations are deserving of the more attention, as they come from one who, if not an enemy, was a very cold friend. Döderlein belonged to the transition-class of divines, whose influence led rapidly downwards to the rationalist system of a few years farther on.

Note B, page 144.

The Targums are paraphrastic versions of some parts of the Old Testament, made in the Chaldee language, after the Hebrew had ceased to be vernacular among the Jews. The most ancient of these, in Dean Prideaux's opinion, is that of Onkelos, who is supposed to have been a contemporary of the apostle Paul. It is upon the Pentateuch only, a very close and faithful version, and written with great purity of idiom. The Targum on the Prophets (in the Jewish phrase, including Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, those of Kings, and the writings usually by us called Prophetical, with the exception of Daniel) is by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who is generally believed to have flourished in the same age with Onkelos, and many authors maintain that his work was written first. It is more paraphrastic than the former, and has frequent amplifications for the purpose of exposition. Another Targum on the Pentateuch is ascribed to the same Jonathan, but without sufficient authority, and against internal evidence. There is another on select passages of the Pentateuch, written at a later period, and called, from its dialect, the Jerusalem Targum. There are three others on some of the remaining books of the Old Testament, which are believed to have been written after the sixth century of our era, and are in little estimation. For a larger account, see *Prideaux's Connect. of the O. and N. Test.* Part II. Book viii.

Note C, page 144.

“Si offendat prædicata subjecti alicujus quæ, in omni vi et emphasi significationis, de nemine quam de Christo intelligi queunt; de alio autem subjecto sumpta non nisi tenuem et exilem expositionem admittunt:—quid movet interpretem Christianum non potius ipsum corpus solidum manu suâprehendere, quam fugientem et fallacem umbram sectari? Imprimis quando scriptores Novi Testamenti, ab eodem Spiritu docti et ducti, nobis monstrant et præeunt viam.—Nec tamen id ita accipi velim ut prophetiæ, quæ de aliis rebus et temporibus manifestè agunt, ad hoc subjectum vi et coactè raptantur, et Christus Jesus ac res ejus locis non suis et propriis ostententur. Servandus hic est modus et medium, quod ipsa loca inspecta et ritè ponderata prudenti interpreti ostendent, ut in omnibus rebus aliis.” “If the Christian inquirer into the sense of Scripture find the things declared concerning any subject to be capable of

being understood, in their full force and energy of meaning, of no other person or subject than of Christ; and, with regard to any other subject, to admit of no application but what is extremely slender and feeble; why should he not rather take secure hold of the substance, than catch at the fugitive and deceptive shadow? Particularly when the writers of the New Testament, who were taught and directed by the same Spirit [which actuated the ancient prophets], point out and tread the way. Yet let me not be understood to countenance the violent and forced application of prophetic passages to this subject, which evidently refer to other times and events; thus dragging in Jesus Christ and the doctrines concerning him to places which do not at all belong to them. Here, as in every thing else, extremes are to be avoided: and the literal study and diligent investigation of each passage will bring the requisite evidence to a cautious student."—*Vitringæ Doctr. Prophet.* p. 192.

Note D, page 145.

"Many have rejected the argument from prophecy, because they had read the objections which several theological writers have advanced against the application of certain passages in the prophets to Christ. It is, indeed, not to be denied, that many parts of the Old Testament have been heretofore drawn to such an application, which closer examination and a more exact system of interpretation have proved not to lie within the compass of prophecies of the Messiah. But, because we reject spurious metal, is there no genuine gold upon earth? Because some have failed in explaining the prophets, are we to represent the prophets themselves as visionaries? A principal reason why so many persons have not been able to comprehend the proof of the truth of Christianity, which may be deduced from the fulfilment of prophecy, has lain in their own inaccurate acquaintance with the prophetic writings, and in their ignorance of the universal connexion and system which belong to the predictions that lie as it were scattered through the writings of Moses and the prophets." *Seiler über die Weissagung und ihre Erfüllung* (on Prophecy and its Fulfilment); *Vorrede*, p. iii. Erlangen, 1813.

"On a correct acquaintance with the scripture scheme of prophecy depends the just explication of all those places of the Old Testament which contain particular predictions from God. A scripture critic who admits no real predictions, fulfilled in Christ and going on to be fulfilled in the kingdom of Christ, sees, in all the passages which describe the future, nothing but the earthly hopes of a people longing after power and riches: he imposes upon the words of the prophets a sense with which they have not the least association: he has no perception of the real constitution and state of that divine reign, moral and natural, which is given by the Father to Christ as the invisible King and Ruler of mankind: he does not distinguish the divine meaning of the oracle from human imaginations of its contents: he admits into the texts of the prophecies subjects of which they do not treat, and is thus seduced into absolutely false interpretations. What strange ideas have been fabricated to misinterpret the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah! How many falsehoods have been written, to make it appear that in the Old Testament there is nothing about Jesus Christ! Who is he, in Psalm cx. that 'sits at the right hand of Jehovah?' David. Then David calls himself his own Lord! Who is he that is called by Isaiah, in chap. ix. 'Mighty God, Father for ever,' or Eternal Father of his people, the ever-enduring Sovereign of an everlasting kingdom? Hezekiah. A king who had not power enough to drive a single enemy out of his country! And were the twenty-nine years of his reign an eternity; or even an age?—Who is this in Zechariah, chap. ix. that 'enters Jerusalem as a King!' Zerubbabel. A very poor provincial governor, under a heathen king, and who had the command of about forty thousand men! But did not Zechariah speak of a yet future King, who should have

'dominion from one sea to another, from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth?' chap. ix. 10.

"Now what pretences are brought forwards, to put a colour upon such false expositions?—The prophets wrote as other poets do; they have laid on bright and glowing colours; they have presented things past or then actually existing, as if they were future, in order to give their poems the shape and air of predictions.—And is such base dishonesty deliberately imputed to those upright and holy men? How rashly will men treat the Bible, the most important of all books! We know that the prophets expressed themselves in the tone of a sublime poetical enthusiasm: but did they, therefore, cease to be prophets? If they had dressed up the petty affairs of their own and of previous times, as the great things of future ages; if they had given themselves out to be *Prophets*, and played the tricks of pious fraud, as is thus imputed to them: would they not have merited the severest punishments, for such a course of lying and hypocrisy, at the very time when they were professing to receive *revelations from God*?

"Thus, the man who rejects the true doctrine of the Prophecies and their Fulfilment, sees every thing perverted and crooked, when he casts his careless glance upon the passages of the prophets where divine oracles are; and he turns the prophets themselves into visionaries.

"Just so it is with those places of the New Testament, in which predictions are cited. A distinction is made between *Accommodations* and *Real Prophecies*: it is assumed that Jesus and the apostles explained the Scriptures according to Jewish opinions, while they were, in the most direct and open manner, opposing Jewish opinions: and thus these persons bring themselves into the dangerous alternative, to maintain either that Jesus and the apostles did not understand the true sense and meaning of the prophets, or that they, with deliberate intention, perverted it. Let their ulterior design, then, be admitted to have been the best possible, the consequence inevitably would follow from their conduct, that not the least reliance could be placed on their assertions; and the solid basis of *historical interpretation*, on which Christianity so essentially rests, would be undermined and shaken.

"If there were no prophets, no persons who really predicted future things with definite certainty; was then JESUS a Prophet? Did he receive his doctrine from God; or did he invent it out of his own mind? What right had he to give himself voluntarily to death, and thereupon to affirm that he had power to take his life again: when he had no divine mission; when he was nothing but 'the philosopher of Judæa?' How could he promise his disciples that he should HIMSELF hear their prayers? John xiv. 14. That HE would 'give to them eternal life?' chap. x. 28."—*Ib.* pp. 366–368.

I cannot but earnestly wish my readers to peruse the *Dissertation on the Citations of the Old Test. in the New*, the first of the Two Appendices to the *Comment. on the Ep. to the Heb.* by the eminently learned and candid Dr Tholuck; Hamb. 1836. They have happily been made accessible to the English reader, by Mr J. Edwards Ryland, and annexed to a translation of the whole commentary, by Prof. Hamilton, Univ. Durham; in the *Edin. Bibl. Cabinet*; 1842; vol. xxxix. Along with much interesting matter, far too extensive for quotation, the author establishes the distinction and the connexion of two classes of Prophecies referring to the Messiah and his spiritual reign.—"The N. T. teaches us to treat the O. T. as 'a shadow of the good things to come;' and in this lies the propriety of admitting typical intentions, not in *facts* merely, but also in *words*. The man is preformed in the child, not only in outward figure; but, in many other respects, the characteristics of the child are prophecies of what the man will be. Under the *chrysalis* of the O. T., lives the perfect state [the *psyche* as in a beautiful butterfly] of the New; and it gives frequent stirrings of animation. As the states and circumstances of the O. T. are outward prefigurations

of that which will spiritually go into fulfilment ; so the persons who are placed in those positions and relations, give expression to sentiments which become realized, in a higher sense, in the correspondent persons of the N. T. The O. T. itself, in the clearest manner, recognizes this typical character of its personages, in giving to the Messiah the name of *David*. Jer. xxx. 9. Ezek. xxxiv. 24: xxxvii. 24, 25. Hos. iii. 5. Viewed from this point, the propriety is evident of attributing a typical character to many expressions in the O. T. But here arises a twofold inquiry,—whether we are to regard such typical expressions, and indeed all direct prophecies of the Messiah, as merely the natural result of the prefigurative nature of the O. T. institutions and history ; or rather as *especial communications, given at the very moment*, to the prophetic persons. We have no hesitation in assigning such *instantaneous* bursts of illumination to the O. T. prophets. Such forms of introduction as—“the Spirit of the Lord,—the hand of the Lord,—came upon me,—[the Spirit of the Lord spake by me,—thus saith the Lord, and similar,—] supply incontestable proofs of this fact. The prophets had especial moments of *elevation*, in which they were raised above their ordinary state of mind. We therefore think ourselves obliged to maintain that the question, whether the prophecies were, the results of the historical position which belonged to the Israelitish nation as a general fact, or to inspirations at the instant,—is no dilemma. The poet who composes at a time when the minds of men are under a peculiar agitation, certainly requires a peculiar poetic excitement ; and yet his strains are not the less struck upon the universal chords of his age. Thus it was with the prophets. The people of Israel, in their history and in all their institutions, were a *prophecy* of the future ; and when the individual prophets uttered their predictions, there the Spirit of prophecy, which lived in the very essence of the national constitution, did as it were *concentrate* itself. As with an author of splendid genius, his grandest passages float like water-lilies on the mirror-like pool, seeming to be groundless and rootless, yet with both roots and stems borne by a common bottom ; so the single prophets of God’s ancient people are not to be conceived of as insulated manifestations of the Divine Spirit, but as rooted in one soil, the foreshadowing and foretelling essence of the nation and its institutions.”—*Beylagen*, p. 13 ; of Mr Ryland’s Transl. p. 193.

I add a passage from a distinguished leader of the antsupernaturalist party, a man of great talents and of amiable and attractive character, but whose course has been dreadfully injurious to society, Leberecht de Wette. His critical and theological character, his long avowed prepossessions (I must call them prejudices) against the most precious truths of revelation, and his talent for creating difficulties and doubts, authorize us to regard such a passage as the following, as having been extorted from him by an invincible force of evidence.—“Christianity sprang out of Judaism. Long before Christ appeared, the world was prepared in which he was to appear. The *entire* Old Testament is a GREAT PROPHECY ; a great type of HIM who was to come, and has come. Who can deny that the holy seers of the O. T. saw in spirit the advent of Christ, long before he came ; and, in prophetic anticipations, sometimes more sometimes less clear, described the new doctrine ? And the Typological comparison of the New with the Old Testament was by no means a play of fancy. Christianity lay in Judaism as leaves and fruit do in the seed ; although it certainly required the Divine Sun to bring them forth.”—For this citation I am indebted to an author and a work both of which have a high claim on the gratitude of the religious and theological world, *The Typology of Scripture, or the Doctrine of Types investigated in its Principles, etc.* by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn ; p. 37, Edinb. 1845.—Of De Wette, Prof. Moses Stuart writes, “*Doubting* seems to be an essential element of this critic’s literary life ; and he appears to derive more pleasure from it than he does from believing.” *Crit. Hist. of the Old Testament Canon* ; p. 147 ; Andover, U. S. 1845.

CHAP. IV.

ENUMERATION OF PASSAGES IN THE JEWISH SCRIPTURES, CONCEIVED TO BE DESCRIPTIVE OF THE MESSIAH.

IN this enumeration it is proposed to bring forwards, not every text which has been adduced by biblical interpreters as referring to the Messiah, but only those which, according to the criteria above laid down, carry certain, or, at least, probable evidence of having been so designed. The degrees of that evidence will, of course, be various: but if the passages which appear to be of the least convincing kind be struck out of the following list, still it is apprehended that enough will remain to furnish a satisfactory conclusion. The number might be reduced, without diminishing the weight of the argument.

At the same time, I would beg the reader not to understand the omission of any passage of the prophetic writings, to imply a rejection of that passage as a true reference to the Deliverer of mankind. I believe that numerous instances, in which the prophets expatiate upon the spiritual blessings which it was the intention of Jehovah to confer on mankind, imply that Jehovah himself would be the Author and Bestower of them, as being Himself personally that Deliverer from sin and woe. But these are passages to which such an interpretation can be applied, only upon the admission of the general principle that the Jewish prophecies definitely ascribe the characters of a then present existence and operation as a Divine Person to the Messiah, and therefore they could not be adduced as proofs of that position in the first instance. Besides I think it not only probable, but morally certain, that the PIOUS and *diligent* use of biblical learning, in future times, together with the illustration of events, will cause the Scriptures generally to be better understood than they have ever been, and will, in particular, elicit decisive and interesting predictions of the Messiah which the intelligence of the Christian church has not yet seen in their native design.¹

¹ "It is an argument with me that the world is not yet very near its end, that the church has made no greater progress in understanding the mysteries of the

SECTION I.—SEED OF THE WOMAN.

Gen. iii. 15. "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: He [*or* it, שָׂדֵי] shall attack thee [on] the head, and thou shalt attack him [*or* it, on] the heel."²

THE testimony of Jesus and of his apostles leaves us no rational ground of doubt with regard to the nature and the cause of that dreadful occurrence, which so soon blasted the first blooming of our nature. "The serpent beguiled Eve by his subtlety: that old serpent called the devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world; a murderer from the beginning."³ Nothing can be conceived more congruous with the divine benevolence,

Scriptures. The Scriptures, in all their parts, were made for the use of the church here on earth: and it seems reasonable to suppose that God will, by degrees, unveil their meaning to his church. It was made mysterious, in many places having great difficulties, that his people might have *exercise* for their *pious wisdom and study*, and that his church might make progress in the understanding of it, as the philosophical world makes progress in the understanding of the book of nature, and in the unfolding of its mysteries. A DIVINE wisdom appears in ordering it thus. How much better is it to have divine truth and light break forth in this way, than it would have been to have had it shine at once to every one, without any labour or industry of the understanding. It would be less delightful, and less prized and admired, and would have had vastly less influence on men's hearts, and would have been less to the glory of God.—*Presid. Edwards's Miscell. Obs.* in his *Works*, vol. viii. p. 198.

² "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy son and her son. He shall call to mind, with respect to thee, what thou didst to him at the beginning: and thou shalt keep a watch upon him to the end."—*Targ. Onkelos*. "—between the seed of thy son and the seed of her sons: and it shall be, that when the sons of the woman shall be observant of the commandments of the law, they shall use effort, and shall smite thee on thy head: and when they shall forsake the commandments of the law, thou shalt use effort, and shalt strike them on their heel. But yet, to them there shall be a remedy, but to thee no remedy shall be: and they shall be prepared to apply a remedy [*literally* a bruising, *i.e.* a composition of bruised medicinal substances] to their heel in the days of the King MESSIAH."—*Targ. Jonath.* The Jerusalem is substantially the same.

The late Dr Storr, whose eminence in Hebrew literature is universally acknowledged, Superintendent in the Lutheran Church of Würtemberg, and Theol. Professor in the University of Tübingen, has shown that the best evidenced rendering of שָׂדֵי, is *to get near* to an object; and generally with a hostile intention. *Opuscula Academica*, vol. ii. p. 418. 1797. This sense will also suit the only other places in which the word occurs, Job ix. 17; Psalm cxxxix. 11.

³ 2 Cor. xi. 3. Rev. xii. 9. John viii. 44.

than an interposition of mercy and intimation of deliverance, in the circumstances of guilt and horror which belonged to the first parents of mankind, at the hour of their crime and conviction. This passage, in general and figurative but intelligible terms, reveals such a merciful intention. Two of the Targums understand the word "seed" in its collective sense, denoting the general posterity of Eve; yet the fulfilment of the promise they expressly refer to "the days of the King Messiah." But the final clause requires the word to be taken in the individual sense; as it is in chap. iv. 25. The passage is not cited in the New Testament; yet the appeals of Jesus himself to the testimony of Moses,⁴ lead us to expect a more considerable number of passages in the Pentateuch referring to the Messiah, than the very few specified in the evangelical records. There appear to be allusions to it in the apostolic expressions; "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman. The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly. As children are partakers of flesh and blood, he himself [Christ] also in like manner partook of the same, that, through means of death, he might depose him who holdeth the dominion of death, that is, the devil. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."⁵

In the extreme brevity of these primeval records, much undoubtedly is omitted of circumstance and elucidation. But it is less important for us to know what our first parents actually understood by the alleviating manifestation made to them, than to ascertain the true intention of divine mercy in it. This we can derive only from the words of the statement, as they are elucidated by the subsequent disclosures of revelation. Admitting, then, the passage to have the design which Christians in general attribute to it, and which perhaps the greater number of impartial thinkers will deem reasonable and suited to the occasion, it will supply these characters of the Messiah: that he should be a human being, in a peculiar sense the offspring of the female; that he should in some way, not yet made known, counteract and remedy the injury inflicted; and that, after previously suffering in a very distressing yet inferior and partial manner, by the malignant power which had succeeded in bringing sin and ruin into the world, yet he should, in the end, com-

⁴ John v. 46. Luke xxiv. 44.

⁵ Gal. iv. 4. Rom. xvi. 20. Heb. ii. 14. 1 John iii. 8.

pletely conquer it, and convert its very success into an augmentation of its own punishment.⁶ The immediate sequel of respite, provision, and protection even in banishment, and (from the probable institution of sacrifice at this awful period) the gleaming hope of pardon; would still more impress the character of mercy. Hence Adam was directed, probably by a divine impulse to himself unknown, to give a new name to her who was hitherto only *Ishah* (the feminine of *Ish*, man); Eve (*Harvah*, life, emphatically), implying a blessing that should abrogate the curse, a superior LIFE in the fulness of time to be given.

SECTION II.—MAN, JEHOVAH.

Gen. iv. 1. "I have obtained a man, JEHOVAH."

FROM the special record of this exclamation of Eve on the birth of her first son, and from the marked importance which is given to it, it may reasonably be considered as the expression of her eager and pious, though mistaken, expectation that the promise (ch. iii. 15), which could not but have created in her breast the strongest feelings of interest and hope, was now beginning to be accomplished. The primary, proper, and usual force of the particle (אֵן) placed here before JEHOVAH, is to designate an

⁶ "That it was not a natural serpent which seduced Eve, but a wicked spirit which had assumed" [in some way which it would be totally in vain to conjecture, and under the wise permission and control of the Almighty] "the semblance of a serpent, is very probably that which Moses designed to intimate, though he does not directly assert it, lest" [in so rude an age, and surrounded by the numerous solicitations to dæmon-worship] "he should give the smallest handle to superstition. That such was his intention, may be argued from the fact of his representing the serpent as endowed with reason and the faculty of speech. That this was also the opinion which prevailed from the very remotest times, among the nations of central and upper Asia, is established from the assertion, which is found in the reliques of the system of Zoroaster: that Ahriman, the chief of the wicked genii, under the form of a serpent, seduced the first human beings into sin."—*E. F. C. Rosenmülleri Scholia in V. T.* ed. 1821, vol. i. p. 109. He adds, referring to *Eisenmenger's Judaism Developed* (*Das Entdeckte Judenthum*), the Rabbinical belief that it was *Sammael*, the infatuating dæmon, whom also the Jews called *the old serpent*, that drew Eve into the commission of sin.

The reader will be both gratified and instructed by the striking train of observations on this text in Bishop Horsley's *Sermons*, vol. ii. pp. 38–54.

object in the most demonstrative and emphatical manner. In this use it occurs immediately before and after this clause, and forty times in the first four chapters of these primeval records, not including the instance before us: it is also prefixed to every proper name in the governed case throughout the fifth chapter. This prodigious number of instances, all occurring in the same connexion, in the same strain of topic and discourse, in the same most venerable documents (supposing them to have been pre-existing fragments, before the age of Moses), is surely sufficient to determine a grammatical question.⁷ It is true that, in subsequent periods of the language, this particle came to be used as a preposition, to denote *with*, or *by the instrumentality of*; but this was only a secondary idiom, and many of its supposed instances, on a closer consideration, fall into the ordinary construction. There seems, therefore, no option to an interpreter who is resolved to follow faithfully the fair and strict grammatical signification of the words before him, but to translate the passage as it is given above.

Yet the result of this straight and impartial course appears so difficult and harsh, that no surprise can be felt that interpreters have very generally thought it incumbent upon them to devise some mode of eluding it. For this purpose, the established meaning of the language has been more or less violated. Some have brought out the sense, *from the Lord*,⁸ as expressive of Eve's devout acknowledgment to the Author of her mercy: others have proposed, *to or for the Lord*: signifying a pious dedication of her first-born to God: others have preferred *with or by the help of the Lord*; as a memorial of gratitude for preservation and deliverance. But, however true and just is the sentiment contained in each of these interpretations, they all labour under the objection of being invented to escape a difficulty, and consequently of being at variance with the principle of a faithful adherence to the philological sense. If in any emergency we sacrifice that principle, we unsettle the solid rules

⁷ Except the case under consideration, and ch. v. 24, there is not the shadow of a deviation from the usage. But this last is really not an exception, for that verb was used, in both Kal and Hithpacl, as a transitive and taking the accusative case of the object. E. g. Deut. i. 19; ii. 7. 2 Chron. ix. 21. Job xxii. 14; xxix. 3. Prov. vi. 12. Isa. xxxiii. 15. Mic. ii. 11.

⁸ This interpretation, being that of the Targum of Onkelos, the LXX., the other ancient versions, and many of the best recent authorities, was adopted in the first edition of this book; but I relinquish it for the reasons stated.

of interpretation and destroy the certainty of our conclusions from any written document. Better is it, in any case, to acknowledge the existence of a difficulty, should it even be to our present powers insuperable, than thus to break up the foundations on which all just criticism must rest.

The mode of rendering adopted by the Targum ascribed to Jonathan, suggests a strong presumption that the ordinary solutions were, by that author, perceived to be incongruous with the true analogy of the language, and that the words given above are unavoidably the fair translation. That rendering is, "I have gotten a man, the angel of Jehovah." This appellation, as we shall hereafter see, was an established designation of the Messiah, in the latter period of the Jewish church.

Conrad Pellican, who was among the first of Hebrew and Rabbinical scholars, at the time of the Reformation, Luther,⁹ Fagius, Melancthon, Cocceius, Pfeiffer, Francis Fabricius, Le Moyne, and many others, have maintained the necessity of adhering to the literal interpretation.¹⁰

The proper question then is, How are we to explain this expression, confessedly so remarkable and difficult?—Let us address ourselves to it with serious care and devout humility.

In all disquisitions upon these most ancient of the Scripture records, we should never lose sight of their characteristic brevity and abruptness. They do not form a continuous history, but are rather a succession of memorials and anecdotes. In almost every instance, things are not mentioned which must necessarily have taken place, and which the mind of the reader is not merely permitted, but obliged to supply. In most cases the ideas, or even facts, requisite to be supplied, are so obvious, that the conjectural supplement involves no presumption: in others, the obscurity is great. The case before us, however, is one which can admit of no doubt as to many circumstances; and, reasoning upon them, I submit the following attempt to meet the difficulty.

1. Adam and Eve could not but have often reflected and

⁹ His version is, "Ich habe den mann, den Herrn."

¹⁰ The very learned Drusius adduced the objection that, had this been the intention of the original writer, there should have been another אַחֵר before אֱלֹהִים. But this objection was completely answered by another of the elder critics, John Gerhard of Jena; who cited the following passages as most decisive examples of the very construction to which Drusius had taken exception. Gen. vi. 10; xxi. 1; xxii. 9, 20; xxvii. 1. 1 Kings xi. 23. Jer. ii. 13; xvi. 13; Ezek. iv. 1. Esther ix. 6-9.—*Comment. in Gen.* 1637; p. 130.

conversed upon their former and their now altered condition, the cause and consequences of the change, the gracious conduct of their offended God, and the *probable meaning* of the mysterious promise. In this infancy of the human race, extraordinary communications from the Deity may be argued to have taken place, on grounds of physical and moral necessity:¹¹ and these sacred records declare the fact of such communications. It is then a reasonable and almost inevitable supposition, that the same mercy which had given them a glimmering of hope in the memorable promise, would support that hope, would furnish further nutriment to faith, and would direct to exercises of piety. The great institution of sacrifices, for instance, we have every fair reason, short of direct information, to believe now originated. To say the least that a reasonable probability will allow, our first parents must have had their minds directed habitually and with strong feelings of interest towards the promised Seed, which was to triumph over the destroyer of their happiness.

2. The parturiency of Eve must have been productive of the deepest impressions on their minds. Notwithstanding what they might have observed in animals, the want of science, skill, and preparation, and the severe, perhaps unexpected pains endured, could not but occasion great distress and alarm.

3. Equally great would be the delight, when pain suddenly ceased, and a new human creature was brought to view. Let any tender mother recollect her own feelings on her first enjoyment of this blessing: and let her then try to imagine what must have been the feelings of *the first mother*, on *the first occasion* of a child being born into the world! The most vivid imagination must probably fall short of conceiving the reality of this most impressive case.

4. It would seem to have been an idea, not merely probable but *inevitable*, to Adam and Eve, that the beauteous and lovely creature thus presented to them by the providence of their God, was indeed the destined Deliverer. We need not impute to

¹¹ "Who educated the first human pair?—A Spirit interested himself in them, as is laid down by an old, venerable, primeval document, which taken altogether contains the profoundest, the sublimest wisdom; and discloses results to which all philosophy must at last come."—*Fichte*, one of the leaders of modern Pantheism, but which there is reason to hope that he renounced, cited in the *Transl. and Comment.* on the whole Bible, by Brentano, Dereser, and Scholz, 17 vols. Frankf. 1820 to 1833; vol. i. p. 16.

them the gross conception that their infant was actually their great Creator and Sovereign: but, putting together *all the circumstances*, I would ask any reflecting person whether an indefinite idea of something connected with the Divine Being, in a way utterly unexampled and unknown, was not likely to arise in the mind of "the mother of all living;" and whether she might not, from natural feelings of hope and exultation, and especially considering the extreme paucity of words which must then have belonged to language, give utterance to this obscure, yet most precious and joyous idea, in the remarkable manner that is recorded. We cannot but conclude from the fact of its being thus recorded, and without any observation or elucidating of the exclamation, that by Moses and the men of the earliest times before him, it was considered as a most memorable and important declaration; and, still more, that to the Spirit of wisdom and truth it appeared worthy of imperishable preservation.

A reason for the divine conduct in this presents itself at once. The whole connexion of the Old Testament contains evidence of the systematic counsel of heavenly grace, to maintain and strengthen among men the expectation of the glorious Deliverer. The fond exclamation of Eve, bitterly mistaken as she was in its immediate application, was not the less the language of faith in the word of Jehovah. As a monument therefore of her faith, and as a link in the chain of notices and encouragements, it was worthy of being recorded. It is also important to be observed, that this is the first instance in the sacred records, of the word JEHOVAH being employed in the speech of a creature; thus warranting the idea of deep and peculiar interest.

The inference from this fact, in reference to our present inquiry, is that Adam and Eve looked for the Deliverer from sin and evil with deep anxiety and sanguine hope, that they believed that he would be a child of man, and that they had an obscure but yet strong impression, that, in some unknown and mysterious sense, he would be described as "the man, Jehovah."

SECTION III.—GIVER OF REST.

Gen. v. 28, 29. "And he called his name Noah [*i. e.* Repose], saying, This "shall console us from our toil, and from the pain of our labours [*Heb.* hands], "from the ground which Jehovah hath cursed."

LAMECH, worn down with toils and griefs, and having, from some cause or reason unknown to us, the idea that his child was destined to an extraordinary station in the economy of providence, expresses a fond hope that the child would prove the promised Deliverer from the difficulties and sorrows of the world, the curse denounced on the fall of our first parents. That he had a knowledge of that first promise and a strong faith in it, can scarcely be denied to be highly probable. Such a hope, and for the reasons which may be inferred from the preceding Section, was natural and laudable; and it coincides with the great principle that an efficient plan of providence was in constant progress, to keep alive the attention and desires of mankind to the future Deliverer. If the words be admitted to have reference to this object, we can infer only that the patriarchs looked for the Saviour promised as a human being, one of their own descendants, and who should relieve them from the pressure of immediate suffering which the first sin had induced.

SECTION IV.—DESCENDANT OF ABRAHAM, CONFERRING BLESSINGS ON THE WORLD.

Gen. xxii. 18. "And in thy SEED all the nations of the earth shall be blessed."¹²

THE chain of desire and hope for the Deliverer of mankind, though neglected and obscured by the corruption of many generations, was not allowed to be broken. For its strengthening

¹² Michaelis, with a just observance of the force of the Hithpael form, in which the verb here is, translates it, "sollen sich für gesegnet halten," *shall esteem, or judge themselves blessed*. I select some parts of his Annotation. "——To esteem

and preservation, the Father of mercies laid the basis of a new and peculiar constitution with Abraham; and which was to terminate only in the advent of that wondrous Person, the expectation of ages. The close connexion of that covenant with the Gospel-Dispensation is a fact remarkably prominent in the New Testament.¹³ To Abraham, therefore, this distinguished promise was several times given, and it was solemnly repeated to Isaac and to Jacob, as the capital article of their family inheritance. It is also quoted in the New Testament, with an explicit application to the Messiah.¹⁴ Some have objected that the term "seed" denotes a collective posterity, and not an individual. It is sufficient to reply, that, in the Jewish idiom, the word was used in the latter sense;¹⁵ that the ancient Jews applied it to the Messiah;¹⁶ and that neither to the Jewish nation at any period of its history, nor to any individual of that nation, except Jesus Christ, can this divine declaration be with any plausibility applied. The preposition *in*, conveys the idea of a necessary and efficient instrumentality. There is no just and extensive sense, in which either the Jewish nation generally, or Moses, David, or any other prince or prophet of that people, can be said to have been a *blessing* to all other nations; if we exclude any reference to Him who "came of them, with regard to the

one's self blessed in any one, is an expression equivalent to this, to hope for all divine blessings through the person referred to, and to believe that God has such an especial love to that person, that he will bless us for his sake, and through our obedience to him.—It is of precisely the same meaning as the expression usually employed by the Apostle Paul, *to believe on him*.—The word *seed* may be properly understood of an individual or a descendant."—After showing, by particular induction, that neither to the national posterity of Abraham, nor to any single person recorded in the Jewish history, could the prediction be applied, he proceeds to say, "In the whole history of the Israelites,—no one can be represented as thus rich in blessing, till we arrive at Jesus of Nazareth. That in him has been verified what was here promised to Abraham, is undeniable from historical evidence. Even an enemy to the Christian religion cannot question that the faith in this Jesus has spread itself to a great extent over the earth, and that great and numerous nations of men expect, through him, all blessings and favour from God."—*Uebersetz. u. Anmerk.*

¹³ Striking witness of this we have in our Lord's discourse, John viii. 33-58; and in the argumentation of Rom. iv. Gal. iii. Heb. ii. 16; vi. 13.

¹⁴ Gal. iii. 16.

¹⁵ See Gen. iv. 25; xxi. 13. The Targum on Ps. xviii. 26, says, understanding the declaration to relate to Abraham, "with his seed which is Isaac." The LXX. translate בן son, in Deut. xxv. 5, by σπέρμα, seed.

¹⁶ In three passages quoted by Wetstein, from the *Bereshith Rabba* and *Ruth Rabba*, the singular זרע *seed*, put to denote a son, is affirmed to signify "the King Messiah."—*Wetstenii N. T.* tom. ii. in Gal. iii. 16.

flesh." The conclusion that can be drawn from this text, with relation to our present inquiry, is that the Messiah should be a man, of the posterity of Abraham, and the mediate cause of benefits to the world at large, of the greatest value, and to be procured in no other way. When the nature of those benefits shall come to be understood, it may well be doubted, whether any mere human being can be the author and cause of them.¹⁷ What extent of knowledge Abraham might have of the Messiah, we have not the means of knowing. We are assured that, in some manner which Jesus plainly represents as distinguished and important,¹⁸ he "saw the day of the Messiah, and rejoiced." It is not improbable that the striking scene of his anticipated sacrifice of his son was a lesson, as well as a trial, to his faith: and it may reasonably be supposed that, in the divine communication which was immediately after made to him, and of which the passage before us is a part, some more extended information might be afforded to gladden the heart of the father and pattern of believers with a prophetic view of his great Descendant, who was to be "manifested, at the close of the ages, for the putting "away of sin, by the sacrifice of himself; and in whom all the "nations of the earth should be blessed, since 'he is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.'"

SECTION V.—THE SHILOH, THE RIGHTFUL AND PACIFIC SOVEREIGN.

Gen. xlix. 10. "A sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from "between his feet, until Shiloh shall come; to him [shall be] the homage of "nations."

THIS passage is not referred to in any part of the New Testament: but the general consent of both Jews and Christians, ancient and recent, has regarded it as a prediction of the Messiah. Such a prescription, running back to the times of the final dispersion, when the enmity of the Jews to Christianity

¹⁷ "In Jesus, the greatest of Abraham's descendants, the nations of the earth, and we also, have received the knowledge of truth, pardon of sin, tranquillity of conscience, hope of salvation, peace and joy in God, and the rich abundance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit."—*Seiler's Grössre Biblische Erbauungsbuch* (a practical comment on the Bible, in seventeen octavo volumes; fourth edition, Erlangen, 1791); vol. i. p. 217.

¹⁸ John viii. 56–58.

was likely to indispose them strongly against any semblance of favour to the claims of Jesus, is like a customary law in any country, running back time out of mind; and it is therefore an argument of no light importance. In this case, it is the testimony of antiquity, in opposition to prejudice and interest, upon a question of historical fact, the existence and general acceptance among the Jewish nation of a definite interpretation. It coincides with the prominent character of the Messiah, in the descriptions of the Old Testament, that he would be the great Author of peace and happiness, in his capacity as a Sovereign Ruler. The repeated declarations, also, of the Lord Jesus, in reference to predictions concerning himself *in the writings of Moses*, authorize the belief that those predictions are probably more numerous than Christian interpreters generally suppose. There may be single passages in the Pentateuch, which the Author of inspiration designed as testimonies to the Redeemer of the world, but which we do not discriminate, by reason of our confined and inaccurate knowledge of circumstances and allusions in those times. By the divine blessing on future investigations of Oriental customs, idioms, and emblems, perhaps much well-evidenced illustration will be obtained to this part of scripture-knowledge. We should, also, never lose sight of the grand idea (which the very constitution and history of the Hebrew nation was adapted to represent, in a manner that should improve upon the former manifestations) of a divine, beneficent, universal reign, the hope of the human race, and the joy, living and dying, of the heaven-taught patriarchs. To this, we may surely say, it is more than probable that the dying Jacob looked with gladdened interest, when he uttered the interjected aspiration of his faith (v. 18), "For thy salvation I wait, O Jehovah!"

Besides these general reasons, the application of the passage before us to the Messiah rests upon the extreme difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of assigning any event duly correspondent with the terms, except the cessation of a native government in Judea on the deposition of Archelaus, and the admission of the Gentiles to the blessings of the Messiah's reign. Till the former of those events, the Jewish nation had their own royal family, were a recognised people, possessing a degree of independence, and were governed by their own laws. In the kingdom of Judah, the royalty was confined to that one tribe;

while in the separated and rival kingdom of Israel, the kings were taken from any tribe.¹⁹

The interpretation of the principal term in the passage, is attended with some difficulty. The most usual explanation of this term, *Shiloh*, is the *Peaceful*, the *Pacificator*, or the *Giver of Peace*; thus corresponding to other well-known descriptions of the Messiah in the Old Testament. But the most ancient and weighty authorities, from both manuscripts and versions, are in favour of the reading which signifies, *He whose it is*,²⁰ that is, the subject spoken of, the regal and legislative authority. It is not improbable also, that there is an allusion to this passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel; and, if that be the case, it determines for the latter reading: “—Until he come whose right it is.” (Ezek. xxi. 32; English Version, 27.)—But with either reading, the appellation both suits the design of the passage, and the character of the Messiah, the most illustrious descendant of the tribe of Judah: he was to be the “Prince of *peace*, and to him should belong the *right* to have universal dominion.” The gracious and munificent reign of the Messiah is, therefore, here affirmed; a spiritual sovereignty, dispensing spiritual blessings to the nations of the earth, and receiving their obedience and allegiance; but I do not perceive that we could draw any certain conclusions from the passage, with respect to his person.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. V.

Note A.

There are certain German critics, who usurp the name of Rationalists; but who have not much reason to complain when we call them infidels, since they deny any *immediate* revelation of truth and religion from God, and conceive themselves to be far better judges of the meaning of the Scriptures than Jesus and his apostles were. Some of these (assuming very modestly that this poem, which is expressly declared (v. 1) to be the dying farewell and prophetic monition of Jacob, is a composition of the age of David or Solomon) interpret *Shiloh* as the name of the town so called near the mountains of Ephraim, and render the clause —“till he come to Shiloh.”—The tribe of Judah, which had occupied the chief place in the marches and encampments in the wilderness, shall not lay aside that honour till the tribes shall disperse from the common standard, each to its own allotment; which dispersion shall take place in Shiloh, where the ark of the covenant obtained its first establishment. See Josh. xviii. and xxii. —To this interpretation we object; (1.) The terms of the passage do not accord with any facts in the march through the desert, or the occupation of Canaan.

¹⁹ Note A.

²⁰ Note B.

Judah possessed no more authority than any other tribe. The *sceptre* and *legislation* were in the hands of Moses, a Levite, and the subsequent command was conferred on Joshua, an Ephraimite. To translate מְלִיץ (*a lawgiver*) by a *banner*, as attempted, does not materially alter the case; but such a rendering would ill suit other passages where this participial occurs, particularly Isa. xxxiii. 22. Gesenius gives no other meanings than (1.) a lawgiver, a leader; (2.) a sceptre, Num. xxi. 18; Ps. lx. 9; Gen. xlix. 10. (2.) The standard of Judah had departed from the army *before* the transactions at Shiloh: see Josh. xv. (3.) On the hypothesis assumed, that the passage was written *ex post facto*, the writer would naturally have used terms descriptive of the greatest splendour of the tribe of Judah, the reign of David, or, had he lived to see it, that of Solomon. (4.) The clause,—“to him shall be the homage [or expectation] of nations,”—is left without any corresponding circumstance whatever.

This interpretation would not have merited notice, but as a specimen of that noxious pseudo-criticism whose characters are self-admiring arrogance and bold irreligion, employing a prodigious machinery of perverted learning to compress all in the Scriptures that is most solemn and important, into insignificance and nullity.²¹

It is, however, with no little pleasure, that we find Dr E. F. C. Rosenmüller,²² who had before given his support to the preceding rapid interpretation, now decidedly rejecting it, and declaring himself in favour of the old application of

²¹ In relation to this extensive and undoubtedly useful class of writers, I ask attention to a valuable passage of the late Dr Arnold. “I cannot but express my deep regret at the general neglect of the study of Hebrew in this country; and especially that it is neither required of candidates for ordination, nor as a qualification for degrees in theology at the Universities. How far it may be studied by individuals, it is of course impossible to know; but this I do know, that many clergymen, deeply engaged in the practical duties of their profession, must find it impossible then to begin it; although, had they been obliged in earlier life to make a certain progress in it, they might afterwards have carried it on to a high degree of proficiency.—Men, in this study, as in so many others, are attracted by the high reputation of the German writers, to put themselves under their guidance.—Judging from the indefatigable industry and exceeding ability of the distinguished writers of Germany on other subjects, I should suppose that no man there could acquire a high character, in any branch of learning, without deserving it. But it is said that the Hebrew philologists are deeply infected with that same spirit which has characterized so many of the German theologians: and, if it be so, no devout man can use their works habitually in his study of the Scriptures, without great pain, or possibly without great danger. For the mere intellectual fault of over-scepticism, he may indeed have been prepared, by his acquaintance with the German commentaries and illustrations of profane literature; but there is in the Rationalists a coldness and irreverence of tone, and so apparent an *absence of all feeling of their own personal relations to God, as men and as sinners*, while they are discussing, like indifferent spectators, his dealings with mankind in the abstract, that their intellectual fault is greatly aggravated by these moral defects.—The Bible has presented itself to their minds more frequently in connexion with their studies than with their practice. The English Clergy, on the contrary, enjoy such great moral advantages in the daily exercise of their parochial duties” [and Dissenting Ministers, with their congregations], “that with them the deepest and boldest spirit of critical and philological research would be tempered by the healthy state of their spiritual affections, and would be alike secure and profitable to their readers and to themselves.” *On the Interpr. of the SS. in Sermons*, Vol. II. p. 423.

It is a pleasing duty to subjoin, that the prosecution of Hebrew studies on the part of British scholars and theologians, has considerably increased within the last very few years. For this blessing we are not a little indebted to Stuart, Robinson, and the other noble scripturists of America.

²² Of this learned family, the father, Dr John George Rosenmüller, the author of the *Scholia* on the New Testament, was appointed Superintendent in the Lutheran Church at Leipzig, and Professor of Divinity, in 1785, and died in 1815. One of his sons is the author of the *Scholia*, here referred to, on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Job, the Psalms, and the writings of Solomon. He was born in 1768, and, after having been for many years Professor of Oriental Languages in the same University, died on Sept. 17, 1836. Besides his *Scholia*, which have much original matter in addition to their comprehensive system of compilation, his chief works are upon the Geography, Natural History, and other Antiquities of the Hebrews. His vast erudition, untiring industry, and devotedness of his talents to the great domain of Bible research; his mildness also, his candour, and (I have learned) his unassuming and benevolent manners in private life; form a strong claim upon our admiration and grateful remembrance. His character as a Christian,—let us leave to the unerring Judge! He was certainly not among the worst of the Rationalists.—But let each one of us judge *himself*, well remembering that “without holiness [*ἀγιασμός*], being made holy, and only the gospel shows us how the process can be effected” no man shall see the Lord.—He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life; but he that is unbelieving and disobedient [*ἀπειθεῖν*] to the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him.”

the passage, that in which the earliest monuments of Jewish and Christian sentiment concur with the most judicious and pious of modern divines. This is one out of various changes of opinion, indicated in the last editions of his *Scholia*, and the first publications of the parts not edited before 1820; changes which do honour to his diligence of investigation, his candour, his judgment, and the apparently improved spirit of piety which seems to have touched his mind. I select a few sentences from his Annotation, and shall add some further citations from two other German Biblical critics of high character; which will be in part of proof that the evils of the falsely called Rationalist system in that country are not without a counterpoise.

"Whether we read שִׁלֹה or שִׁלָּה the meaning is the same, *Tranquillity*; and this is put, by the same metonymy as the *sceptre* stands for the sovereign who sways it, to denote the Author of tranquillity, the Pacificator, who will bring all things out of disorder and confusion, to the long wished-for state of peace and quiet: in the same sense as 'Prince of peace' (Isa. ix. 5), is among the titles of the Messiah.——To the Messiah, whom the Hebrews always regarded as the person who should confer upon the world peace and universal happiness, the term Shilo is unanimously applied by the Targums and ancient versions.——Here then it is promised that the tribe of Judah shall maintain its government, till the coming of that great Prince, who, in the last age of the world, shall alleviate all its disorders, establish peace and tranquillity, and commence his universal reign.——"—*Rosenmüller*.

"*The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, lawgivers shall not cease to be born in succession from him, until he come to whom it is due; and to him shall the nations yield obedience.* As I have thus translated this verse, its meaning must be, 'Judah shall bear the sceptre till the time when a great person shall come, appointed in the divine decrees, and to whom the sceptre properly belongs.' Such a prophecy appears rather obscure: Judah shall hold the sceptre, but not always; only till he shall come to whom it belongs. Who is this, is not said: consequently it may be the Messiah, and this passage has been generally regarded as a prophecy of Christ. Till the time of Jesus of Nazareth, the tribe of Judah had not entirely lost the sceptre and the legislative authority: for, though Herod the Great was not of that tribe, yet the kingdom over which he presided belonged to it; and one might with the same right and propriety of speech say, 'Judah still holds a sceptre,' as we now ascribe a sceptre to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain, notwithstanding the reigning sovereigns of those countries are by descent, not Russians, nor Swedes, nor Danes, nor Englishmen, but Germans. But they sway the sceptre, not as Germans, but in the name of the independent states which they represent."—*J. D. Michaelis Uebersetz. u. Anmerk.*——This learned man, whose extraordinary acuteness and sagacity were alloyed by a too great readiness to be attracted by plausible novelties, then goes on to express his doubts whether the passage relates at all to the Messiah, to propose the rendering the term Shiloh, *inundation*, and to interpret it as a prediction of the Babylonish captivity, figuratively described as a desolating flood. His reasons for this he does not indeed explain: and, if he disclosed them in any other work (for I cannot discover them in his posthumous *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebr.*), they appear to have met with no favourable reception. It is not improbable that he found them, on further examination, too weak to be laid before the public.

"——*Sovereigns shall not cease to spring up from among his infantry.* That the Hebrew word מַגֵּן, is used as a military term, denoting *infantry*, is clear from Exod. xii. 37. Jer. xii. 5. 1 Chron. xviii. 4. Num. xi. 21. The connexion shows that it must be so understood in this place: for the tribe of Judah is here especially described by its bravery in war. The word מַגֵּן, I translate, *Author of peace*. It may also signify, one who produces *rest and happiness*. Such is

the Messiah, as described by all the prophets through the whole Old Testament: as Isa. ix. 5, 6; liii. 10, 11; Ezek. xxxiv. 23. And so he is announced in the New Testament: Luke i. 23; ii. 10, 14. By the prophets universally, the Messiah is depicted as the Sovereign under whose sceptre the nations of the earth should be united: Ps. cx. Isa. xi. 10. Jesus so describes himself; John x. 16. Of the different explications of those learned persons who adopt other readings of this passage, I cannot here speak. But it is certainly very incredible that Jacob, at the time when he is predicting to his children their future destiny, should omit entirely the most important circumstances of all. Yet, unless it be in this place, no allusion is brought forwards to the great promise which he, as well as Abraham and Isaac had received, 'In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' Ch. xxviii. 14.

"—From this tribe David sprung, and this family preserved the grand promise of the *everlasting kingdom*. From it, was the great Author of peace to descend, who should unite the nations beneath his sway, and maintain upon earth a universal ever-during dominion. And so is it come to pass. All the kings that reigned in Jerusalem, were of this tribe. Zerubbabel, who brought back the Israelites from the Babylonish captivity, was so likewise. And though, after a time the supreme government came into the hands of the Maccabees, who were of the tribe of Levi, yet the seat of government remained at Jerusalem, in the tribe of Judah. This state of things remained till the appearance of the Prince of peace, Jesus Christ; the King of the true spiritual Israel. About six and thirty years after his death, was the dominion of the tribe of Judah for ever taken away, the sceptre broken, and Jerusalem destroyed. But, blessed be God, he has fulfilled his word which he had sworn to David. He hath said to Christ, the Son of David, 'Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' By the power of his glorious gospel, Jesus Christ hath conquered the nations of the earth: he has established peace among them, and has united both Jews and Gentiles in one body, under himself the only Shepherd and Supreme Head. Already is his mighty empire extended to all the quarters of the earth. In every place hath he, by his religion, brought some of mankind to adore the true God. From the rising to the setting sun, prayer is made to the Eternal Father and his Son, by whom he made the world. The voices resound of countless thousands; Praise and honour, thanksgiving and glory, be unto Him that is, and was, and is to come! Hallelujah. Praise him, ye heavens! All ye nations of the earth, proclaim the glory of our God."—*Seiler's Erbauungsbuch*; vol. i. part ii. pp. 126 and 90.

Note B, page 162.

Reading מָלִיךְ with the Samaritan Pentateuch and Version, all Hebrew MSS. older than the tenth century, and all the most valuable and ancient versions.—"The Messiah, whose is the kingdom;" Targum of Onkelos, and Solomon Jarchi. "The King Messiah, whose is the kingdom;" Jerusalem Targum. "He whose it is;" Syr. and Arab. "He for whom it is reserved;" Aquila and Symmachus. "The things reserved for him;" Septuagint. "He that is to be sent;" Vulg. The Bereshith Rabba (a Rabbinical collection of explications of Genesis, attributed to the fifth century) repeatedly affirms this passage to belong to the Messiah: and the *Zohar*, a more ancient work, the substance of which is attributed on good grounds to the second century, or rather to the first (as, like Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, it is principally a recital of the expositions and doctrines of Rabbi Simeon, the son of Jochai, who was contemporary with the apostles), says, on Gen. xlvii. 31, "He [Jacob] worshipped, because the "Messiah was to come at the end of the days, and the Shechina was to dwell "with them."—Ap. *Schættgenii Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* tom. ii. 450. But the ancient

Jewish expositors, however varying in explaining the term, agree to apply it to the Messiah. At the same time, it must be remembered that the reading שלח does not necessarily carry the signification just given. It may be only the shorter reading of שילח by omitting the quiescent letter, and then all difference of signification ceases. Gesenius, Stuart, and other good Hebraists, have made the observation, that the *earlier written* books of the Old Testament omit the quiescent letters more frequently than the later; an observation of great importance, as casting light on the question concerning the authenticity of the points as existing in oral practice, and that coeval with the language; though the Masoretic marks to express them were invented at the time generally admitted.—The explanation, *Founder of peace*, is the most free from difficulties and critical objections; says Romanus Teller, in the Leipzig Variorum Bible, 19 vols. 4to. 1749–1770. Luther has *the Hero*. Calvin adopts *the Messiah*, as the most suitable rendering. “To whom it belongs;” *Von Brentano*. “Rest;” *De Wette*, but he gives the other expositions in the margin. “The best Jewish and Christian expositors understand this as a name of Messiah, denoting—He who gives or makes peace;” *Dr Boothroyd’s* 2d ed. of his Version of the Bible, published a short time before the death of that able and pious man. Prof. Sack, of Bonn, says, “Only this beautiful sense [Peace-maker] seems to me almost too clear, and the failure to adopt it by the ancient translators almost too inconceivable.—I scarcely venture to determine between the two translations. Both exhibit the promised person as a peculiarly great and princely sovereign.” *Apologetik*, p. 238; Hamb. 1829.

SECTION VI.—THE PROPHET LIKE TO MOSES.

Deut. xviii. 18, 19. “A prophet will I raise up unto them, from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him: and it shall be, that the man who will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require of him” [the punishment of his disobedience].

THOSE who have interpreted this divine promise, as referring only to the succession of the inspired prophets in Israel and Judah,²³ or to any one among them, must have overlooked the

²³ That such a reference belongs to the immediate design of the passage, is rendered highly probable from the connexion of v. 15. The Israelites are forbidden to pay any attention to the diviners of the heathen, or other pretenders to supernatural knowledge; and, as a reason for the assurance that they would be under no need of doing so, they are informed that God would provide them with a constant succession of true and faithful prophets. But it is evident that this could be no more than an imperfect accomplishment of the promise. The likeness to Moses required to be filled up: the statement being made so pointedly in the singular number, both the times, is not rationally accounted for, on the interpretation that a number and succession were alone intended: and the great guiding principle of the prophetic system, a constant convergence to the Messiah and his kingdom, eminently warrants, or rather demands the other, as the *ultimate and principal design*.

principal circumstance in the description, the *likeness to Moses*, the lawgiver, teacher, deliverer, and ruler of the people who were set apart for God. Not one of the Jewish prophets was a **LEGISLATOR**; not even David, though he was the divinely appointed king of the chosen people, as well as their inspired teacher, their sweet psalmist, and a prophet foretelling future events. The kingly office in Judea was, by divine constitution, purely executive, under Jehovah the only proper Sovereign. The law which he had given, allowed of neither addition nor diminution. None of their kings could possess the right of legislation. Jesus is the only Jewish Prophet who has been, like Moses, the founder of a new law. It was predicted of the Messiah that, under his reign, the Levitical observances should cease; and, of course, the whole authority of that law would then be abolished.²⁴ But those with whom apostolic authority is conclusive, can have no doubt of the rightful application of this passage.²⁵

The conclusions to be obviously drawn from it are, that the Messiah should be a man, a descendant of Israel, a *Prophet* of the highest rank, a divinely authorised *Lawgiver*, who should introduce a new constitution of the relations between God and his worshipping people, the *Leader* and *Guide* of his people, the *Intercessor* for them before the divine presence, *procuring* to them the greatest blessings, the gifts of heavenly grace, and to whom disobedience would be marked with the most awful demonstrations of the divine displeasure. These services were rendered by Moses to the Hebrew nation, as the instrument of God's authority and gracious will: but the blessings to be expected from the Messiah, though similar in their kind, could not but be of a much higher and more glorious order.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. VI.

"This remarkable promise has two great objects of reference. First, the assurance that God would, from time to time, after Moses, send such prophets as he was; that is, persons who should make known to the Israelites the will of God, stimulate them to obedience to his precepts, and when it was requisite, foretel future events. These promises God faithfully fulfilled. Immediately upon the death of Moses, God gave commands to Joshua his successor, by extraordinary revelations. During the period of the dominion of the Judges, at

²⁴ Isa. lxvi. 18, 21. Jer. iii. 16, 17; xxxi. 31-34.

²⁵ Acts iii. 22; vii. 37. See also John i. 20; vi. 14; xii. 48, 49.

least occasionally, he raised up men who, directed by his Spirit, reproved the Israelites for their idolatry, and urged them to a faithful following of his commandments. Samuel, Nathan, David, Elijah, Amos, Isaiah, and many other great men, of all of whom we know not even the names, down to the time of the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, upon the return of the Jews from Babylon, were distinguished by God with extraordinary visions and manifestations, so that they not only instructed the people, but delivered and wrote down many important predictions of the salvation which should be extended by the Messiah among all nations. It was principally by means of these prophets, that the true knowledge of God was maintained among the Israelites, and the foundation laid for the Christian religion itself. They prophesied, not only for their own time, but principally for our advantage, as Peter declares, 1 Ep. i. 11. They described, in a variety of ways, the characteristics of the future Messiah, his mighty works, his meritorious sufferings, and his reign to be established over all nations. Thus, when the apostles announced to their countrymen Jesus of Nazareth as the true Messiah and Saviour, they could appeal to those prophecies, and show their hearers that in him every thing coincided, in the most exact manner, which those prophets had before declared concerning the Saviour of mankind. Thus, by considering the fulfilment of prophecy, many thousand persons were convinced that Jesus was not only a messenger sent from God, but really the promised Redeemer and Saviour of men. And still every Christian who maturely and uprightly examines these prophetic writings, may obtain the same firm conviction.—Obedience to Christ with willing hearts—is the second capital point contained in this promise and precept. God not only promises the Israelites to send them, in succession, a number of teachers and prophets, qualified with extraordinary gifts, but Moses twice uses the observable expression, ‘A Prophet like unto me will Jehovah raise up to thee, out of thy brethren.’—If this passage speaks of all the prophets of God, can it have failed to speak of Him who is *the greatest of them all*? And which of the prophets was more like to Moses than Jesus was? Moses was the lawgiver and teacher of his people; and such was Christ, but in a far more exalted and excellent manner. Moses was, under God’s wise direction, the founder of the best system of religion that his age admitted of: the same and much more was Jesus, the Founder of the supremely best religion that men are capable of receiving. Moses delivered the Israelites from Egyptian servitude and temporal death, by the blood of the Paschal lamb: Christ hath delivered us from eternal death by the shedding of his own blood, and from the slavery of sin by the operation of the Holy Spirit through the truth. Moses was the general and leader of his nation; as the chieftain of the Israelitish community, he administered their affairs, and led them in the wilderness: Christ is the Sovereign and Head of his church, he leads us through the wilderness of this life, he protects us from our enemies, he governs us by the truths of his gospel. When Israel sinned, Moses more than once obtained by his supplications forgiveness for them from God; but he could only deliver his countrymen from temporal punishments. Jesus Christ is the Intercessor at the right hand of God: on the cross he obtained the forgiveness of our sins; he is our Representative, and the Author to us of the everlasting salvation. Moses only declared the manna which God gave from the skies, and directed the Israelites to gather it: Christ could say, ‘I am the Bread of Life, which cometh down from heaven; he that eateth of me shall live for ever.’ Moses could lead the Israelites no farther than to the borders of Canaan, and there, unable to enter that goodly land, he died: Christ leads us into the celestial Canaan, and will there for ever satiate us with the fruits of faith and holiness. He is the ‘Prophet like unto Moses;’ but far, yea infinitely greater than Moses.—We glorify THEE, O thou Eternal Son of God!’—*Seiler’s Erb. B.* vol. ii. pp. 351–354.

“Here Moses has Christ in his contemplation, yet not only in relation to his visible appearing, but also with a respect to his invisible operation before that took place. Compare 1 Peter i. 11, declaring that the Spirit of Christ spoke by the prophets. He is not speaking of a collective body of prophets, to which Christ is at the end incidentally annexed, as Calvin and other expositors understand the passage; but the whole office and station of the prophets is represented to him as personified in Christ, as the person in whom his conception of that office would be perfectly realized. Thus there is a concurrent reference to the other prophets, not in their individual capacities, but only in relation to the Spirit who, though in a manner not yet completed, was powerfully efficient in them, and conjoined them along with their Head in one united body. They were viewed IN CHRIST, as they were but his instruments: his Spirit constituted the essence of their office.”—*Hengstenberg's Christologie des Alten Testaments*; vol. i. p. 90. Berlin, 1829.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SONG OF HANNAH,

In 1 Sam. ii. 1-10.

This seems a proper place for introducing a paragraph from a letter with which I was favoured in 1840, from the Rev. John Morell Mackenzie of Glasgow, a young minister whose talents, learning, and piety had endeared him to a wide circle of admiring friends, and had given promise of extraordinary usefulness, when he was taken from us by the melancholy shipwreck of the Pegasus, on the coast of Northumberland, July 20, 1843. A copy of this letter must have been kept by himself, for it appears in a volume intitled *Memoir and Remains* of Mr Mackenzie (not published, but printed for private circulation), Edinburgh, 1845. The commendatory manner in which he writes of this work and its author would certainly have prevented me from communicating it. To see it in the book has surprised me. I owe grateful acknowledgment to the unknown editor. But now I am bound to adduce it.

—“May I take the liberty of inquiring on what grounds you have omitted all reference to 1 Samuel ii. 10, in the *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*? I observe a similar omission in Hengstenberg's *Christologie des Alten Testaments*; for which also I am somewhat puzzled to account. Not that I think the Messianic application of the passage too clear to admit of controversy: but I own that it seems to me the most intelligible and consistent interpretation. The assertion of Gesenius and Winer, that the word *Messiah* is never used in the Old Testament to designate our Saviour, needs no refutation. Nor is any more deference due to the suggestion of De Wette, that the whole Ode, attributed to Hannah, is the insertion of a later age. There was no king in Israel, when Hannah uttered these words; nor does there seem to be any sufficient reason for believing that she referred to the future reign and unction of Saul or David. On the other hand, the general style and imagery markedly resemble those of the song of the virgin Mary, recorded in the first chapter of the Gospel of Luke; while the verse in question quadrates exactly with numerous unquestionable prophecies of Christ. The Targum of Jonathan applies the passage to the Messiah. Of the commentators comprehended in the London *Critici Sacri*, Munsterus, Vatablus, and Clarius give the same interpretation; Drusius and Grotius admit it as defensible. In the latter judgment, even Le Clerc concurs. Bishop Patrick and Dr Hales refer the prophecy immediately to Christ. So also Seiler, *Des grösseren biblischen Erbauungsbuches, dritter Theil*. S. 115. And one, who is himself πολλῶν ἐνταῦρος ἁλλων, James Alting, defends this view in the fourth chapter of the second book of his *Schilo*.”

The passage is the concluding sentence of the Hymn of joy and praise composed by Hannah the mother of the prophet Samuel, on occasion of the birth of her son under the remarkable circumstances related in the history. Its merit as a Hebrew Psalm, is very conspicuous, as possessing the beauty which characterizes the similar compositions in the Old Testament. The claim of divine inspiration is evidently due to it, as we have endeavoured to show with regard to the Psalms of David (Sect. xvii. of this chapter). It does not however appear to possess the prophetic character, except the last clause. It represents, in the established poetical imagery of the Hebrews, the holiness and justice, the majesty, power, and condescension of Jehovah, the universal dependence of mankind upon Him, the sovereignty of his dominion, the varieties of his providential dispensations, the protection of the pious, the elevation of the lowly, the depression of proud oppressors, and the terrors of God's judgments denounced upon them. Then follows the triplet—

“ Jehovah will judge the ends of the earth,
And he will give strength to his king,
And he will exalt the power of his Anointed One.”

The *lifting up of the horn* is the abundantly occurring idiom for exaltation to power, authority, and dignity. This is the first place in which the term MESSIAH occurs. The question to be resolved is, whether, under that august word, we are to understand any of the then future rulers of Israel, or are warranted to refer it to Him who is the Anointed One in the highest sense, to whom all the prophets gave witness, “the Christ [Anointed One] of God.” Luke ii. 26; ix. 20.

Upon this question we have to remark :—(1.) That the son of Hannah, the occasion of the psalm, was for thirty or more years the “judge” of Israel, the chief magistrate, the best of all that had preceded him, whose integrity and wisdom, patriotism and piety, were above all cavil; and that to him, therefore, the first member will strictly apply, understanding by the geographical phrase (what it very often means) the territory of Israel, “the confines of the land.” (2.) That Samuel was commissioned by God to call forth and present Saul, as the king of the nation. (3.) That he, in like manner, anointed the more faithful man, David. (4.) That the possessive pronoun with the official names denotes their subordinate relation to Jehovah the proper and only supreme in the Mosaic constitution. Hence (in this book, ii. 35; xii. 3, 5; xvi. 6; xxiv. 6; and in many other passages), *the Lord's anointed, his anointed, mine anointed*, are frequent designations of the king of Israel. Thus the prophecy points to the characteristics of the three successive vicegerents of Jehovah; subjects which possess an eminent propriety in the thanksgiving of her who was the mother of the first of them. (5.) That even the Hymn of Mary the mother of Jesus, which is manifestly formed upon the model of this Hymn, does not make any application of the predicates to her Son, excepting a very remote reference to the covenant with Abraham and his posterity. We cannot, on any fair grounds of interpretation, assume that the appellation “God my Saviour” had, in Mary's mind, any allusion to the Messiah. Yet it belongs to the chain of prophetic intimations, in which the royalty of the house of David, as the prophetic and priestly orders, were typical of the Divine Messiah and his great work of salvation; upon the principles which, I trust, have been established in following parts of this Chapter. It is however well to be observed that the possessive designation “his king” is paralleled in Ps. ii. 6, “my king;” and that the term does not occur any where in relation to any of the kings of Israel. This appears to Mr Fairbairn sufficient to determine the reference to the Messiah. *Typology*, p. 162.

SECTION VII.—THE ADAM FROM ABOVE.

2 Sam. vii. 18, 19. "What am I, O Lord Jehovah, and what my house, that thou hast brought me to this point [of exaltation]! And little [is] even "this in thine eyes, O Lord Jehovah: thou hast even spoken, with respect to "the house of thy servant, unto a vast extent! And this [is] the law of the "Adam, O Lord Jehovah!"

*The parallel recital in 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17, reads the last clause; "—Thou "hast regarded me according to the order of the Adam from above [or, the "pre-eminent], O Jehovah God!"*²⁶

THESE devout acknowledgments of David correspond to the divine declarations and predictions which had been just before made to him. In them we discover the characteristic genius of the prophetic system, bringing temporary events and the designed coincidences of God's providential government, to serve for the illustration of the reign of mercy and salvation under the Messiah. As the promise made to Abraham, and repeated to his son and his son's son, presented the Messiah, as the great ultimate object *involved* in the separation and the peculiar constitution of the Israelitish *nation*; and as the same method of involution connected the history of one *tribe* with the advent of the Rightful and Peace-bestowing Prince: so we now find a further step taken in the divine plan, and the particular *family* is brought to view from which it was decreed that the Deliverer of mankind should descend. "David,—being a prophet, and "knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the "fruit of his loins He would raise up the Messiah to sit upon "his throne,"²⁷—was enabled by the power of INSPIRATION to discover numerous circumstances in the character and history of the Messiah, and to depict them in the most glowing, yet not exaggerated, colours of poetry and inspiration.

The passage before us is the first of this class, and it is succeeded and illustrated by others. This message from God was brought to David, in the early part of his reign, by the prophet Nathan. It assured him of the preservation of the royal dignity in his line of descent: it laid down the provisions of the corrective righteousness and mercy of Jehovah, with respect to the sins and errors of Solomon, or any other of his descendants: and it

²⁶ Note A.

²⁷ Acts ii. 30.

definitely declared that the ultimate state of the promised kingdom should be all-extensive and lasting to the end of time. This style of double reference is a necessary consequence of the principle in the system of prophecy which we have before observed.²⁸ The earthly royalty was the symbol of a MORAL and SPIRITUAL REIGN; the dominion of the divine laws, the exercise of heavenly grace upon the human will, determining it to the obedience of faith and love, the service of choice and delight; "the kingdom of God, which is righteousness, peace, and joy, in the Holy Spirit." Therefore one part of the promise respected the fates of David's temporal successors; and it was fulfilled, in the way which has been shown in our consideration of Jacob's dying prophecy, till it terminated and was absorbed in the infinitely more glorious dominion and purposes of that dominion, which belonged to his greatest Descendant. "Jehovah manifesteth to thee that HE will make for thee a house" (v. 11), a family or posterity: including both the temporal lineage and the person, of whom the divine messenger announcing his birth declared, "He shall be great; and he shall be called the Son of "the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the "throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house "of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."²⁹

The close of the whole was with the declaration evidently applying to the ultimate and grand design, "Thy house shall be "made sure and thy kingdom for ever before me:³⁰ thy throne "shall be established for ever" (v. 16). In return for this divine favour, the admiration and praise of David are poured out. He fully relies upon the promise, though he might not be able to comprehend the mode in which it would be carried into effect. All the kingdoms and dynasties of the world have their decline and fall; but in *this* case, another "*law*" or *disposition* shall obtain; "This is the law of the Adam:" or, if the using of the proper name be not approved (for there can be no decisive argument either way), "of the Man," the great and illustrious One to whom these wondrous assurances finally attach:—and "Thou

²⁸ See the rational basis of this principle clearly explained in Bishop Lowth's XIth Lecture *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*; and its application to the present passage in a recent work of great merit, the *Typology of Scripture*, by the Rev. Patr. Fairbairn; p. 178–182. Edinb. 1845.

²⁹ Luke i. 32.

³⁰ Reading with Kennicott's *codex* 244, לְעֶלְיָ according to the LXX. and the Syriac.

“hast regarded me according to the order of the Adam,” or “of the Man, from above.” Perhaps it must remain a matter of doubt, whether *הַמַּעֲלָה* is to be rendered, by taking the *מ* as a preposition, which will effect the sense “from on high;” or as a preformant, then signifying “the person of exaltation, or eminence.” The latter is supported by the majority of authorities: but the former has the recommendation of coinciding with the character of the Messiah repeatedly laid down in the New Testament, that he should be “from above, and above all, the second man, the Lord from heaven.”³¹

That the promise was understood in this sense by the prophets and saints of the Jewish church, is very evident from the faith and piety of a subsequent inspired writer recorded in the lxxxixth Psalm; whether with Michaelis, Knapp, and others, we suppose that most sublime ode to have been written under the distresses of the good Hezekiah, or assign it to the melancholy period of the Babylonish conquests and the cruel devastation of the kingdom of Judah. The promise made to David is recited, and its provisions are detailed and dwelt upon, with all the affectionate lingerings of struggling hope and discouraging fear. The person in whom the promise remained to be fulfilled is represented as a new David, a Son of God, a King exalted by God his Father to a dominion such as David and his posterity never knew,³² an empire of universal extent, conferring the greatest blessings upon its subjects, gloriously displaying the Majesty of the Divine perfections, and destined to continue to the end of time.³³

Having thus, I trust, established the reference of this passage to the Messiah, we have only to remark its meaning and contents. We collect from it, that the Messiah would, at an epoch remotely future, descend from David, that he would be the pre-eminent Man, sustaining a relation to the human race analogous to that of the first Adam, being in some peculiar and as yet unexplained sense *from above*, and communicating blessings to the world by

³¹ John iii. 31; viii. 23. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. The very expression occurs in the *Zohar*. See the Note on Gen. xlix. 10. In it the Messiah is called *אָדָם לְמַעְלָה* the Adam on high, and is said to have dominion over all things, as the first man, the Adam below (*אָדָם תַּחְתָּיִת*) had by divine appointment over the inferior creation of this world.—*Zohar in Gen.* ap. Schœttg. *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* tom. ii. 271.—Abrabanel says that the declaration refers to “the Messiah, the Son of David.”

³² Let the reader especially observe vv. 3–8, 15–17, 20, 26, 29, 36, 37.

³³ Note B.

the means of his most righteous, beneficent, and universal reign, a reign which was decreed by Jehovah to endure, in growing prosperity and triumph, till the consummation of all mortal things.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. VII.

Note A, p. 171.

V. 18. הֵבִיאָתִי עַד-הַלֵּל. Thou hast brought me to this point of exaltation.—‘Thou hast already so promoted me:’ *Dr Geddes*.

V. 19. לְמִירוֹק. This word is used to express any great difference or distance, whether of *space*, or *time*, or any other kind of order: I have therefore endeavoured to find a phrase of similar comprehension. But it is evident that here it is applied to distance of time, contemplated by the eye of prophetic inspiration. The *LXX.* renders it by *eis μακράν*—‘for a future age;’ *Targ. Jon.*—‘in longinquum;’ *Vulg.* and *Castellio*:—‘in remotum tempus;’ *Le Clerc*:—‘per un lungo tempo a venire;’ *Diodati*:—‘pour un long-temps futur;’ *Le Cène*:—‘noch von fernem zukünftigen;’ *Luther*:—‘auf die entfernteste zukunft;’ *Michaelis*, and *Dereser* (both signifying, *to the most remote futurity*):—‘bis auf die fernsten zeiten;’ *Seiler* (*to the remotest times*):—‘posteris meis longè remotis;’ *Dathe*. This variety of expression, concurring in the same great idea of a vast period in the ages to come, beautifully illustrates the image of the prophecy, and confirms the assurance that the few centuries which were to elapse till the earthly royalty of David’s family should become completely extinct, could not be the term spoken of. The language leads us to expect a duration far more glorious and important, in a kind of excellency infinitely superior to temporal magnificence and carnal pleasures, an excellency moral, spiritual, and heavenly. Such alone is the kingdom of Christ.

The last clause of the passage has been considered by the generality of translators and commentators as involved in peculiar difficulty: and their embarrassment is too plainly manifested by the far-fetched and little congruous interpretations which they have proposed. The ancient versions seem generally to have overlooked both the true sense of the terms and the scope of the passage: except that the *LXX.* adheres to a literal rendering, seeming to leave the interpretation to the judgment of posterity; and that Jerome, or whoever assisted him, appears to have caught a glimpse of the true idea. It is surprising that so few modern writers have taken the hint thus intelligibly furnished.

2 Sam. vii. 19.—“This is a vision for the sons of men.” *Targ. Jon.* “This is an instruction for man.” *Syr.* “This is a prediction relating to man.” *Arab.* All these have rendered אָדָם by אֱנוֹשׁ—“This is the law of the man.” *LXX.* “This is the law of the Adam.” *Vulg.*—“This is a way [*Weise*, mode, state] of a man who is the Lord God:” *Luther.*—“*It is by the law* (i. e. order or constitution) of men, mortal and miserable men, to redeem whom thou wilt condescend to this mortal condition;” *J. H. Michaelis.*—“This future event is the law (the new, gospel law of faith) of the man who is the Sovereign Lord: not a perishable kingdom and law, but the eternal kingdom of the God-man;” *Von Meyer’s marg. expl.* Frankf. 1819.

1 Chron. xvii. 17.—“All the children of men who reverentially worship thee with all their hearts, dost thou bring out of darkness into light, O Lord of Lords!” *Syr.* “Thou hast looked upon me, as a vision of man, and hast exalted me, O Lord God!” *LXX.* The *Arabie* unites both these interpretations, or rather paraphrases. “Thou hast made me honourable above all men, O Lord God!” *Vulg.* There is no Targum upon the Chronicles.

It can scarcely appear any other than a reasonable supposition that מִירוֹק in the

one passage and חַי in the other are the same word, whether we suppose, with regard to the latter instance, that the final ח or ה was absorbed by the succeeding ח (a common cause of error in transcribing), or accede to the opinion of Erasmus, Schmidt, Gusset, Clodius (in his *Lexicon Hebr. Vocum Rar. et Obscur.* Leipzig, 1744), and J. H. Michaelis, that the two are different forms of the same word, having the same primary signification, *order, succession, regulation*. But there is no necessity to urge this: for supposing חַי to be an independent word (a cognate form of חַי, on the principle of the commutation of similar organic letters, concerning which see *Gesenius, Stuart*, and other Hebrew grammatical writers), the ultimate sense will not essentially differ.

One may judge of the extreme perplexity which has resulted from the non-observance of the great and illustrating idea, by the following specimens of the effort made by the most able and generally successful of modern translators; among whom the authors of our own Authorized Version are to be placed, but we need not cite their rendering. With it the Geneva-English, and the Bishop's Bible nearly agree. 'Du hast angesehen mich als in der gestalt eines menschen, der in der höhe Gott der Herr ist' (Thou hast regarded me as in the form of a man, who is on high, God the Lord); *Luther*.—'Mihi humano more magnificè, provideres, O Jova Deus?' *Castellio*.—'Thou hast regarded me in a human manner with this exaltation, O Lord God;' *the Dutch of the Synod of Dort*, nearly following *Junius* and *Tremellius*.—'Thou hast regarded me of this degree, as by a rank of human succession, O Lord God;' *Diodati*.—'Thou hast displayed me in the excellent form [d'un homme du commun] of an ordinary man, O Sovereign God:' *Le Cène*.—'Mihi de sublimi gradu, more humano, prospexisti;' *Le Clerc*.—'Thou shonest me the splendour of a man exalted to the highest, O Lord, O Jehovah!' *J. D. Michaelis*.—'Me singulari præ aliis hominibus prærogativâ dignatus es;' *Dathe*.—'Tu ayes soin de moi selon la disposition de l'homme, Seigneur Dieu excellent:' *The first ed. of the French Protestant Bible, by Olivetan, 1535; and retained in some subsequent early editions*. 'L'excellence de l'homme est selon ce qu'il est;' *Geneva, 1588, and downwards to the revisions of David Martin and Ostervald, in the 18th century*. 'Vous m'avez rendu plus considérable que tous les autres hommes;' *Le Maître de Sacy*. 'Tu as jété les yeux sur moi, comme si j'eusse été un homme bien considérable, O Eternal Dieu!' *The last Geneva revision, or rather a new critical edition, of 1805*.—*De Wette* gives five versions, of which the last is, 'that such should be a law for men.'

We can scarcely, therefore, wonder that this confusion and embarrassment appeared so great to Michaelis, as to draw from him the confession; "The Hebrew words are extremely obscure, and hardly any one translator agrees with another upon them. I have translated them as well as I could."—*Uebers. u. Anmerk.*

The celebrated Dutch divine, Cocceius, brought forwards a rational and satisfactory interpretation: "And thou hast looked upon me, as in the order of the man who is from above; in the order or relation to Christ the Son of man, who is over all; or, Thou hast seen my order [rank or succession] as the order of Christ: for to David Christ had been promised as his son. Compare 2 Sam. vii. 19. And this is the law of the man."—*Lex. Hebr.* The same views of these parallel passages were taken by Dr Kennicott. "From David's address to God, after receiving the message by Nathan, it is plain that David understood the son promised to be the Messiah: in whom his house was to be established for ever. But the words, which seem most expressive of this, are in this verse now rendered very unintelligibly, 'and is this the manner of man?' Whereas the words וְהַיְהִי חַי literally signify, 'and this is (or must be) the law of the man, or of the Adam,' i.e. this promise must relate to the law, or ordinance, made by God to Adam, concerning the seed of the woman; the man, or the second Adam: as the Messiah is expressly called by St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 45–47. This meaning will be

yet more evident from the parallel place, 1 Chron. xvii. 17, where the words of David are now miserably rendered thus: 'And thou hast regarded me, according to the estate of a man of high degree.' Whereas the words וְרָאִיתִי בְּתֹרֵי הָאָדָם literally signify, 'and thou hast regarded me, according to the Adam that is future, or the man that is from above' (for the word הַמֵּעֵלָה very remarkably signifies *hereafter* as to time, and *from above* as to place); and thus St Paul, including both senses, 'The second man is the Lord from heaven:' and Adam is the 'figure of him that was to come, or the future.' Rom v. 14.—*Kennicott's* [*Posthumous*] *Remarks on the O. T.* p. 115.

Note B, page 173.

Few scripture-critics and commentators, if we except the recent antisupernaturalists, have been supposed to have a bent of mind more averse from acknowledging prophetic references to the Messiah in the O. T. than one who, on so many accounts, has claims upon our sympathy and admiration, HUGO GROTIUS. The following remarks, therefore, on the strongest presumptive argument, may be considered as having forced themselves upon his mind by invincible reason. They are parts of his ample Note, large enough to be a Dissertation, upon Matt. ii. 22. "*That it might be fulfilled.*" It is of great importance that the import of this expression should be rightly understood. For Celsus and Julian, and the Jews in general both ancient and present, have been in the practice of adducing against Christians this and similar passages, as proofs that the apostles and their followers did not practise strict fidelity in citing the authority of the prophets. But it is to be observed that the apostles did not use these testimonies in their reasonings against the Jews, as proofs that Jesus was the promised Messiah; for it is but few passages from the prophets that they have employed for this purpose, being content with the evidence from the miracles wrought by Christ and his resurrection: for, as one of old said, if these were not sufficient, nothing could be." [One cannot but be astonished at the levity of this assertion, in the face of numerous passages which state the teaching of our Lord and the apostles; such as, Matt. xxvi. 54; Luke xvi. 23; xxiv. 27, 44; Acts xvii. 2; xviii. 28.] "But it was to them a principal object, with respect to persons who already believed in Jesus as the Messiah, to show how the *whole plan of divine revelation*, as belonging to the earlier times, continually contemplated Christ and the things concerning him as the supremely attractive and perfect object; and they moulded every thing besides to an accordance with it. Hence (in addition to many other passages, —) Christ is said to have been *foreknown before the formation of the world* (1 Pet. i. 20); and the wisdom of God, shining forth in the mission of Christ, was *fore-ordained before the ages* (1 Cor. ii. 7). But eminently clear is the passage (1 Cor. x. 11); *All these things happened unto them* (those who lived under the old covenant) *τυπικῶς, figuratively; and they are written for the admonition of us, upon whom the boundaries of the ages have met.* So elsewhere, the time of Christ is called *the fulness of the time*, *χρόνου* (Gal. iv. 4); and *of the seasons*, *καιρῶν* (Eph. i. 10). Not merely therefore the institutions of the law were a *shadow* of Christ (Heb. viii. ix. x. Col. ii. 17); but also the historical transactions which took place, particularly the (*nobiliore*) most observable." [—Grotius then quotes passages to this purport from Justin, Tertullian, and Chrysostom.]—"The expression of Paul, *figuratively*" *τυπικῶς*, instead of *τύποι*, is the reading of good authorities], "is derived from the practice of painters, sculptors, and architects, who, intending a work of distinguished excellence, first make a rough model, and then gradually work it up to their mind's conception. —As the things themselves, by the divine intention, had respect to Christ, certainly also the signs of those things, being of divine institution likewise, must be referred to the same object. The *signs* are of two kinds, those perceived by

the eye and those by the ear. The *things signified* are the past, the present, and the future.—A few examples.—The Passover was a *visible* sign of a *past* event, the deliverance from the Egyptian slavery: but that deliverance was a *τύπος* or *prefiguration* of our deliverance from sin. Christ is therefore set forth to us as prefigured in the Paschal Lamb; 1 Cor. v. 7.—An impious act committed by some ancient Jews (Zech. xi. 7–14), God with foresight permitted, as a beforehand representation of that highest act of impiety which the Jews perpetrated against Christ;—the sign being an outline-picture of the perfidious compact between the high priest and Judas.—*Audible* signs;—uttered, or written; for written characters are the representation of sounds, as sounds are of things.—The mention (Hosea xi. 1) of the deliverance from Egypt, was, as we have said, a sketch of the greater deliverance by Christ. The narrative (Matt. ii. 15) shows us that the mind of the prophet was so directed by God, that what was by himself spoken of the people of Israel, should, with a propriety not less but even greater, be applied to Christ.—In the same way, the commencement of Psalm lxxviii. perfectly squares with what is related of Christ (Matt. xiii. 35).—Psalm lxxii. written in honour of Solomon, is referred to the Messiah, in the Targum, and by Sol. Jarchi and Saadiah Gaon.—Of spoken declarations, which belonged directly to some present event, but which yet, by the divine purpose, were referred to Christ, we have these examples. What Jeremiah had uttered concerning the massacres perpetrated in his time in the district of Bethlehem (ch. xxxi. 15), so painted to the life the murderous deed of Herod, that scarcely any other terms could more perfectly express it.—Is. lxi. 1, seems to present the prophet as speaking of his own commission to console the people in captivity by the prospect of restoration; but they are the very words which, adapted to Christ, most perspicuously mark out the great redemption itself; as indeed the entire fact of the restoration from Babylon was a figurative representation of the blessings which Christ confers.—As none of the ancient Israelites was tried by God with greater calamities, and then raised to higher glory, than David, the series of events is evidently shown to have been so directed by God, that the facts relative to Christ might be presignified in him more closely than in any other persons. Thus, his words of complaint against those who were his enemies without cause, and of one whom he had reckoned among his friends, are such that nothing could be more exactly expressive of circumstances (presignified) belonging to Christ.—So likewise the sharing of his garments, and the casting lots for his robe; and the drink of vinegar and gall.—The same observation we make with respect to things which were *future*, at the time when prophetically described: only that we may say that they have been twice fulfilled; once, when the thing directly predicted took place, and secondly, in the more transcendent manner when the event was transacted of which the former thing was a shadow, and to denote which the words were specially adapted. So, in Is. ix. 1, some auspicious occurrence in Galilee, in the time of Hezekiah, is announced as a great light shining; but the expressions are adjusted to present that light as a forerunner of the light which Christ would bring; and thus all these declarations of the prophet apply to Christ in the highest sense. So, Is. xlii. may be applied to Zerubbabel, and Zech. ix. 9, to Judas Maccabæus or some other; while yet the truth was, that by the actions of those persons Christ was shadowed forth. It was the will of God to train his people not to form their estimate of divine blessings from the show and clamour of outward things; and therefore he so guided the minds of the prophets, that their declarations should answer to the more immediate events, and yet should have a more eminent accomplishment in Christ.”—[The learned author largely illustrates and confirms the principle, by scriptural and rabbinical arguments.]—“If the apostles had thought that the whole of the divine dispensation with regard to Christ had been fully and without covering proclaimed by the prophets, they never would have spoken

of it as a *secret thing* (*μυστήριον*), which had been hidden from the ages and the generations of all past time, but *now made manifest to the holy* in their own age. Col. i. 26; 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. iii. 9. Whosoever believes that Jesus is the Christ, which, as we have said, is abundantly proved (even exclusively of the argument from prophecy) by his miracles and resurrection, must clearly perceive how the providence of God with infallible certainty directed both the events and the writings of the ancient covenant, to CHRIST as the object of his view. They whose resistance [to truth and its evidence] prevents their so believing, have the eyes of their mind covered as with a vail; and that vail will not be taken away unless they turn to the Lord Jesus. 2 Cor. iii. 14."

"These declarations are primarily to be understood of the earthly kingdom granted to the family of David, and its long duration in that family, a duration which, in the Hebrew idiom, might be called eternal, on account of its long continuance; but the passage is to be applied in a higher sense, to that posterity of David to which God the Father had given, in a proper sense, an eternal and universal kingdom. Though this was little understood at the time, yet it was plain by the event."—Le Clerc, *Comment. in 2 Sam.* vii.

"All human affairs are subjected to the changes of fortune. Nothing is permanent: at least, reigning families are not. Not one of those which now occupy any of the thrones of Europe (and the European thrones have been for the most part more regular and stable than any other) is a thousand years old. It is plainly, therefore, contrary to the course of all human affairs, that to the family of David an everlasting throne should be promised. In fact, it was not to be brought to pass in the ordinary course of things; but was to be accomplished in that Everlasting King who is celebrated in the lxxi^{id} and the cxth Psalms."—Michaelis *Anmerk. üb. 2 Sam.* vii. 19.

SECTION VIII.—SUCCESSOR OF DAVID; EVERLASTING KING; JEHOVAH.

2 Sam. xxiii. 1–7.

"These are later words of David.

- v. 1. "The oracle of David, the son of Jessai,
"Even the oracle of the high-raised hero,
"Anointed by the God of Jacob,
"And the delightful author of the songs of Israel.
2. "The Spirit of God speaketh by me,
"And his word is upon my tongue;
3. "The God of Israel saith,
"To me speaketh the Rock of Israel:
4. "Ruling over man is a Righteous One,
"Ruling in the fear of God:
"Even as the light of the morning shall he arise,
"Jehovah, the sun,
"A morning without clouds for brightness,
"[As] after rain the herbage from the earth.
5. "Truly thus is my house with God:
"For an everlasting covenant he hath fixed with me,
"Ordered in every thing and secured:
"For [this is] all my salvation and all [my] desire.
6. "But the wicked shall not grow.
"As prickles, to be moved away, all of them;
"For they cannot be taken by the hand;

7. "And the man who shall touch them

"Will be filled with the iron and shaft of the spear:"

"But with fire shall they be utterly burned on the spot."³⁴

THE evidence in favour of the version here proposed is to my apprehension strong and satisfactory. The internal characters, also, of the passage appear to be irresistible proofs of its being a prophecy, and a prophecy of the Messiah in his divine glory, his righteous reign, the punishment of his enemies, and his showering down blessings upon the world. Of HIM, in a Psalm which I cannot but regard as parallel to this magnificent ode, it is declared; "He shall judge thy people with righteousness:—he shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers, a flowing stream, upon the earth." Its commencement, than which one more splendid, or more adapted to awaken expectation, is not found in the whole Bible, is far from being answered by the description of a good earthly magistrate: and the reference to the great covenant made with David, for the destined glory of his family, is an indisputable evidence that the subject held up in this sublime picture is no other than the Divine Messiah, whose spiritual dominion was to be "the throne of his father David."³⁵ It thus bears the marks of a grand and definite prediction, suiting the character and circumstances of the dying prophet, who KNEW that God had sworn to him with an oath, "of the fruit of his body to place upon his throne" a GREAT SUCCESSOR, whose throne should be established for ever. This future Personage is here described, in accordance with the other prophetic scriptures and the language of the New Testament, as a gracious and beneficent Sovereign, the Holy and Just One,³⁶ the Hope and the Salvation of the saints,³⁷ the persecuted and crucified man, the Sun of righteousness,³⁸ yea, JEHOVAH himself, whose faithful people are supremely blessed, but his persecutors and enemies are devoted to an awful destruction, literally fulfilled in the final catastrophe of Jerusalem and Judea;³⁹ and who, in immortal continuance,

³⁴ Note A. ³⁵ Luke i. 32. ³⁶ See Acts ii. 30; vii. 22. xxii. 14; James v. 6.

³⁷ Haggai ii. 7. Is. xlix. 6.

³⁸ Mal. iii. 20.

³⁹ "This chapter opens with a noble ode of David (v. 1-7), in which he celebrates the grace of God, which had conferred upon him the Spirit of prophecy, and had given to him this important prediction of the future Mighty Sovereign of the kingdom of God.—David's greatest glory consisted, not in his being a king, but in that he was a king peculiarly chosen by the Most High, the Creator of the world, and placed over his own people. To this office God himself had anointed

“must reign, till he shall have put all his enemies under his feet.”

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. VIII.

Note A, page 179.

All who have studied this beautiful fragment of inspired poetry, must confess that it presents great difficulties to the effort of one who desires to perform the task of an exact and impartial interpreter. J. D. Michaelis, a scholar of the first

him by Samuel, and had endowed him with especial gifts by his own Spirit. Among those gifts was that prophetic inspiration, by which David was at times transported into the ecstasy of an especial divine foresight and operation. Jesus himself attests this, when he says (Matt. xxii. 43), “David, in the Spirit, called him Lord;” that is, by prophetic inspiration. Under this inspiration, he now speaks of the promise which had been before made to him, of the future kingdom of the Messiah.—v. 3. This *promised One* is the Great King, who is also in this passage equally described as a Prophet and Teacher of religion, a King of the truth, who should found and establish his kingdom upon earth, not by carnal weapons, but by the arms of the Spirit, his doctrine and his miracles. This is the great work which Jesus accomplished, as he said (John xvii. 4-6).—A kingdom of true worshippers of God and virtuous friends of mankind, a kingdom of love and peace, hath our glorious Sovereign established.—Now David goes on to say, how this glorious kingdom will gradually, like the sun, send forth its beams in all directions, and spread light and joy through the world, v. 4.—What a grand picture of the rising Sun of truth! Christ is the Light of the world; it is he who is come to all nations, to give light upon earth. Under this bright sunshine, the beauteous blossoms and fruits of the knowledge of truth and holiness burst forth in many lands. Great was the multitude of believers, as the young grass in the meadows, as the dew on the herbs of the field: their sentiments and feelings were so pure, their love to God, their delight in obedience, so upright, that they were justly considered as young plants in the garden of God, giving a new grace and beauty to human nature.—v. 5.—David did indeed rejoice that God had promised to maintain his earthly posterity upon his royal throne at Jerusalem; but far greater was his joy, that the Lord had made with him an everlasting covenant, had given him the promise of an everlasting kingdom.—v. 6, 7.—Without doubt, David alludes chiefly to those enemies of the kingdom of God, the triumph over whom is described in Psalm ii. and cx., all who set themselves against the truth, worthless men and evil-doers, compared to thorns and thistles which cause to others nothing but pain and distress:—i. e. the opposers of the kingdom of God are enemies to mankind; they strive to ruin the souls of those who associate with them; whoever would be happy must avoid and flee from them: and God will, by degrees, root them out of the earth.—So was it with the enemies of Jesus Christ. The Jews were first vanquished by the apostles through the truth, and then were conquered by the Romans with worldly arms, and extirpated from the land of Canaan. The triumphs of Christ over the heathen nations are still advancing. One after another, either they are won by the truth, or they will be blotted out from the earth. The time is coming in which the song of praise shall sound through the whole earth, “The Lord is King; let the world rejoice! The heavens “declare his righteousness, and all the people see his glory. Ashamed must be all “those who serve graven images, who boast themselves in idols. The kingdom “and the power and the might belong unto God and our Christ!”—*Seiler's Gr. Erbauungsb.* vol. iii. pp. 335-338.

order in oriental and biblical subjects, and a critic not apt to be discouraged by obstacles, says concerning it, "This ode has very many difficulties which, for the most part, arise from the circumstance that, in the latter chapters of the Second Book of Samuel, the manuscripts have come down to us more disfigured by mistakes than in any other part of the Old Testament: and those mistakes are of a date earlier than any of the ancient versions, which frequently in other cases supply us with the means of discovering and correcting errors of transcription in the Hebrew text. It is a great loss to us that, of such an important ode, we have only this single edition, and that there is not a correspondent copy in the Psalms or in the Books of Chronicles."—*Anmerkung*.

The observations also of the judicious Dathe deserve to be introduced, as well for the principle which they maintain as for their reference to the passage before us. "Some perhaps will wonder that, in my translation of this portion I have closely adhered to the existing text, and have not adopted the conjectural emendations of some recent critics, by which they have laboured to remove those difficulties. I do not deny that the structure of the words is rendered more easy by these proposed alterations; but I acknowledge that, in passages like this, which, however difficult, do yet admit of a grammatical explication, I prefer being satisfied with that explication, rather than indulge in alterations by conjecture, ingenious as they may appear. With regard to the classical authors, the most skilful in the art of criticism always condemn that ill-employed restlessness of alteration, when something harsh and unusual occurs in a passage. Much more do I judge that we should abstain from any such attempt in this portion of Scripture, which may have derived whatever difficulties of construction it has, from the author himself, who undoubtedly wrote it in an advanced age, a time of life when it is usual for persons to express themselves in a more concise and abrupt manner."—*Vers. Vet. Test.* vol. ii. p. 397.

In the translation presented above, this caution has been attended to. The three alterations of the reading which are introduced, have all external evidence as well as internal probability to support them; and the third consists only in the division of two words, without the alteration of a letter.

V. 1. "*Later*." Perhaps in reference to the Psalm immediately preceding, chap. xxii.; for though this was most probably the last inspired hymn that David wrote, we can scarcely attribute it to his extreme and decrepit age, described in 1 Kings i. The serious reader may observe an illustrative and edifying parallelism of sentiment and expression, in several parts of the lxxii Psalm; and this adds probability to the supposition that the epigraph to that Psalm expresses an historical truth, designating it as among *the last* of the public "prayers of David, the son of Jesse;" and consequently coincident in time and occasion with these "*later words*." See Ps. lxxii. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7.

"*Hero*;" the proper meaning of גִּבְרָה.

V. 4. "JEHOVAH." This very important addition is made upon the authority of Kennicott's oldest and best manuscript, one of the tenth century. Its existence when the LXX. was made, is clearly to be inferred from the text in that version, inextricably mangled and corrupted as it appears. The opinion of Michaelis in 1753, when it was brought forwards by Dr Kennicott, will be cited in a following part of this Note: I now introduce what that eminent scholar wrote upon it in 1777. "In this place is a very remarkable reading, differing from the printed text, which I cannot withhold from my readers, though I have not ventured to follow it in my translation; 'JEHOVAH will, like a sun, arise.' The imagery and expression are closely in accordance with what we find in Rev. xxi. 23, and Isa. lx. 19."⁴⁰—*Anmerk.*

⁴⁰ "The sun shall be no more to thee for light by day, nor for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but Jehovah shall be thine everlasting light, and thy God thy glory."—*Is.*
"The city shall have no need of the sun nor of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God shall enlighten it, and the Lamb shall be the lamp of it."—*Rev.*

V. 5. Upon the common reading of the first clause in this verse, Michaelis says, "Every thinking reader will at first sight suppose that this 'not' is an error of the printer; it is so inconsistent with the connexion: and yet it is the literal translation of the printed Hebrew text. There is good reason to suppose that this negative is an error of transcription, and indeed a very ancient one. I certainly believe that the genuine sense is, 'For my house is established before God.' See chap. vii. 26."—*Anmerk.* כִּי עַל כֵּן *truly thus*, is the reading of Kennicott's No. 252, a manuscript which he assigns to the close of the thirteenth century. It is strongly confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrase, "More excellent than this is my house in the presence of God."—Le Cène translates the clause, "Constamment le Fort traitera ma famille de cette manière, puisqu'il a fait avec moi un traité éternel." Dr Seiler, also, sufficiently intimates that he rejected the negative, by his paraphrase; "Not only is my own salvation established by God, but he hath also made with me an everlasting covenant."—*Gr. Erbauungsb.* vol. iii. p. 336. Le Clerc, to avoid the manifest inconsistency, translates interrogatively, "For is not my family thus with God?"

V. 6. This good and clear sense is produced from an otherwise apparently unintelligible combination of words, by detaching the last three words of v. 5, and joining them to v. 6, and retracting the ^א prefixed to בְּרַבְרָב, so that, as a noun of multitude, or by ellipsis of בְּנֵי, that word may be construed with the verb which thus becomes plural רַבְרָבִים. The Targum also favours this construction, but is irreconcilable with the common one. The LXX. decidedly confirms it, and the Syriac hardly less so.

A part of this Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan, deserves to be transcribed, as an interesting proof that the ancient Jews regarded the passage as certainly referring to the Messiah; and that, in so applying it, they attributed to him the express characters of Deity. "The God of Israel spake with respect 'to me; the Rock of Israel, the Sovereign of the sons of men, the true Judge, 'hath spoken to appoint me king; for HE is the Messiah that shall be, who 'shall arise and rule in the fear of the Lord.'"

The paraphrase then goes on to apply the rest of the passage to the happiness of the righteous under the glory of that "future Sun," and the excision of the wicked, "not by the hand of man," but "when he shall sit upon the throne of judgment, to judge the world."

V. 7. "On the spot." This familiar expression seems equivalent to the literal, *in their dwelling*. The idea is that, when the murderers *sit down* in imagined security to enjoy the triumph of their wickedness, the righteous punishment will overtake them.

On this interesting passage, the reader will not be displeased to read Dr Kennicott's translation, with some elucidations selected from his *General Preliminary Dissertation*, prefixed to his magnificent Hebrew Bible; and from his posthumous *Remarks*.

"TITLE.

Now these are the last words of David.

PROEM.

The oracle of David, the son of Jesse;
Even the oracle of the man raised up on high:
The anointed of the God of Jacob,
And the composer of the psalms of Israel.

The Spirit of JEHOVAH speaketh by me,
And his word is upon my tongue:
JEHOVAH, the God of Israel sayeth,
To me speaketh the Rock of Israel.

SONG.

THE JUST ONE ruleth among men!
He ruleth by the fear of God!

As the light of the morning ariseth JEHOVAH;
A sun, without clouds, for brightness;
And as the grass from the earth, after rain.

Verily thus is my house with God;
For an everlasting covenant hath he made with me,
Ordered in all things and safely secured:
For he is all my salvation, and all my desire.

But the sons of Belial shall not flourish;
As a thorn rooted up shall be all of them:
For they will not be taken kindly by the hand.

And the Man, who shall reprove them,
Shall be filled with iron and a wooden spear:
But in the fire shall they be utterly burnt with ignominy."

It is to be regretted, that Kennicott's "Critical Appendix," for which he reserved the "Notes which might be necessary in support of the alterations here proposed," was never published. Perhaps, however, the following extracts will go a considerable way towards supplying the defect.

The manuscript to which Dr K. attributes so high an authority, is his No. 1. It is in the Bodleian library, numbered *Laud. A.* 172 and 162, two volumes in folio, on vellum, and in the Spanish kind of character. Its marks of high antiquity are numerous and decisive. Its text was certainly formed before the Masoretic revision, from which (as exhibited in Vanderhooght's Bible) it differs no fewer than *fourteen thousand* times, of which instances a very great multitude agree with the ancient versions, and in the Pentateuch, with the Samaritan copy. Dr K. moderately estimated its date to be in the middle or early part of the tenth century. In v. 3, before "the God of Israel sayeth," the word "Jehovah" is added, upon the authority of Kennicott's MS. No. 253, written A. D. 1495, de Rossi's No. 579, which is about a century older, and several of the earliest printed editions.

"Variantem habet hic codex"—etc. "This MS. has a various reading, hitherto found in no other, and of so much importance as to require a brief explanation, though it cannot yet be fully treated. No part whatever of the O. T. is introduced with a greater majesty of language, or more excites the expectation of some splendid and glorious sense, than the LAST WORDS OF DAVID, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7; but this expectation is completely disappointed, and very many of the terms and expressions are involved in the thickest obscurity, so that the *principal subject*, the hinge on which the whole must turn, cannot be made out. But, on this highly important reading, I am happy to refer to the sentiments of a distinguished critic, M. Michaelis, whom none will suspect of a prepossession which might possibly be imputed to me. I first communicated this reading to the learned world in 1753; and the *Göttingen Review of New Books*, No. ix. pp. 26, 27, had the following observations on the obscurity of the passage, and the value of the emendation. 'Inconsiderable as these researches may appear to some, their utility in vindicating the sacred history from the cavils of objectors may appear from the following instance of a new and valuable reading in a very difficult passage. That the last words of David labour under some corruptions, it is scarcely possible to doubt, when the old band of translators and commentators, after the most laborious and anxious investigation, and with all the aid of Arabic and Syriac, as well as Hebrew, literature, have not been able to arrive at any certainty. Whatever sense can be extracted from the words, is incoherent; and even the scope or object of the passage does not appear. In this difficult poem we read רָחֵם בָּרֶךְ יְיָ וְיִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר וְיִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר and as the light of the morning the sun shall arise, or and about the time of the morning light the sun shall arise; either way very insipid. Who would com-

pare the sun with the light of the morning, that is, with the sun himself? Or what genuine poet would say, that the sun arose in the morning when it shone forth? It is, therefore, a happy circumstance, and auspicious to the cause of Christianity, that the oldest of Dr K.'s manuscripts hitherto examined, has יָהוּוֹה before שָׁמֶשׁ, giving the clause, 'and as the light of the morning shall JEHOVAH arise, a sun.'—The LXX. amidst the greatest perplexity and confusion of both words and clauses, yet sufficiently shows that the Greek translator in this very place had the *name of God* in his copy, but which has been long absent from the common text. Dr K. believes that he has brought to light a prophecy of the MESSIAH; a discovery worthy of our congratulations, and which we shall be happy to see more fully established."—*Dissertatio Generalis*, p. 71.

"The great point is, to fix and ascertain the subject: whether it be—the celebration of a good and righteous governor, in general; or, in particular, the righteous and just one, the Messiah. In favour of this latter sense, new evidence has arisen from an investigation of the Hebrew MSS. the oldest and best of which has preserved the word JEHOVAH in one part of this hymn; where, if the word be genuine, it solves the chief difficulty.

"I therefore presume, that the subject of this sacred song, composed near the close of David's life, is the Messiah: and certainly no other subject was so worthy to employ the last poetry of the 'man after God's own heart.' He labours to introduce it with an accumulation of all such expressions as would command the greatest attention to what he was about to deliver, as he was king, and as he was prophet. That a good ruler, in the general, should be here treated of, seems impossible: not only from the introductory pomp and splendour, but also from the subsequent particulars being inapplicable to any king or ruler, but Messiah. The everlasting covenant, concerning this Son of David, is expressly mentioned; as well as the spiritual nature of his kingdom. All the particulars agree to the Messiah; and while some describe the fate of his enemies, others are descriptive of his own crucifixion; all very similar in sense to what is foretold elsewhere. We read in Psalm xxii. 'they pierced my hands and my feet: they parted my garments, and cast lots upon my vesture.' And if David was thus circumstantial in that Psalm, why may he not have mentioned here the same or other circumstances, relative to the same event? It is no just objection, that this song is not quoted in the New Testament; for the New Testament does not quote the other words, 'they pierced my hands and my feet.' And should it be objected further, that nothing of this interesting nature appears, at present, in these last words: I reply, that nothing clear appears at all; not only no consistent plan, but not even common sense is to be made out of the words in our present version. If, therefore, by the assistance of Heb. MSS. and a better English version, this passage shall be found to contain a consistent prophecy of the Messiah, we cannot but be particularly struck with the mention made here of the iron and the spear. With spikes of iron was he to be filled; as he was fastened to the cross by these, at the opposite extremities of his body, his hands and his feet: and with the spear was his side pierced."—*Remarks*, pp. 125–128.

SECTION IX.—THE REDEEMER, THE LIVING ONE.

Job xix. 23–27.

23. "O that, even now, my words were recorded!

"O that they were written in a memorial!

24. "With an iron point and in lead!

"That they were engraven, for perpetuity, on a rock!

25. "I surely do know my REDEEMER, the LIVING ONE :
 "And HE, the LAST, will arise over the dust.
26. "And, after the disease has cut down my skin,
 "Even from my body I shall see GOD :
27. "Whom I shall see on my behalf ;
 "And mine eyes shall behold Him, and not estranged.
 "The thoughts of my bosom are accomplished !" ⁴¹

MANY interpreters and divines explode from this passage any reference to a future life, or the expectation of the Messiah; and some have expressed no slight contempt for those who entertain the belief of such a reference. Not only Grotius, Le Clerc, Warburton, Eichhorn, Döderlein, and E. F. Rosenmüller, but Dathe, Wemyss, Stuart, and Barnes, have disallowed that interpretation. It has, however, been the opinion of many Scripture critics, ancient and modern, Popish and Protestant. The usual objections against that interpretation are, that no vestiges appear in the book of Job of any acquaintance with the doctrine of a future life; that it would be very extraordinary, if there really existed in the mind of the composer of this book, any knowledge of the Redeemer to come, that such a glorious hope should show itself no where but in this single passage; that we cannot reconcile such an avowal with the despondency which appears to have prevailed in the mind of Job; and that the terms employed do not necessarily import more than the persuasion of a deliverance, by divine goodness, from the present calamity, and a restoration to health and happiness, in the present life. To these reasonings we reply :

1. Were we to admit that there is no intimation of the doctrine of immortality and a future judgment, or of the expectation of a Messiah, in any other part of this book, the consequence would not follow. It should be recollected that, in a poetical book, the matter is disposed considerably according to the taste and choice of the writer; and that a more vivid impression might be made, by presenting a capital circumstance with its brightness and force collected into one point, than would be produced if it were dispersed through the general composition. The whole texture of this passage, introduced with the most impassioned wish for attention and perpetual remembrance, and sustained in the sublimest style of utterance, is evidently thus contrived to interest and impress in the highest degree.

Those of our objectors who ascribe the date of the poem to

⁴¹ Note A.

the period of the captivity, cannot refuse to admit that the writer possessed whatever knowledge the Jewish nation had with respect to a Messiah and a future state. The writings of Moses and the former prophets, and the greater part of the works of the latter prophets, and the books grouped with the Psalms, were, at this time, the accredited Scriptures of the Jews: and few will be so hardy as to affirm that no intimations occur in those writings of the doctrines which constituted the hope and consolation of Israel. On this (in my opinion, untenable) hypothesis, it would appear highly credible that some very distinct reference to those doctrines would enter materially into the structure of the work.

2. The alleged inconsistency between these expressions of triumphant confidence, as we understand them, and the gloominess and despondency generally prevalent in the speeches of Job, presses equally on our opponents, who confine the passage to the expectation of restored prosperity in the present life. It lies even more against them; for Job, not only before, but in his very last speech,⁴² *evidently despaired of a restoration to temporal felicity*. His property might, indeed, by some wonderful though almost incredible reverse of God's providence, be retrieved; or, at least, equivalent comforts in that class of things might be obtained: but his children were destroyed; they could not live again; and his own disorder, probably the dreadful oriental leprosy, was incurable and fatal. Yet, between this hopeless condition as to earthly enjoyments, and a vigorous aspiration of the mind after spiritual and immortal blessings, there is no inconsistency. A man must have little judgment, little taste, and less moral sensibility, who does not perceive in these alternations of faith and diffidence, despair and hope, a picture exquisitely just and touching, of the human mind, under the influence of the most agitating conflict between religious principle resting on the belief of invisible existences, and, on the other hand, the dictates of sense, the pressure of misery, and the violence of temptations.⁴³

3. But we are not disposed to grant either of the assumptions before mentioned. We have sufficient evidence that the patriarchs from whom the tradition of divine truths had descended to Job, "confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on 'the earth, and desired a better country, that is a heavenly

⁴² See chap. xxx. 16-23.

⁴³ Note B.

“one.”⁴⁴ Nor is it credible that the promise of a Messiah was totally unknown to the true worshippers of Jehovah in Arabia, allied to the family of Abraham, and in the habit of reverentially cherishing the remains of primeval truth. And, besides the possession of the patriarchal religion, what is there to prevent our conceiving that God might INSPIRE his faithful and afflicted servant with the knowledge and the joyful confidence which he expresses? Is not such a supposition consonant with all the known scheme and principles of the divine dispensations? Was not the occasion worthy of the interposition? Has it not always been the faith of the Jewish and of the Christian church, that the *ultimate sentiments* which it is the design of the book of Job to support and illustrate, and which, in the sequel of the book, receive the stamp of divine approbation, form a part of the body of REVEALED TRUTH? There are also many passages in the book which may be rationally urged as recognitions of a future state.⁴⁵

4. The bare assertion that the terms of the passage do not import so much as is usually attributed to them, may be fairly enough met by asserting the contrary. To the unlearned reader, as well as to the critical scholar, the means of judging for himself are industriously presented, in the close version given above, and in the remarks and references subjoined. The words are as plain as in any instance the language of prophecy can be expected to be. It appears to me strictly rational, probable, and in harmony with the great plan of a progressive revelation, to regard this remarkable passage as dictated by the SPIRIT of prophecy, who “in many portions, and in many modes,⁴⁶ spake to the fathers.” Let me also entreat the reader’s most impartial consideration, whether the sense here maintained is not required, even necessitated, by the words, taken in their fair meaning and connexion; and whether the affixing of a lower interpretation does not oblige those who take this course to put a manifest force upon the phrases, and upon the marks of pre-eminent importance with which the sacred author has signalized them.

After employing the utmost force and beauty of language to stamp importance upon the words which he was about to utter, and to ensure for them a never-dying attention, the patriarch protests his confidence that the LIVING GOD, the eternal, independent, and unchanging One, would be his VINDICATOR from

⁴⁴ Heb. xi. 5-16.⁴⁵ Note C.⁴⁶ Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. Heb. i. 1.

injustice, and his REDEEMER from all his sorrows; and would restore him from the state of death, to a new life of supreme happiness in the favour and enjoyment of God.⁴⁷

It is not necessary to suppose that Job understood the full import and extent of what he was “moved by the Holy Spirit to speak.” The general belief, on the divine testimony, of a future Saviour from sin and its consequent evils, would place him on a level with other saints, in his own and many succeeding ages, who “died in faith, not receiving the promises” in their *clearest* development, “but SEEING THEM AFAR OFF.” Even when those promises had received many accessions of successive revelations, the Jewish prophets did not apprehend the exact design and meaning of their own predictions; for “they inquired and “searched diligently—what or what kind of time, the Spirit “of Christ which was in them did signify.” Our inquiry is, therefore, not so much what the patriarch actually understood,⁴⁸ as what the Author of inspiration intended; since it was “not “unto themselves, but unto us, that the patriarchs and prophets “ministered those things.” “No prophecy of Scripture is of “self-solution;”⁴⁹ but is made gradually plainer by new communications from the same omniscient source, and by the light of events.

Upon this principle, it is proper for us to compare the language of this passage, with the character and declarations of HIM to whom “all the prophets gave witness.” He, in the fulness of the times, was manifested, as the REDEEMER from sin and death, the FIRST and the LAST, and the LIVING ONE, the RESURRECTION and the LIFE: who, in the appointed season, “is coming with the clouds, and every eye shall see him; whose voice “the dead shall hear, and hearing shall live.”⁵⁰

If, then, the evidence which we can attain in this case, be sufficient to satisfy an impartial judgment, that the passage before us was “given by inspiration of God,” as a prophecy of the second coming of the only Redeemer and Judge of mankind; it is no less evidence in point to our present investigation, on the PERSON of the Great Deliverer, than if it directly regarded his

⁴⁷ Note D.

⁴⁸ Note E.

⁴⁹ —*ἰδίᾳς ἐπιλύσεως*. 2 Peter i. 20. I cannot but request the reader who is studious of scriptural knowledge, to peruse Bishop Horsley's Sermons on this text.

⁵⁰ Titus ii. 14. Rev. i. 17, 18. John v. 25.

first advent :—and it unequivocally designates Him by the highest titles and attributes of Deity.

Upon the hypothesis of those who regard the Book of Job as a divine parable, all doctrinal and practical conclusions from it are strengthened, rather than rendered weak or precarious. And, if its date be put about the age of Solomon, or so low as the period of the captivity, it will be fully available for theological purposes, as a document manifesting the religious faith of the time.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. IX.

Note A, page 185.

This version has been formed after long and minute attention, and with a solicitous endeavour to exhibit as literal a conformity to the sense of the original, as the terms and the idiom of the English language will permit. Assistance has been gathered from the ancient, and many modern, versions.

Verse 25. The manifest emphasis of *וַיֵּדָע יְהוָה* I could not express in any way less objectional, as conveying not more nor less than the original, than by, *I surely do know.*—*יְהוָה* the Living One; the strictest rendering of this word, which is unquestionably used in the appellative form in passages almost innumerable: sometimes applied to creatures, and then usually rendered *living thing*; but very frequently it is one of the sublime denominations of the Deity, the Fountain of Life; as Job xxvii. 2. Deut. xxxii. 40. Isa. xxxvii. 4; xlix. 18. LXX. ὁ ζῶντας. — *אֶת־אֶחָד* the Last, clearly a noun, as in Is. xlv. 6; xlviii. 12, where it is a part of the exalted style of Deity. There is difficulty in the phrase *קִים עָלַי*. According to the common use of the Hebrew language, it denotes to *rise up against* any one, for defence, resistance, or punishment; as Deut. xix. 11. Ps. iii. 2, e. v. 1. Am. vii. 9. This would give,—“shall arise against the dust,” *i. e.* to confute my frail and dying calumniators; or, to counteract the disorganizing and ruinous effects of mortality. But the idioms of the Book of Job, on account of its very remote antiquity, cannot be justly interpreted by the state of the language many ages afterwards. This would be to explain Homer by the style of Plutarch or Herodian. I conjecture that this sense of the expression is of lower origin, though used in the Pentateuch; for we find the same idea in the Book of Job expressed by the Hithpabel form with the prefix *ל*, ch. xx. 27, and without *ל*, xxvii. 7, but never by the form in question. *עָפָר* dust, scattered earth, always in this book, when it occurs in the figurative sense, denotes either *the grave*, or *the decomposed elements of the body*. There appears, therefore, most evidence for attributing to the clause this meaning:—“*he shall arise in triumph over the ruins of mortality.*” The Targum and the ancient versions, obscure as they are upon most parts of the passage, are more perspicuous here, and they agree to this effect; and the profoundly learned Fred. Spanheim, the younger, appears inclined to this sense: “*Surget contra pulverem, pulverem scilicet, mortem ac sepulchrum debellaturus.*” (*Miscell. Sacr. Antiq.* I. xiii. 12.)

Verse 26. By a conjectural emendation, reading *וְנִיחָה לִּי* (q. f. *my skin it has smitten, or destroyed, even this*); the late Dr Mason Good thought that he had restored this very difficult clause. Michaelis felt himself obliged to depart from the Hebrew text, though he does not favour us by stating in what his alteration consisted; but by so doing he brings out a sense scarcely different from Good's,

who had not probably any knowledge of it. "My skin, this prey of ulcers, shall become another;" *Mich.* "After disease hath destroyed my skin;" *Good.* Mr Fry adopts quite a different view, and translates the distich thus: "And after I awake, shall this be brought to pass, That I shall see Eloah of my flesh." He adds; "I take עָרַר for the infinitive with its suffix, *עָרַר excitari meum*, a construction common in the Hebrew language."—"After this my skin is destroyed;" *De Wette.* "If after my skin this body be destroyed;" *Boothroyd*, following the many good interpreters who take the plural verb as used impersonally, as in many instances.—*Flesh*, in the Hebrew idiom, denotes the *body*.

Verse 27. Referring, with Kennicott, Scott, (*Version and Notes*, 1771), and Hales, עָרַר *not a stranger*, to the OBJECT, affords a noble and consistent meaning; but the common apposition with Job himself scarcely yields any sense at all. Line 11. I separate this clause from the rest, regarding it as a noble and exulting peroration, finally concluding this grand passage. This idea is at least countenanced by the LXX. and Vulg. The *reins* are metaphorically used in the Hebrew idiom, to denote *reflection*, Ps. xvi. 7; lxxiii. 21. Prov. xxiii. 16. "As the heart is figuratively used to signify the temper and disposition; so the *reins*, to signify the close thought and reflection of the mind." *Taylor's Heb. Conc.* The younger Spanheim and Schultens understand by the phrase, *a most ardent desire, consuming, as it were, the reins*: "Renes mei consumuntur in sinu meo, atque flagrantissimis desiderii ejus apparitionem accelerari opto." *Alb. Schultensii Nova Vers. et Comm. Libr. Jobi*; vol. i. p. 497. This sense is also approved by Rosenmüller, *Schol. in V. T.* vol. v. part ii. p. 471. "With longing desire my inmost part in my body is consumed." *Mich.* "O, after this my inmost part faints, full of longing desire!" *Seiler.* But עָלָה means more properly *to be accomplished or completed* than *to be consumed*.

Note B, page 186.

Verse 25. Christians in general, from the earliest times, maintain that Job [in this verse] declares his faith in a happy resurrection at the last day; and this, I have no doubt, is the right construction: but others think that he only hoped for a temporal deliverance. Dr Kennicott thinks that he did not refer to either, but only to God's appearing in favour of his innocence before his death; which he actually did: but of this Job could not have had any reasonable expectation, and much of his language is inconsistent with it. His wishing so often for death, as the end of all his troubles, shows that *he had no expectation of any temporal deliverance.*—Dr PRIESTLEY'S *Notes on Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 160.

Evidence is largely adduced to show that the patriarch's hope was fixed on deliverance and happiness in a future state, and Bishop Warburton's assertions to the contrary are confuted, in *Peters's Critical Dissertation on the Book of Job*; Part II. § ii. and iii. "And, indeed, were this the fixed belief of Job, as the author [of the *Divine Legation*] supposes, that God would at length vouchsafe him a *temporal* deliverance, his tragical complaints must needs appear ridiculous, his frequently wishing for death would be utterly unaccountable, and his patience so very little, that posterity could never have regarded him as a pattern and example of it. No: his only hope was that his innocence would be cleared in the day of judgment; but it was a most affecting concern and grief to him, that it could not be cleared before; that, after a life led in the practice of the most eminent and conspicuous virtues, he must nevertheless suffer in the opinions of his nearest friends, and have his fame (the dearest thing in the world to a good man, next to his integrity) transmitted with a blemish to posterity, never to be wiped off till the day of judgment."—*Peters*, p. 180.

"Quæ viri sancti verba, qui non de aliâ post mortem vitâ, sed de reddendâ hujus vitæ felicitate, explicant, totum impediunt questionis filum; in cujus jam

summâ, si eos audias, Jobus sibi contradicit, palinodiam canens, quâ unâ auditâ omnes conticescere disputationes potuissent.”—“Those who explain these words, not of a future life, but of the restoration of prosperity in the present, mistake completely the state of the controversy between Job and his friends; in the very crisis of which, according to them, he contradicts himself, and makes such a recantation as was sufficient to finish the whole dispute.”—*J. D. Michaelis Epimetron in Lowthii Præl.* xxxii. Oxon. 1763, p. 211.

“Job had relinquished all hope that God would ever, in this life, justify his character before the world, and make his integrity apparent. The only consolation therefore that remained for him was that the Never-dying God would be his Vindicator after death, and would bestow upon him a new state of happiness. Thus then he reflected: ‘Though my skin and my flesh, and all my bones be crushed to dust and entirely dissolved, yet the Almighty can give me a new body; he can grant me new manifestations of himself that I may behold his glory.’ But it is by no means to be supposed that Job had as express a knowledge of the resurrection of the dead, as we have received from the doctrine of Jesus and his apostles. The earliest generations of men knew very little of the state of the soul after death, since God had given them no special disclosure, no express promise. They believed that their souls, separated from the body, went into the [*sheol, hades*] empire of death in a subterranean region, where they lived in a state of solemn stillness and silence, pleasing and delightful to those who had been pious in this life, but wretched and miserable to those who had been wicked. But many of the ancients did not believe even so much as this: for they had no divine assurance on the matter, and therefore they had no certain knowledge whether and how the soul would exist after death. Many of them thought, as the friends of Job maintained, that the rewards of virtue and the punishments of vice were distributed here upon earth. But Job resisted this mistaken opinion, and maintained that numerous wicked men enjoyed great prosperity in this life, and many of the pious, without being chargeable with criminality, lived in a condition of much suffering. Thence he concluded that another life, after the present, was certainly to be expected. Yet, believing also that the soul could not perfectly exercise its powers and activity, and be entirely happy, without a body, he held the sure hope that God would again give him a body, in which he should behold the glory of God, and be for ever delighted and happy. As if he had said, Though I die, yet my Deliverer and Redeemer, my [*Goel*] blood-avenger, still lives. Under this term Job represents God, as the avenger of blood, engaged to inflict punishment upon the foe who had murdered his nearest of kin, and to maintain the innocence of him who had been thus slain.”—*Seiler’s Gr. Bibl. Erb.* vol. ix. p. 80.

Note C, page 187.

See *Peters’s Critical Dissertation*; *Good’s Introductory Dissertation*, on the *Scene, Scope, Language, Author, and Object* of the Book of Job, prefixed to his *Version and Notes*; and *Fry’s New Translation, etc. Pref.* 1821. The verity of the history, the patriarchal antiquity of the poem, and its high rank in the series of the divine dispensations, are, in my opinion, established with much sobriety of criticism, and with solidity and copiousness of proof. In collecting, from critical examination and analysis, the “chief doctrines of the patriarchal religion,” Dr Good states these two particulars. “VII. A day of future resurrection, judgment, and retribution, to all mankind. Ch. xiv. 13–15; xix. 25–29; xxi. 30; xxxi. 14. VIII. The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices (ch. i. 5, xlii. 8), and the mediation and intercession of a righteous Person. Ch. xlii. 8, 9.”

Dr Hales (*Anal. of Chronol.* vol. ii. b. i. p. 58) has a communication from Dr

Brinkley, the Dublin Professor of Astronomy; taking *Chimah* for the leading vernal constellation, and *Chesil* for the autumnal (ch. xxxviii. 31); and calculating their places by the ratio of the precession of the equinoxes: hence bringing out the age of Job to be 689 years before the Exodus under Moses. Unknown till afterwards to either of the learned writers, M. Ducontant had published at Paris in 1765, the very same argument, with result *differing only in being 42 years less*. If *Chimah* and *Chesil* be rightly determined to the signs Taurus and Scorpio (which the reasons adduced render, at least, in a very high degree probable), the argument is a demonstration.

"This Book of Job is one of the oldest and most extraordinary productions that are now extant.—Whoever was the author of it, it is probably the oldest artificial composition of most extent that has come down to us, or of which we have any account."—*Dr Priestley's Notes on Scripture*; ii. 137.

Stäudlin, a modern German critic, who appears to disbelieve any inspiration of the Old Testament, takes a middle course. "Conceiving," he says, "that I have discovered in this book phrases, sentiments, and pictures of manners, which belong to a later age, and that its composition is more elaborate and exquisite than the generality of the other Hebrew books, I can hardly deem it so ancient as many scholars of the present day suppose: but, since it exhibits other *indubitable marks* of a venerable antiquity, I am led to suppose that it was composed by some Hebrew author of a lower age, perhaps Solomon himself, out of *certain very ancient remains* of poetry, history, and philosophy, to which that author has added some things of his own, and has thrown the whole into its present poetical form and arrangement."—*Theol. Moralis Ebræorum ante Christum Hist.* Gotting. 1794.

J. D. Michaelis, following a few other authorities, both Jewish and Christian, regarded the book as a fictitious history; and he contends that it is not the less sacred, inspired, and useful on that account; adducing the example of our Lord's parables, particularly those which are very circumstantial and minutely detailed. He attributes the work to Moses, and supposes that it was written by him during his exile in the land of Midian. He brings forward many facts in the language and allusions, which he conceives to evince this. He discovers numerous references to the natural history, the customs, and the arts of Egypt, and peculiar words and phrases which characterise the known writings of Moses. These opinions he maintained, with a conviction increasing with his years, in his *Epimetron* to Lowth's xxxii Lecture, published in 1761; in his *Translation with large Prefaces and Annotations*, 1769 and 1773; and, at the greatest length, in his never-finished *Introduction to the Divine Writings of the Old Testament*, 1787. This last work probably Dr Good had never seen, as he leaves without mention several of the German Professor's plausible arguments; thus showing that he had derived his enumeration of them only from the *Epimetron*. Though I conceive that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the historical verity of the facts which *form the ground-work* of the poem, it is but just to exonerate Michaelis from any suspicion of detracting from its divine origin and religious value. He says; "I will even go so far as to affirm, that the moral precepts, the doctrines, and the topics of consolation in adversity, are derived more richly from the Book of Job considered as a parable, than as a history. Understanding it as a real historical narrative, the speeches must have been written as they were actually delivered by Job and his friends, who were ordinary men, uninspired, and whom God, when he interposes, convicts of much sinful error and folly. Scarcely therefore should we be able to understand what they contain of truth and what of mistake; and from those speeches no religious doctrine, no precept for human practice, could be established. The narrative part alone (and how very brief that is!) and the discourse delivered by God himself, would be divine: all the rest would be human. But, on the other hand,

if a divinely inspired parable puts such speeches into the mouths of fictitious persons as appear most suitable for expressing the sentiments which men usually entertain on the calamities of life; we have, first, a picture of the mind of man drawn by the pencil of God himself; and every one knows that such graphic representations in ethical writings are always highly valued; they are what we commonly call *characters*; and secondly, we may be sure that Job and his opponents err only in application to the hinge of the question, the particular point in dispute, but not in the subordinate parts and configuration of the composition; as, for instance, when Eliphaz speaks of angelic beings, or Job affirms that no mortal is born pure. All those assertions might be false, if they occurred in a real disputation of actual men: but, when the unerring Deity is the author of the dialogue, the speakers will say what is erroneous only where the design of the parable requires that they should so speak; and excepting these intended and necessary errors, there will be no others; there will be none arising from negligence, or ignorance, or any human weakness. And lastly, upon the supposition of a parable, we are the better able to perceive what sentiments uttered by the disputants God approves, and what he lays down merely as examples of error. When a judicious author composes a treatise in the conversation form, his own sentiments may always be collected from the arrangement of the different parts, and the conduct of the argument. Thus, from Cicero *de Naturâ Deorum*, we can discover what were the opinions, or rather doubts of the author; which we could not have done if his work had been the relation of an actual dialogue of the philosophic disputants.”—*Notæ et Epim.* p. 172.

With respect to the leading sentiment in this paragraph, I would remark that, upon the historical hypothesis, it is not supposed that the different collocutors actually delivered the poetical speeches assigned to them; but at most only their general substance. The composition, and probably much of the enlargements, would come from the inspired writer, upon the principle of appropriate description so justly laid down by Michaelis. The effect therefore, in this respect, is equal; and there is a similar scope for the influence of inspiration: at the same time that many of the apophthegms of religious truth and observations upon the conduct of providence, are avowedly by the speakers deduced from the wisdom of a former age, carrying us up probably to the sentences of original inspiration handed down from Shem, Noah, and their progenitors. This idea is happily urged by Dr Good.—Michaelis says, “I know not how to understand these words any otherwise than as the hope of a future life after death:” and he argues in support of the interpretation, but does not admit of a reference to the Messiah.—*Anmerk.*

Note D, page 187.

The elder Schultens (whom Michaelis pronounces to have been “the greatest master of oriental learning in his age”), after minutely examining a vast number of interpretations, thus proceeds: “But now, in my turn, I profess my decided opinion, that if these expressions are not an empty and unmeaning pomp of words, they clearly mark the Glorious Day of the Resurrection. Turn whithersoever we may, it is impossible, by fair criticism, to escape the conclusion that *the Redeemer, the Living One, the Last standing over the dust*, refers to the public vindication of Job’s innocence; who, though expecting to go down into the dust of death under the reproach of being a guilty person, yet, supported by an upright conscience, declares that a crown of righteousness is laid up for him, which he is fully assured, and desires his assurance to be known to posterity, will be publicly conferred upon him, by the righteous Judge of the world and Redeemer of mankind. This is the point to which the sublime and striking introduction tends, whether (according to my opinion) the image be that of a sepulchral stone, or refer to any other kind of durable monument. With this view, it cannot be well denied that, under the appellation of *Redeemer* and even *Living*

Redeemer, the Messiah is to be understood. That *Acharon* (the Last) carries the application which the Jews understand, when they call the Messiah *Goel Acharon* (the Last Redeemer) and Moses *Goel Rishon* (the first Redeemer) is uncertain, and is not probable, as such an application of terms could not have been known at that time; but this passage might have afforded occasion for the use of the title." *Schultens in Job. v. i. 489.*

Note E, page 188.

Yet we should beware of violating rational probability, by attributing *too little* religious knowledge to the early subjects of revelation. "As to the degree of light and knowledge," Bishop Sherlock observes, "contained in this passage, and which seems disproportionate to the age of Job, there is this to be said: There might possibly be, among the few faithful in the world, a traditionary exposition of the promises of God, grounded upon more express revelations, made either before, or soon after, the flood, than have come down to our times; or, as Job was tried in a very extraordinary manner, he might have as extraordinary a degree of light to support and maintain him in the conflict. There is nothing, in either of these suppositions, but what is conformable to the methods of Divine Providence; nothing that entrenches upon our blessed Lord's office, who was appointed to 'bring life and immortality to light through the Gospel.' It is by Christ, and by him alone, that we have God's covenant of immortality conveyed to us; but yet the ancient prophets had a sight of the blessing at a distance, as is evident from many of their predictions." *Dissert. ii. annexed to the Use and Intent of Prophecy.* The whole disquisition (pp. 225-246) on this passage of Job is eminently deserving of attention.

The celebrated orientalist, Henry Ewald, in his *Translation and Illustration of the Book of Job*, vindicates the reference of this passage to a future life. A very striking extract from his Comment, and beautifully translated, is in the *Biblical Review* (London, Jan. 1846); which will reward attention. I subjoin the author's concluding paragraph, but not in the same translation, that the English reader may enjoy the advantage of a comparison:—and prefixing a citation from the *Introductory Dissertations*.

"In the midst of the most distressful complication of the contest, when he sees himself entirely forsaken by man and God, so much the more completely does his good conscience, by its unconquerable power and purity, tower above all the perplexities and enigmas of present things; the mind asserts its endless life (xvi. 19; xix. 25-29). The inward certainty and bright reflection, which puts out its unobserved buddings amid the most tremendous storms of suffering, now is able for the first time, to rise up in perfect freedom.—He anticipates the attack and the triumph." *Die Poetischen Bücher des A. B. vol. iii. p. 48.*

"—In this place (xix. 25-27), we have the first vigorous budding of a hope exultingly looking forwards beyond death, to the spirit's immortality. It is indeed quite free from the immoderate, extravagant imaginations of later times: rather is it the suddenly rapid, the fleeting, the first anticipation, the youthful vision. The more recent students [of the words] in the christian period, do not indeed so accurately [as they ought] make the distinction; and they intrude into this passage many ideas which were not conceived till later times: but *far worse, yea, absolutely wrong*, is the opinion of many, perhaps [almost] all the learned in our day, that Job here utters an earthly hope, not speaking of the period after death. It is most certainly in contradiction to the meaning of the words and the connexion of the thoughts: and it misses the very mind [or, sense and bearing] of the whole book, and the manifest climax from chap. xiv. 13-15, to xvi. 18, and what follows to the present passage. There is no propriety in saying, that the poet ought to have reserved the idea of IMMORTALITY for the close of the book. With much more propriety does it appear in this

place. Here is the very point of the controversy for man; and it could be brought forwards only by the assurance of the soul's immortality: while, at the end of the book, not this but quite other truths were to be subjoined to what is here declared. To this end it is further conducive, that this idea does not come to the poet as an ordinary thing, but as a sentiment entirely new, which he ventures to introduce and explain in a brief manner, as if for a trial how it would be received. The poet had to put the liveliest anticipation into the speech of Job; and the most suitable place was precisely here, in the very whirlpool of extremest despair." *Ib.* p. 192.

SECTION X.—MESSIAH, SON OF GOD.

Psalm ii.—A dialogue, or responsive song.

First chorus.

1. Why rage the nations?
And the peoples contrive vanity?
2. The kings of the land have set up themselves,
And the princes are firmly leagued together,
Against JEHOVAH, and against his MESSIAH.

Chorus representing the rebellious.

3. "Let us burst their bands,
"And cast from us their cords."

Second chorus.

4. Sitting in the heavens he will laugh,
The Lord will hold them in derision.
5. Then he will rebuke them in his wrath;
And in his burning anger he will alarm them.

One speaking in the name of God.

6. But I have anointed my King,
Upon Zion, the mountain of my sanctuary.

One, in the name of the Messiah.

7. I will declare the decree:
Jehovah hath said to me,
"My Son art thou;
"I this day have begotten thee.
8. "Ask from me, and I will give the nations, thine inheritance;
"And thy possession, the uttermost bounds of the earth.
9. "Thou shalt break them with an iron sceptre:
"As the vessels of a potter thou shalt dash them."

Perhaps the two choruses combined.

10. Now, therefore, ye kings, bethink yourselves:
Be warned, ye judges of the earth.
11. Serve Jehovah with reverence,
And rejoice with trembling.
12. Do homage to the Son, lest he be angry,
And ye perish on the road,
When his wrath is even for a moment kindled!
Blessed are all who trust in him!⁵¹

THE characters of this Psalm are such as leave us no rational ground of applying them to David or Solomon, or any of their

⁵¹ V. 2. מְצִיָּא often denotes *the land of Judea*, and this is the sense here by N. T.

successors; or to any other person than to that future sovereign, the predicted descendant in whom David trusted and rejoiced, and tuned the harp of Zion to celebrate his holy dominion. The Psalm has an immediate reference to the promise treated of in a preceding Section; which promulgation of the divine will is here called "the decree," the ratified and published purpose of God. Apostolic authority, also, permits us not to hesitate in regarding it as a direct and most important prophecy of the Messiah's opposed, but invincible, empire.⁵² This is made the subject of a scenic representation, maintained with exquisite energy and beauty. The views which it gives of the Messiah are, that he should be the Son of God, in a sense so peculiar and exalted as to involve the right and the power of universal empire; that he should be openly declared to be such in some way of clearest manifestation; that he should be entitled to the homage of the world, to the love, confidence, and obedience of all ranks and orders of mankind; that, pursuant to the appointment of the Almighty Father, he should support his own throne by the righteous exercise of authority and power; that the only way of safety and happiness would lie in submission to him and confidence in him; and that those who will not duteously yield to the authority of his grace, shall be subdued by that of his righteous vengeance.⁵³ He is shown to be an Almighty Sovereign, a Judge from whose decisions no appeal would lie, and a Protector whose power to bless would be supreme.

The expression, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee," is adduced by the apostle as having some reference to the *resurrection* of Christ.⁵⁴ But as, in the Hebrew idiom, the simple form of a verb is sometimes used to express the *declaring*, *proclaiming*, or *foretelling* the action of the verb,⁵⁵ it is allowable so to understand the expression here, if we have other evidence that such an acception is requisite. Now Christ is undoubtedly designated as the Son of God, previously to his resurrection

authority, Acts iv. 27. V. 5, *rebuke*, the sense suggested by the *Piel* form, which expresses *strength and efficacy* in the action of the verb. V. 12, "Do homage;" in ancient, and also in modern times, often denoted by kissing the hand to the superior, or by thus saluting his person. This action was also especially used as an expression of religious honour and veneration. See Job xxxi. 27; 1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2; מִצַּד in reference to *time*, as Ps. xxxvii. 10.

⁵² See Acts iv. 25; xiii. 33. Heb. i. 5, and Note A.

⁵³ Note B.

⁵⁴ Acts xiii. 33.

⁵⁵ For instance; Lev. xiii. 3, 8, 13, 17. Isa. vi. 10. Jer. i. 10.

and on grounds independent of it: and it is plainly asserted that he was "*declared* to be the Son of God, with power, according " to the Spirit of holiness, by his resurrection from the dead."⁵⁶ So that it is sufficiently manifest that this application of the clause under consideration expresses, not the effecting, but the annunciation of the Messiah's sonship. In another part of this work, the inquiry will be instituted into the true meaning of the term, *Son of God*.

The last clause of the Psalm merits particular attention, as demanding that TRUST and CONFIDENCE in the Messiah, which the general tenor of Scripture and many particular passages direct to be reposed only in the Almighty and Everlasting God.⁵⁷ It is *religious* reliance that is required. If this powerful and victorious King were but a creature, such confidence would be "trusting in an arm of flesh," and would mark "a heart departing from the Lord." But the *reason* upon which this confidence is called for is equally inapplicable to the idea of a mere creature. It is his *right* to the most absolute homage; it is his *ability* to bless; it is his *power*, as shown in the dreadful consequence of provoking his justice and incurring "even but a little" of his righteous displeasure. "He that believeth on the " Son hath eternal life: but he who refuseth faith and obedience " to the Son, shall not see life; on the contrary, the wrath of " God abideth on him."⁵⁸

Another striking sentiment is, that the Messiah is, throughout the whole, clearly and plainly represented as an *existing* and *acting* person, at the time when the Psalm was written. The guilt and danger of rebellion against Him, the duty and happiness of "putting trust in Him," are represented not as belonging to the men of future times only, who were to be placed under a new dispensation; but as matters of the most important *present* interest.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. X.

Note A, page 196.

The Chaldee Targum refers this Psalm to the Messiah. So do the Bereshith Rabba, the book Jalkuth, and the other Talmudical writings almost without exception. "Our masters have expounded [this Psalm] of the King Messiah:

⁵⁶ Rom. i. 4.

⁵⁷ Jer. xvii. 5. Ps. xl. 4. Micah vii. 5-7.

⁵⁸ John iii. 36; quite necessary to be thus rendered, for conveying the just meaning of ἀπειθῶν and ἀλλὰ.

but, according to the letter, and for furnishing answer to the Minim [Heretics, i. e. the Christians], it is better to interpret it of David himself.”—*Sol. Jarchi, ap. Pocock, in Portā Mosis, Not.* p. 307. *Venem. in Psalm.* tom. i. p. 49. David Kimchi has a passage precisely to the same effect. The ancient book Zohar has the following passage: “Of thee, Messiah, it is said, *Kiss the Son; thou art my Son.* And he is the Prince of Israel, the Lord of the lower world, the Lord of the ministering angels, the Son of the Most High, and the Indwelling of grace.”—*Apud Kuinöl in Libros N. T. Histor.* vol. iii. p. 84.

Note B, page 196.

“It is obvious at first view, that the high titles and honours ascribed in this Psalm, to the extraordinary person who is the chief subject of it, far transcend any thing that is ascribed in Scripture to any mere creature: but if the Psalm be inquired into more narrowly, and compared with parallel prophecies: if it be duly considered, that not only is the extraordinary person here spoken of called *the Son of God*, but that title is so ascribed to him as to imply, that it belongs to him in a manner that is absolutely singular, and peculiar to himself, seeing he is said to be begotten of God, v. 7, and is called, by way of eminence, *the Son*, v. 12; that the danger of provoking him to anger is spoken of in so very different a manner from what the Scripture uses in speaking of the anger of any mere creature; ‘Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little;’ that when the kings and judges of the earth are commanded to serve God with fear, they are at the same time commanded to kiss the Son, which in those times and places was frequently an expression of adoration; and particularly, that whereas other scriptures contain awful and just threatenings against those who trust in any mere man, the Psalmist expressly calls them blessed who trust in the Son here spoken of: all these things taken complexly, and compared with the above-cited prophecies, make up a character of divinity: as, on the other hand, when it is said, that God would set this his Son as his King on his holy hill of Zion, v. 6; these, and various other expressions in this Psalm, contain characters of the subordination which was proved to be appropriated to that Divine Person who was to be incarnate.”—*Maclaurin’s Essay on the Prophecies relating to the Messiah*, p. 50.

E. F. C. Rosenmüller, in the first edition of his Scholia on the Psalms, maintained the opinion of those who deny the original application of this or of any other Psalm, to the Messiah; and who affirm that the general consent of Christians, of the ancient Jews, and of the apostles themselves, in making that application, had no better foundation than their own fancies. See the edition of 1798, p. 26. It is pleasing to find, in his second edition of 1821, the prevalence of more just interpreting and of greater reverence for the authority of the New Testament. He now no longer applies the Psalm to the inauguration of Solomon, to which indeed he had before confessed that there were some obstacles; nor to any other occasion in the history of the Jewish royalty; and he honestly acknowledges that the predicates of the Psalm can be understood of none of the kings of Israel or Judah. “Therefore,” he adds, “it is the safest to keep to the sentiment of the most ancient Hebrews, and to regard the Psalm as celebrating that great King, the Messiah, the Anointed by way of eminence, whom the Hebrew nation expected, in a future period, to restore their national glory, to carry it to a far greater degree of extent and grandeur than it had ever before enjoyed, and to reduce under his own power all the nations of the world, with their kings. The sacred poet describes, in a dramatic form, their vain attempts to withdraw themselves from the authority of this mighty Sovereign, and shake off his yoke.” He subjoins, however, “That the author had our Saviour Jesus in his mind’s contemplation, in the composition of the poem, no

person can suppose, if he reflects, in an unprejudiced manner, upon what is said in v. 9, upon the cruel domination which the Sovereign described was to exercise upon the nations whom he had subdued." Vol. i. p. 29.

Alas! This learned and lamented man had grave lessons to learn, and serious prejudices which it would have been well if he had shaken off. His objection or caution, or whatever he might call it, was very superfluous. Could he imagine that any evangelical interpreter believed the ancient prophets to have had the identical person, Jesus of Nazareth, in their minds, when they delivered or recorded their predictions? Could such a man as Frederick Rosenmüller need to be reminded, that the predictions of the inspired prophets drew a picture of THE MESSIAH, as a person who in future would make his advent among mortals, and that beyond this they could not go? Is any dictate of reason more obvious, than that the attaching of the prophetic descriptions to the *specific* person to whom they might be found rightfully to belong, would necessarily be the work of the contemporaries of that person, whosoever he might prove to be; and of those who should live from that time? He might also have spared his solicitude, lest any savage and barbarous conduct should be attributed to this great Conqueror of the nations. A moderately instructed child could have taught the Professor that the imagery of power and victory, pictured in the Hebrew Scriptures by the weapons and usages of earthly kings and triumphant captains, is to be understood of a "warfare not carnal." In the last book of the New Testament the Messiah is displayed to us as inflicting the most terrible slaughter upon his enemies, and as "wearing a garment dipped in blood." Is this also a stumbling-block? Is it unworthy of the purity, dignity, and undisturbed felicity of the blessed Saviour, that he should "exercise all power in heaven and upon earth;" that he should "execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man;" that nature and providence should stand at his command, to perform the behests of his will, to advance his holy kingdom, and righteously to punish those that oppose it, by judgments, appropriate but *not arbitrary*, in this world or in the next, or in both? Or will men be so awfully hardy as to associate the smallest idea of cruelty, or of a severity at all beyond what infinite goodness guided by infinite wisdom will warrant, with "the revelation from heaven of the Lord Jesus, taking vengeance upon those who acknowledge not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

"In these words," says Dr Seiler, referring to v. 5, "the enemies of the divine kingdom are threatened with those righteous punishments, which they draw upon themselves by their rebellious contumacy. *Wrath*, in the proper sense of the word, does not attach to God: but the expression is used to signify that he acts towards the wicked as an incensed judge; he 'speaks to them' by the inflictions of judicial suffering which he sends upon them: by many dreadful calamities, he puts them in fear and terror; and finally, he will pronounce upon them, in judgment, the sentence due to condemned criminals."—*Gr. Erb. B.* vol. iv. p. 10.

SECTION XI.—SON OF MAN; LORD OF ALL THINGS.

Psalm viii. 4-6.

4. "What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
"Even the [noblest] son of man, that thou visitest him?"
5. "Thou hadst reduced him, for a little, below the angels;
"But with glory and honour thou hast crowned him."

6. "Thou hast made him lord over the works of thy hands ;
 "Thou hast put all beneath his feet."⁵⁹

By many interpreters this whole Psalm is considered as a direct prophecy, descriptive of the humiliation and dominion of the Messiah ; and they have supported their opinion with no contemptible reasons.⁶⁰ Not, however, being convinced of this, and wishing always to incline to the side of caution, I do not adduce it under this view. As cited in the Epistle to the Hebrews,⁶¹ it appears to me to convey this sentiment ; that the honours here declared to have been conferred upon the human race by the Creator, had never, either generally or in a single instance, been completely verified, till the man Christ Jesus was exalted "above all principality and authority, and might and "dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this "world, but also in that which is to come ;" and had "all things put under his feet."⁶² Thus, if it be not a prophecy, it is a description and a testimony of Christ. If the earthly creation, taken generally, is, by the divine goodness, made the property of the human race, and subordinated to the utility, and, in a great measure, to the command of man ; a subjection which increases with the advancement of civilisation and art : how much more, then, is this the fact in relation to Him who is the Head of the human race, the new Adam, the Restorer and Saviour of the world ? The progress of science and skill, increasing the dominion of man over the inferior orders of creatures and the various powers of nature, has borne a visible relation to the diffusion of that religion which consists in honouring Him. It is a manifest fact that the increase of human enjoyment, consequent upon the arts and improvements of life, has been most rapid and abundant in the countries which exercise the Christian religion in its most scriptural liberty and

⁵⁹ L. 1 and 2. Our language has no single terms to mark the distinction so beautifully expressed by שָׁפֵל *frail, miserable man*, βροτός and מְרִנֵּן *man at his best state*, ἀνθρώπος. I have endeavoured to approach the idea by the insertion of an epithet.—L. 3. מְרִנֵּן though almost constantly the usual name of Deity, must be allowed, on the authority of the Targum, all the Anc. Vers. and the N. T. to signify here creatures superior to the human race, called in Scripture *sons of God, spirits, and angels or messengers*.

⁶⁰ Amyraut, Venemat, and John Henry Michaelis, in loc. Owen, Pierce, Mac-knight, and Maclean, on Heb. ii. 6.

⁶¹ Heb. ii. 6–10. See also 1 Cor. xv. 27. Our Lord's adducing v. 2, in Matt. xxi. 16, is evidently not as a prophecy, but as the application of a general maxim to a particular case.

⁶² Eph. i. 21, 22.

purity ; and that, where it is unknown, corrupted, or rejected, as in the Heathen, Mohammedan, and Popish countries, in the very same proportion deterioration of all useful knowledge and increase of personal and social misery have been effected.

SECTION XII.—THE HOLY ONE OF GOD.

Psalm xvi. 8-11.

8. "I have set Jehovah before me continually ;
"Since [He is] at my right hand, I shall not be moved.
9. "Therefore my heart rejoiceth, and my glory exulteth ;
"Even my flesh shall repose in confidence :
10. "For thou wilt not leave my soul in the state of the dead :
"Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see corruption.
11. "Thou wilt make me to know the path of life ;
"Fulness of joys in thy presence,
"Delights at thy right hand for ever."⁶³

THE structure of this remarkable Psalm is derived from the consolation enjoyed by David, in his difficulties and sufferings, from his reliance upon the great promise which God had made to him. That promise involved a guarantee, that he himself should not be overcome or utterly circumvented by his personal enemies ; and the cheering meditation upon the transcendent mercies of God to him, was employed by the prophetic Spirit as a vehicle for elevating his mind to the inspired contemplation of his great though unknown descendant. "He, therefore, "being a prophet, and knowing that with an oath God had "sworn to him, of the descendants of his body according to the "flesh, to raise up the Christ, to seat him upon his throne ; "seeing this before, spake concerning the resurrection of the "Christ." Hence the King of Israel glanced but slightly upon his own troubles and consolations, and passed on to the contemplation of the theme which absorbed all his thoughts and enraptured him into the visions of a glory that should at last fill the whole earth.⁶⁴

From this prophetic description we deduce the proper humanity of the Messiah, his perfect holiness and acceptableness to God, his death and triumph over death both in respect of the separate state and the material body, and his speedy ascension to ineffable and immortal joys ; in the possession of his promised

⁶³ Note A.

⁶⁴ Note B.

reign, by the triumphs of truth, holiness, and benevolence among men on earth, and by his supreme mediatorial glory in the heavenly world. It was the testimony of truth, and not to be the less regarded because extorted from an unwilling and impure witness, "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God,"⁶⁵

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XII.

Note A, page 201.

An instance of the manner in which some of the German Scripture critics take upon them to treat the interpretations which Christ and his apostles delivered, of Old Testament prophecies, we have in *Psalmus XVI. Varietate Lectionis et Perpetuâ Adnotatione illustratus, à G. A. Ruperti*; published in 1794, as a specimen of an intended Commentary on the whole Book of Psalms. It is, indeed, a painful specimen of arrogance and impiety: but it may serve to advise us of the caution and rigorous (I might justly say *suspicious*) investigation, with which we should read the publications of this school: of which Ruperti is not the worst example.

"Many commentators incline to the opinion that, in this poem, the Messiah is speaking; first, under the calamities which overwhelmed him, declaring his confidence in the divine goodness; then (v. 4, 5) professing his priestly office; and finally expressing his assurance that God would raise him from the dead, and preserve his body from corruption. An interpretation which is not only utterly repugnant to the genius and construction of the poetic diction of the Hebrews, but does not even correspond with the notion of the Messiah which the Jews have always formed: for their conception of their Messiah was that he would be a most mighty hero, king, and conqueror; but not a priest, or a man conflicting with adverse fortune and numerous distresses. But only let this Psalm be read by any one whose mind is imbued, not with preconceived opinions, but with a just taste in Hebrew poetry; and who is not acquainted with what the New Testament teaches, and ancient and modern interpreters have advanced; and *I would lay any wager* that he would hardly find a single expression that would strongly induce him, still less oblige him, to think once of the Messiah; while many particulars occur (as I shall show on v. 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11), which cannot be referred to Christ without quite torturing their meaning. It can scarcely be told to what wretched shifts those interpreters are put who have got the notion of the Messiah fixed in their minds.—But probably nobody would have fallen into this system of interpretation, if two apostles, Peter and Paul (Acts ii. 25-31; xxviii. 35, etc.), had not applied the words of this Psalm to Christ. But *how insufficient that is to overturn my opinion*, on the sense of the Psalm, *I need not now spend words in proving*. The necessity of that is superseded by the late learned disquisitions of Eckermann, Eichhorn, Paulus, Behn, and others, on such citations in the New Testament."

With pain I add that Rosenmüller, in his last edition, which had given promise of better things, not only adheres to the Anti-Messian interpretation, but retains his awfully daring note:—"That the apostles did not merely *accommodate*, or apply to Jesus words, which they were aware had been spoken of David in their own true and original meaning, as many modern divines maintain (among whom Eckermann deserves especial mention); but, that they were most fully persuaded that the *only* and *genuine* sense of the Psalm was a reference to Jesus, plainly

⁶⁵ Mark i. 24.

appears from their method of arguing from it, as they endeavour to show that the Psalm *could not* be understood of David."—Yet, admitting this, he gives his approbation to Rupert's assertions.

In opposition to this flippant dogmatism we maintain:

1. That the Blessed Jesus and his apostles, taught and constantly guided by the Spirit of truth, were infinitely better judges of the meaning of Old Testament passages, than these persons who so unblushingly vaunt their own interpretative faculty.

2. That, if the apostles had believed any passages to contain a reference and convey a sentiment, which they did not contain or convey, it would follow that they were ignorant of what they *professed to know*, they were not "*adequate* (*ἱκανοί*) ministers of the New Covenant," and their whole testimony to the Christian doctrine is rendered *uncertain*.

3. That if, as Eckermann and others (see *Rosenmüller in Psalm. ii. Argum.*) maintain, the apostles used a *wise policy* in convincing and instructing the Jews by the adducing of testimonies and arguments which they knew to signify no such thing as they attributed to them;—they committed the crime which Paul could not even imagine without the deepest abhorrence (1 Cor. xv. 15);—they were "*false witnesses* in the name of God."

4. That, were we to admit the hypothesis of these critics, as Christ and his apostles frequently rested their claims upon the single point of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, yea of the identical passages by them assumed to be prophecies, but which these wise men of our times have discovered not to be such;—they have *failed in that on which they staked their cause*, and the gospel is proved to be a "*cunningly devised fable*."

5. But that the *fair, impartial, and grammatical* construction of the passage in question, is really such as cannot apply to any other than the Messiah. Not that we suppose this and similar passages to have been otherwise than *imperfectly* understood, at the time of their promulgation, and through a long period after, for that would go to contradict a principal characteristic in the plan of prophecy; but that enough of their meaning was from the first apparent, to convince the men of those times that they had a proper application, hidden in the darkness of futurity.

These remarks, once for all, may serve as reasons for not noticing, in every instance, the cavils of those infidels or semi-infidels. These are not too strong epithets; to say nothing of the perfidious hypocrisy of wearing the names and offices of Christian profession, while they are labouring to undermine and explode it. The one object of their diversified concurrence is to make Christianity the latest term in a series of progressive systems of moral science and religious worship; whose origin is hidden in the depth of unknown antiquity; which has been elaborated successively in India, China, Chaldea, Egypt, Judea, and Greece, by Confucius, Buddha, Abraham, Moses and the Hebrew sages after him, Zoroaster, the Grecian mythologists, and finally Jesus "the noblest enthusiast" of them all; and which is hastening to be itself superseded by some coming system of Pantheism, or Atheism, or no man knows what.—How wise is the apostolic caution against being tossed about "by the trickery [*πυβρίαι*] of men, by their all-working into the methodizing [*μεθοδείαν*] of the deception!" Eph. iv. 14.

It is refreshing to select the following Annotations from J. D. Michaelis.

"V. 4. *Hasten after another*; i. e. another or strange god. The person who is speaking designs particularly to describe himself as a *Priest* of the true God: and he makes the transition to this subject with a solemn declaration of his detestation of idolatry. Jesus, of whom the apostles interpreted this Psalm, has been in fact the great destroyer of idolatry. By his precepts and his doctrine he has actually overthrown, to a great extent both in and out of Europe, the heathen superstition which before reigned; and, as a true Priest of Jehovah, he has introduced the worship of the Only God.

"V. 5. *Jehovah is the portion of mine inheritance and my cup.* This expression is, in other parts of the Bible, used of *Priests*. As under the Israelitish constitution, the priests could acquire no inheritance, instead of which they lived of the altar, and enjoyed the tenths and offerings devoted to God, the phrase came into use, *God is their portion and inheritance.* Num. xviii. 20. Deut. x. 9; xviii. 2. Ezek. xlv. 28. The expression here therefore signifies; *I have no other portion than the altar of the true God: what is brought thereto of gifts, meat-offerings, and drink-offerings, is mine: I drink of his holy cup:* and this stands opposed to the blood-filled cup of idols, mentioned before with abhorrence.

"Thus the speaker describes himself as a *Priest* of *JEHOVAH*. He is more clearly recognised in the cxth Psalm, in which he is celebrated in the same character as 'an everlasting Priest, after the order of Melchisedec.' If even we had not the light of the New Testament, it would be a natural inference that both the Psalms speak of the same person. But let it be observed that, when here the Messiah is described as a Priest, I do not take the word *Priest* in that confined acceptation which it has in books of systematical divinity, under the head of the *Office of Christ as a High Priest*: but I include the additional idea, that Christ, by the ministry of his apostles, brought the Gentiles to serve the true God and dethroned their idols."

In the same verse, this eminent scholar proposes, by a slight change of the points, to read תַּמִּימִי *'thy Tummin is my lot.'* The objection to this would be, that it is a perfectly novel interpretation, and that no vestige of it appears in the Ancient Versions, or any other documents of Jewish antiquity: yet this, it must be confessed, is not an absolute ground for rejection. He translates the word, *thy light and judgment*, supposing it to be put by synecdoche for the entire phrase, *Urim and Thummim*: and then proceeds to remark: "The High Priest bore the Urim and Thummim upon his breast when he approached to God, and in affairs of doubtful issue inquired of God on behalf of Israel. This was one of the greatest prerogatives of the priest's office; and it was even named from it, as, in the blessing of the tribe of Levi; 'Let thy light and judgment remain with thy Holy One.' Deut. xxxiii. 8.—By this expression, the person speaking in this Psalm continues to describe himself as a Priest of Jehovah.

"Ver. 6. This signifies, 'I know nothing more desirable than to be a Priest of Jehovah; I exult in that he has chosen me to it; and I esteem this office as my highest happiness.'—*Anmerk.* Ps. xvi.

The learned and Christian reader will receive no small pleasure and instruction from an elaborate disquisition upon this Psalm, by Prof. Stuart, in the *American Bibl. Repos.* Vol. I. pp. 51–110. He regards the Psalm as prophetic of the Messiah *exclusively*. I own myself a disciple of the system which lays the basis of interpretation in the typical character of the Hebrew dispensation, as repeatedly stated in this chapter. Mr Stuart forcibly exposes the violations of exegetical reason and literary justice of which Ruperti and his fellows are guilty.

Note B, page 201.

I shall need no apology for inserting Kennicott's annotation, and his version of the whole Psalm. The remarkable differences from other versions in v. 2 and 3, arise from reading אֱלֹהִים, that is, only adding אֱ, by the authority of a great number of MSS. and all the Anc. Vers.—and from transposing בָּל and בַּל, which has some MS. authority, and in v. 2, that of the Syr. Vers., but not, I apprehend, amounting to sufficient support to warrant the alteration; besides that there appear no adequate grounds for his rendering אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים by *divinities* and *heroes* in the idolatrous sense.

"Ps. xvi. A hymn prophetically descriptive of the Messiah; as expressing his abhorrence of the general idolatry of mankind, and his own zeal for the

honour of Jehovah: with the full assurance of his being raised from the dead, before *his body should be corrupted* in the grave. That David did not here speak of *himself*, but of the Messiah, and of him only—is asserted by St Peter and St Paul: see Acts ii. 25–32; with xiii. 35–37. And if this Psalm speaks, in a literal sense, concerning *an actual and speedy resurrection*: by that same literal sense, *David himself* is necessarily excluded.

- "1. Preserve me, O God; for I have trusted in thee:
- "2. I have said unto Jehovah, 'Thou art my Lord;
'my goodness is not without thee.'
- "3. As for the divinities, which are upon the earth;
"these, and the heroes, my delight is not in them.
- "4. Their idols are multiplied, after them do men run:
"but I will not offer their drink-offerings of blood;
"nor will I take even their names upon my lips.
- "5. Jehovah! Thou hast appointed my portion, and my cup;
"thou hast maintained for me my lot.
- "6. The lines are fallen to me very pleasantly:
"yea, mine inheritance is to me delightful.
- "7. I will bless Jehovah, who hath given me counsel;
"and by nights mine own thoughts instruct me.
- "8. I have set Jehovah before me continually;
"for He is on my right hand, I shall not be moved.
- "9. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth;
"my flesh also shall rest in hope.
- "10. For thou wilt not abandon my life to the grave;
"thou wilt not give Thy Holy One to see corruption.
- "11. Thou shalt make me know the path of life;
"thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance:
"at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore."

Kennicott's Posthum. Rem. p. 177.

SECTION XIII.—MESSENGER OF DIVINE BENEVOLENCE, TO ATONE FOR SIN.

Psalm xl. 6–10.

- 6. "Sacrifice and offering thou hast no delight in:
"Then a body thou hast prepared for me.
"Burnt-offering and sin-offering thou desirest not:
- 7. "Then I said, Behold, I come!
"In the roll of the book it is written concerning me.
- 8. "To execute thy pleasure, O God, I do delight;
"Yea, thy law is within my inmost affections:
- 9. "I have proclaimed righteousness in the great congregation.
"Behold, my lips I will not restrain;
"O Jehovah, thou knowest.
- 10. "Thy righteousness I have not concealed within my heart;
"Thy faithfulness and thy salvation I have spoken;
"I have not hidden thy mercy and thy truth from the great con-
gregation."⁶⁶

MANY interesting truths present themselves, on the attentive reading of this passage; but to point out which, is not our

⁶⁶ Note A.

present duty. I envy not the intellect or the modesty of those who can say before the world, that they regard this Psalm as a description of the character and resolutions of Jeremiah! Or that the sole sentiment of the part above quoted is the unacceptableness of ceremonial observances, if not accompanied with sincere obedience. The terms of the passage appear to require absolutely the sense of the abrogation of the animal sacrifices, by a person who declares that the very book which prescribed those sacrifices had its superior reference to him, and that he himself would present the only sacrifice that should be worthy of the Deity to accept.—I must despair of ever acquiring consistent knowledge, or satisfaction on any subject of rational inquiry; I must give up the first principles of evidence as to prophecy and interpretation, and, renouncing all sober rules of interpretation, commit myself to the extravagance of fancy and arbitrary dictates;—if THIS be not a clear and characteristic description of the Messiah. The summary of the Psalm, which Michaelis prefixes to his translation, well expresses its design and character: “A great Person, who describes himself as the only offering acceptable to God, and to whom Moses alluded in all his laws about sacrifices, in his sufferings prays to God, expects help from him, and promises to glorify his name. Thus the person who speaks is not David, but one greater than he, even Christ, the great Sacrifice for the human race.”

That glorious Person is represented as, in a state of existence previous to his appearance among mortals,⁶⁷ contemplating with supreme joy the designs of divine benevolence, glowing with holy ardour to bear his part in the gracious plan, and ready to assume that human form which, in the appointed time, would be prepared and adapted for this all important design. His own declaration is in exact coincidence with this prophetic description: “I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but “the will of Him that sent me.—My food is, to do the will of “Him that sent me, and to finish His work.”

⁶⁷ “*Κατηρίσω* [thou hast prepared] denotes, *Thou hast decreed that I should assume a human body*: for the Messiah, whose pre-existence the Jews believed, is introduced as speaking before he became man.”—*Kuinzel in Hebr.* p. 345; Leipz. 1831.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. XIII.

Note A, page 205.

"This Psalm is expressly declared to refer to Christ, in Heb. x. 5-10. But, if this were not the case, the contents of the Psalm would oblige us so to understand it: at least it would be impossible for me to interpret it of David.—Supposing that we as yet knew nothing of the truths of the new covenant and the accomplishment of this prophecy, yet so much as this would be clear, that a person is here speaking who would become a sacrifice for the human race, and make atonement for their sins, and of whom all the sacrifices ordained by Moses were only images and predictions."—*J. D. Michaelis, Anmerk.*

"David, whose eminent piety led him so highly to value and venerate divine institutions, would never have spoken in this manner concerning the sacrifices, had he not been led to it by the Spirit of God, predicting that their abrogation would take place when Christ should offer his own sacrifice."—*Amyraut on v. 7.*

Kennicott rendered a valuable service to scripture criticism, in showing that this Psalm ends with v. 11 of the Hebrew, or v. 10 of the English numeration; and that the remaining verses, beginning, "Withhold not thou thy tender mercies,"—are a totally distinct Psalm, and a complete copy of that which in a decapitated state is placed as Ps. lxx. So Ps. xiv. and liii. are different editions of the same; and Ps. cviii. is made up by joining two portions from the lvii. and the lx. These undeniable instances show that the very ancient Jewish collectors and editors of this book of divine hymns, were either careless or injudicious. This separation takes away the greatest objection which has been made to the application to the Messiah. The Roman Catholic Dr Jahn, in his valuable Hebrew Bible (4 vols. Vienna, 1806), pleads the incongruity of v. 12-18 as a reason for regarding the apostle's citation as merely an accommodation. Seiler escapes the difficulty by dividing the Psalm into three parts or choruses, of which he considers only the second (v. 7-11) to be uttered in the person of the Messiah.

L. 2. We are here compelled to encounter the long agitated problem, to decide between, or to reconcile, the present Hebrew text, and that of the LXX. and the New Testament in Heb. x. 5. The former has literally, "Ears thou hast prepared for me;" or (by very allowably taking the prefix and substantive pronoun לִי as a possessive in apposition with אָזְנוֹתַי, and by admitting a secondary and not perfectly established acceptance of כִּי־יָדָה) "Mine ears hast thou opened." The latter read, "A body thou hast prepared for me." On this difficulty the following observations are submitted.

(1.) Any reference to the supposed Syro-Chaldaic original of the Ep. to the Hebrews, and conjecture that the Greek translator might quit his original for the sake of following the LXX. version, is nugatory: for, in v. 10 the writer reasons upon the reading, "a body." In cases where a particular word or clause is not the point under attention, but is only a continuous part of the structure of a sentence cited in the N. T. out of the Old, it may perhaps be admitted that a N. T. writer would quote according to the LXX. though that version contained, in such instance, an *immaterial* inaccuracy; but this solution can have no place here.

(2.) Between the two suppositions,—that the writer of the Epistle has quoted Scripture erroneously, and upon the very error has founded doctrinal positions;—and that, at a period subsequent to the making of the Greek translation of the LXX. and even to the writing of the N. T., some Jewish transcriber, whether by mistake, or from design to injure the Christian cause, committed an error in three letters whose shapes are not very dissimilar:—between these two suppositions, no man can hesitate, who believes in the divine inspiration, or even in the common integrity and knowledge of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

(3.) The difference between the two readings, as the latter has been conceived by Peirce, when represented to the eye, is so slight, that a careless or hasty copyist might easily mistake the one for the other.

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Ears, | אָזְנִים |
| Then a body, | אָז גּוֹיָא |
| or, | אָז גּוֹיָה |

(4.) The verb **כִּרְה** properly signifies *to prepare, to obtain*; and is applied to different modes of acquiring an object; as the obtaining by purchase, and then it is rendered, *to buy* (Deut. ii. 6), or the obtaining by manual labour, in which sense it is applied to the making of a pit, a cavern, or a grave; and, in these connexions, translators have commonly rendered it, *to dig*. But it may be justly questioned whether *digging* can be regarded as the meaning of the word *in itself*.—It is applied in the same manner to the *preparing of a feast* (2 Kings vi. 23), but no philologist has affirmed that it signifies *to cook*; yet this would be equally true as that, in other connexions, it signifies *to dig*. In the passages where the law is given of indenting to servitude for life by the ceremony of boring the ear, this word is *never used*. See Exod. xxi. 6. Deut. xv. 17. It is to be remarked, also, that according to the received reading, the word is in the plural number; but the usage supposed to be alluded to required the boring of only one ear.

5. The remains of the old Italic Version, made in the first or second century, and the Æthiopic, made certainly at a very early period (See *Walton's Prolegomena*), having been both from the LXX. confirm the genuineness of its present reading. The Syriac Version of the O. T. was made from the Hebrew, and is of very high antiquity, probably of the apostolic age or earlier. As it stands in Le Jay's and Walton's Polyglotts, it agrees with the common Hebrew; but a MS. of this Version in the Royal Library at Paris, and another at Milan, both of great antiquity, have the reading, "a body." One, in the Bodleian, unites both readings; as does the Arabic in Walton's Polyglott. See *Kennic. Diss. Gen.* § 18, 77, 88. *Peirce on Heb. x.* *Hallett's Notes on SS.* vol. ii. p. 1. *Maclean on Heb. x. 5.* *Boothroyd*, in his ed. of the Hebrew Bible, and in his *Version*, both the editions, decidedly supports this emendation.

From the united force of these considerations, I am induced to think that the TRUE and ORIGINAL reading of the passage may have been that of the Septuagint and the New Testament, "a body thou hast prepared for me."

It is proper, however, to observe that many distinguished scholars and divines, among whom are Calvin, Nicolas Fuller, Amyraut, James Alting, Dr Owen, Frischmuth, Venema, Ernesti, J. D. Michaelis, Dindorf, Seiler, Archbishop Secker, Bishop Horne, the two Rosenmüllers, the elder Tittmann, Tholuck, de Wette, and many others, have maintained that the present Hebrew is the genuine reading, and that the other is an interpretation or paraphrase upon it. The note of the elder Rosenmüller will explain the hypothesis. The translator of the LXX. Vers. understood **כִּרְה** in the sense of *preparing*, as in Deut. ii. 6; 2 Kings vi. 23; Hos. iii. 2; and **אָזְנִים** ears, he supposed to be put by *synecdoche* for the whole body. It is of no importance to offer any other conjectures about the cause of this reading in the Greek Version. The words of the Hebrew text come to the same sense: for *mine ears thou hast bored, or opened*, is the same as, *thou hast rendered me obedient to thee*. So, in Is. l. 5, 'The Lord hath opened mine ear.' In the like sense is used **גִּלַּח** to uncover the ear, i. e. to communicate information, as 1 Sam. xx. 2. God is said to *open the ear*, when he causes men first to give attention to his admonitions and commands, and then to comply with them. The expression, 'a body hast thou prepared me,' is to be understood of the *preparation of a body, and its being offered as a sacrifice*. The sense is: Thou hast created for me a body, to be employed in obediently fulfilling

thy will, and yielding it to death. The scope of the apostle is—Since the sacrifices commanded by the law of Moses could not take away sin, Christ condescended to offer himself, and by this sacrifice to atone for our guilt, and give peace to our consciences.”—*Schol. in Heb. x. 5.*

Michaelis and Seiler understand the passage in the way of the following paraphrase: *Thou hast opened, i. e. spoken closely and effectually into my ears*, as when a man whispers an important secret to another: “I have ears to hear, and I understand the secret meaning of the laws concerning sacrifices. I know that that secret meaning requires not oxen and goats, but a BETTER SACRIFICE; and for that purpose I present myself.”—*Michaelis Erklärung d. Br. Hebr. p. 270.* And so de Wette; “Thou revealest to me.”

Storr, Kuinöl, Hengstenberg, Stuart, and Dr Bloomfield (in his valuable Greek Test. with a rich apparatus of annotations, 2 vols. 1836), rank themselves with this class; regarding the translation of the Septuagint, adopted by the apostle, as *explanatory* of the figurative Hebrew expression.

The no less learned and judicious than piously reverential Tholuck, in a large discussion upon this clause, observes that the offering of the *body* of Christ is not by any means the thing implied in the argument of the apostle, in itself and solely. It was the entire obedience of Christ, in all his affections, actions, life, and death (of which the sufferings of the mere bodily frame were but the last term), that constituted his inestimable sacrifice. Hence, as above stated, he supports the views of the group of sacred scholars, that the LXX. reading was by them used as expository of the sense; and he cites the excellent passage of Calvin:—“The apostle follows the LXX. *a body*, etc.; for the writers of the N. T. were not superstitious in the reciting of sentences quoted, only they took care not to make erroneous applications of the O. T. to serve their own convenience. We should constantly keep in view, WHAT WAS THEIR PURPOSE in making any citation: for, in having respect to that purpose, they were diligently scrupulous not to put upon the Scripture any sense other than its own proper meaning; but, with respect both to mere words and to some other circumstances which are not now our subject, they allowed themselves a just and rational liberty.”—*Calv. in Heb. x. 5. Tholuck, Comm. zum Br Hebr. pp. 337–343. 1836.*

SECTION XIV.—GOD, TRIUMPHING AND REIGNING FOR EVER.

Psalm xlv. 2–7.

2. “Beauteous art thou, above the sons of men
“Loveliness is diffused upon thy lips:
“Therefore God blesseth thee for ever.
3. “Gird thy sword upon thy thigh,
“Mighty in thy glory and thy majesty!
4. “And in thy majesty proceed,
“Be borne forwards, on the word of truth and the meekness of
righteousness;
“And thy right hand shall show from thee awful things.
5. “Thine arrows are sharpened: nations are beneath thee:
“They shall faint in heart who are enemies of the King.
6. “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!
“A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom.
7. “Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness;
“Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of
joy above thy companions.”⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Note A.

THE Chaldee paraphrase is a sufficient proof that the ancient Jews, even under the ignorance and enmity which distinguished them in the early ages of Christianity, considered this splendid ode as an address to the Messiah: and no Christian, none at least who admits the divine authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, can doubt of the validity of such application.⁶⁹ But the editors of the *Improved Version* have given this translation of the citation in the Epistle: "But to the Son [he saith], God is thy throne for ever and ever:"—and Mr Belsham affirms: "it is well known that the words of the original will equally well bear to be translated, 'God is thy throne;' that is, the support of thy throne." On this we remark:⁷⁰

1. It was not quite consistent with fairness in argument, for the writer roundly to assert as *well known*, what he could not but know to be extremely disputable, and to have been, in fact, generally objected to.⁷¹

2. Because, in the passages mentioned by Mr Lindsey, the Most High promised that He will establish, or build up, a throne for ever, it by no means follows, that the expression, "God is thy throne," is analogous or proper. The use of a metaphor so harsh, and apparently repugnant to good taste and to piety, should have been justified by ample proofs of the same or a similar usage. No such proofs are produced. God is often denominated a rock, a tower, a fortress, a shield, a refuge, to his faithful servants: but, in all these and similar metaphors, there is an obvious superiority in strength and dignity preserved to the Divine Being. The reader immediately associates with these

⁶⁹ Some, indeed, both in ancient and modern times, have doubted the canonical authority of this Epistle. But Owen in his *Preliminary Exercitations to his Exposition*, Peirce in the *Introduction to his Paraphrase and Notes*, Lardner in his *Supplement to the Credibility*, Stuart in his *Commentary, Excursus*, etc., and the Rev. Charles Forster, in the ample investigation of his large work, *The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Lond. 1838); appear to me to have satisfactorily settled this question in the affirmative, and to have advanced arguments which make it amount to a moral certainty that the Apostle Paul was the author. Heinrichs, after giving full weight to the opposing considerations, concludes that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of affirming that the Epistle is the work of Paul. Even the late patriarch of the Antisupranaturalists, Hen. Eb. Gottlob Paulus (died 1851, æt. 90), who shot so many daring bolts of infidelity and impiety in his numerous writings, declared himself convinced of the Apostle Paul's being the author; and he represented it as "almost painful" to him to depart, in this instance, from the general opinion of his Neologist confederates.—*Des Apostels PAULUS Ermahnungs-Schreiben an die Hebräer Christen*; Heidelberg, 1833.

⁷⁰ Note B.

⁷¹ Note C.

expressions the ideas of power and grandeur in a PROTECTING Being, and of his pre-eminence above the objects protected. But it is the reverse in the case brought before us. A *throne* is merely a seat; and it derives its dignity altogether from the character and dominion of the person who sits upon it. To call the Eternal Majesty *the throne of a creature*, shocks all taste and good feeling; and it grossly violates the reverence which is ever to be maintained towards Him. That heart-touching reverence is among the most distinguishing characters of the scripture style.⁷²

3. This gloss nearly, if not quite, destroys the *antithesis* intended in the Epistle, and brings to nothing the argument conveyed by it. It will be recollected, that the design of the passage is to show the superiority of the Messiah to all the other servants and messengers of God, that have ever been employed in the scheme of his government and revealed mercy; whether they have been human messengers, or intelligences of a superior order. Let us, then, endeavour to represent this reasoning, according to the mind of the persons who propose the new interpretation.

Heb. i. 7, 8. Impr. Vers.

Of these messengers [the scripture] saith, "Who maketh the winds "his messengers, and flames of "lightning his ministers." But to the Son [he saith], "God is thy "throne for ever and ever."

Paraphrase.

The inferiority of all other messengers of the divine will is manifest, because God frequently makes the inanimate powers of nature the instruments of accomplishing his various purposes. On the contrary, the superiority of Christ over those messengers appears from this, that his authority and power are maintained and supported by God himself.

I have faithfully endeavoured to represent the spirit of the passage, thus interpreted, in as advantageous a manner as I could: but I confess myself unable to discover any coherence between the parts, or any semblance of argument in the conclusion.

It is proper to bring the usual interpretation to the same test: and this I attempt.

Concerning the angels indeed he saith, "He who maketh his angels "winds, and his attendants a flame "of fire."⁷³ But concerning the Son, "Thy throne, O God, is for "ever and ever."

With respect to all the other messengers of the divine will to men, even if they be of the highest order of created intelligences, the scripture describes them as being, in the sight of God, only like the ordinary agents of nature; whose operations and effects are entirely the result of the all-pervading providence and power of the Most High. But, with respect to Christ, the same unerring testimony declares him to be really God, his power universal and his dominion everlasting; so that he cannot be reduced to the class of dependent agents.

⁷² Note D.

⁷³ Note E.

Whether this interpretation be the true one or not, it seems to have sense and consistency. It answers the conditions of the argument. It preserves the contrast, and brings out the conclusion, in a manner intelligible and striking to any capacity. It shows that the noblest servants of God, human or angelic, are nothing in themselves, and are as absolutely dependent on him as any part of the lifeless universe; while it exhibits the Messiah as the very Being who "sitteth upon the circle of the earth," in comparison of whom, "all nations are as nothing, and are "counted to him less than nothing and vanity," and who is entitled to say, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I WORK."

4. The vocative Θεε is of extremely rare occurrence in the New Testament and the Septuagint; its place being almost uniformly supplied by ὁ Θεός, according to the idiom of the Attic, the common Greek, and the Alexandrian.⁷⁴ Not the shadow of a reason exists for preferring the construction wished for, on the ground of grammatical propriety.

5. All the Ancient Versions of the original passage in the Psalms, agree in supporting the common construction, so far as their respective idioms permit a positive conclusion. The Chaldee Paraphrase, the Greek of Aquila, and the Arabic of the London Polyglott, are incontrovertible.⁷⁵

From these considerations, it appears perfectly clear, that the only just and fair translation, is that which Jews and Christians, ancient and modern, have almost universally adopted; "Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever!"

But, if the first post prove untenable, a retreat was provided to another. Archbishop NEWCOME, adhering to the common version, "remarks that the same words are addressed to Solomon;" and so we are to understand that all further argument is superfluous! The cause is dismissed!

If it be admitted that in this Psalm there was an original reference to Solomon, it will also be maintained by those who are not disposed to hold the authority of the New Testament in

⁷⁴ Note F.

⁷⁵ The Syriac corresponds with the Hebrew; the Vulgate, and (as I suppose from the Latin Version) the Æthiopic, with the LXX. The Arabic prefixes an interjection of invoking to the word *God*. The Targum has; "The throne of thy glory, O Jehovah, standeth for ever and ever!" Aquila (an apostate to Judaism from Christianity, at the beginning of the second century, and a bitter enemy to the Christian cause) translated the Heb. 'Ο θρόνος σου, Θεε, εις αιῶνα και ἔτι.—*Euseb. Dem. Ev.* lib. iv. § 15, p. 181, Ed. Col. 1688.

plain contempt, that such a reference could exist in only a low degree, and that it was designedly subordinate to an infinitely more important and glorious application. The Psalm would, therefore, belong to the kind of composition which Bishop LOWTH has so admirably illustrated under the name of the *Mystic Allegory*:⁷⁶ a kind in which the descriptions, whether drawn in imagery or in plain words, agree to the proximate object in a very reduced and accommodated sense; but to the remote object, which is always the principal, in a sense the most exalted and perfect. That some of the prophecies of the Old Testament are of this class, those must have a singular faculty of trampling upon evidence, who can deny. Supposing the one in question to be such, it would follow, upon the soundest principles of interpretation, that there is the same difference between the meaning of the epithets when applied to Solomon their immediate, and to the Messiah their ultimate, object, as there is between the office and the dominion of the two. Hence, in this particular instance, the term *God* would be attached to Solomon in a sense *so far inferior* to that in which it was intended for the Messiah, as the limited and temporary kingdom of the former fell short of the extent and duration destined for the reign of the latter. The one reigned forty years over Judea and its dependencies: the other possesses "dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages shall serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."—"THY throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever!"

But the whole hypothesis of any reference to Solomon rests upon questionable grounds. The Targum is very good evidence that no such opinion, nor any tradition leading to it, existed among the ancient Jews. The Rabbinical writers are strangers to it.⁷⁷ Equally so are the Christian fathers, who, though rarely to be deemed models of just and rational interpretation, are

⁷⁶ *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, Præl. xi. xxxi. A work which it would be superfluous to praise: but, as many neglect it who ought to profit by it, it may be allowed me to say that, for elegance of style and importance of matter, few books have a higher claim on the attention of young persons of taste, and especially students in divinity. Those who have not the opportunity of reading the original, would do well to enrich their minds by Dr George Gregory's translation.

⁷⁷ "This Psalm treats of David, or rather of his son the Messiah, for that is his name: My servant David shall be a prince in the midst of them." (Ez. xxxiv. 24.) *Aben Ezra* on Ps. xlv. 2. "These verses speak of the King the Messiah." —*Joseph Ben Mose*, ap. *Schöttgen. Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* t. i. p. 928.

entitled to be heard in a question on which it is possible that traditionary opinions might have reached them. Learned, cautious, and pious commentators since the Reformation are by no means unanimous in its favour; and many have advanced strong objections against it.⁷⁸ The distinguished Michaelis and the later critics of the modern German School, contend that there are marks of internal evidence, conclusively refuting such an opinion.⁷⁹ Bishop Horsley denounces the conjecture in terms of no tame disapprobation, and curiously assigns its origin to Calvin's want of sensibility to the beauties of poetic imagery, and his consequent disqualification for perceiving the propriety and unity of design in so rich and highly wrought compositions.⁸⁰ If internal evidence be consulted, there are important circumstances of objection to the notion of a reference to Solomon; or of *any other* design than a celebration, in the known imagery of prophecy, of the Divine Messiah, the dignity of his person, the power and grace of his kingly office, and the conversion of nations to the "faith which is in him."⁸¹

Having, not carelessly, nor, I trust, unfairly examined the question, my conviction rises at every step, that the address before us is the language of joyful homage to the LORD the MESSIAH, from his redeemed church;—language congenial with the reason and the feelings of every holy being "on earth and "in heaven:"—"THY THRONE, O GOD, IS FOR EVER AND "EVER." "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be "unto HIM that sitteth upon the throne, and unto THE LAMB, "for ever and ever!"⁸²

At the same time this magnificent Person, whose benignity, power, and holiness are thus celebrated, is represented as receiving from HIS GOD a special appointment to the office of Messiah; an office whose importance far surpasses that of all other kings and priests and prophets; and an appointment the propriety of which is expressly founded upon his character and qualifications: "THEREFORE, God, thy God, hath anointed thee "with the oil of joy above thy companions."

⁷⁸ See *Poole's Synopsis*, *Cocceius*, *Peirce's* note on Heb. i. 8, and *Venema's Prolegomena*.

⁷⁹ See *Rosenmüller, Arg. in Ps. xlv.* In his second edition he expresses his regret ("jam nos pœnitet") that in the former he had maintained the notion of the Psalm having been composed, after the captivity, in honour of one of the Persian kings; and he avows his present conviction, that the glory of the Messiah and the happiness of his subjects are the *sole topic* of this allegorical hymn.

⁸⁰ *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 67.

⁸¹ Note G.

⁸² Rev. v. 13.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XIV.

Note A, page 209.

V. 2. "Thy beauty, O king Messiah, is pre-eminent above the sons of men: the spirit of prophecy is given into thy lips: therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Ver. 7. The throne of thy glory, O Jehovah, (יְיָ) standeth for ever and ever; a righteous sceptre is the sceptre of thy kingdom. V. 8. Because thou hast loved righteousness and hated wickedness, therefore thus hath Jehovah thy God anointed thee with the ointment of joy profusely above thine associates."—*Targum*.

V. 4. "On the word of truth." עַל־דֶּבֶר according to a known idiom, might be rendered, *on the account, concern, business*: but I am induced to prefer the other and strictly literal rendering, because (1.) it appears in more natural accordance with the connexion; (2.) the structure of the sentence requires that עַל־דֶּבֶר should have the same apposition to אֱמֶת as עֲנִיָּה has to אֱצֶרֶק; (3.) examples occur in Eccl. xii. 10; Esth. ix. 30; Prov. xxix. 12; Jer. vii. 22; (4.) this form is adopted by some of the best modern translators, as those of Pagninus, Calvin, Junius and Tremellius, Cassiodore del Reyna, Diodati, Moller, Amyraut, Venema, Geddes, the Dutch; and the Geneva French. "In the cause of truth, —." Boothroyd.

V. 7. מְשִׁיחָא "hath anointed thee." We cannot make sensible, without a periphrasis, the allusion to the name *Messiah*; which is only a participial of the verb here used. The Greek has the advantage of other languages in this: ἡ χρις, i. e. χριστὸν ἔθηκε. Eusebius, Jerome, and others have thought that אֱלֹהִים is here in the vocative, as in v. 6, thus, "Therefore, O God, thy God hath," etc. and Amyraut, Michaelis, and Rosenmüller adopt this construction. Indeed both the Hebrew and the Greek would fairly bear it; but it could not be absolutely *proved*, as the other is equally fair, and the Ancient Versions (so far as they apply) are against it.

Note B, page 210.

"This is a quotation from Psalm xlv. 6. And it is well known that the words of the original will equally well bear to be translated, 'God is thy throne;' that is, the support of thy throne. See Grotius, Clarke, and Peirce *in loc*. Mr Lindsey contends that this must be the proper translation, because it is most analogous to the language of Scripture. 2 Sam. vii. 13, 16. 1 Chron. xvii. 12, 14. Psalm lxxxix. 4. Archbishop Newcome translates, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;' but he remarks, that in the Psalm the same words are addressed to Solomon."—*Calm Inq.* p. 230. "'But unto the Son, he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever:' or, 'God is thy throne,' i. e. the supporter of thy throne. Psalm xlv. 6, 7.—*q. d.* The power and authority of former prophets, such as Moses, Elijah, and others, however great and awful for a time, was but transitory and evanescent, but thy kingdom is immovable, thy dominion is everlasting."—*Ib.* p. 208.

Note C, page 210.

See the London *Critici Sacri*, Poole's *Synopsis*, Wolfius's *Curæ Philologicæ*, and Venema's *Prolegomena*, on the passage.—Le Clerc in his Commentary on this Psalm, written towards the close of his long life, but while his faculties were yet vigorous ("integris adhuc animi et corporis viribus," says his editor), expresses his views in a manner which satisfactorily shows that, in his latter years at least, he did not hold the Socinian hypothesis. "Ver. 7. In application to Christ, this passage may be understood to the full extent of the meaning of the words. Though judges and magistrates were called *gods* by the Hebrews, they being vicegerents of God in distributing justice, it is in a totally different sense that the Messiah is called God: for he is so styled, because *in him* dwelleth all the fulness

of the Godhead, which never was, and never will be, said of any other.—Ver. 8. Jesus Christ, with respect to his humanity, hath his God, as in John xx. 17, etc.—But the Deity which *dwelleth bodily in him*, is the Supreme God himself, who hath no God, but is the God of all gods.”—*Clerici V. T.* tom. iii. Amst. 1731.

Rosenmüller, in his second edition, has made the following very important addition to his Scholium on this verse. “The prophet here calls the King whom he celebrates, God, not as a magistrate, for the Hebrews gave this title to none of their kings, but because he regarded this King as really superior to human nature; which appears also from his ascribing *eternity* to him. Hence the Chaldee paraphrase has substituted *Jehovah* for *Elohim*; and the apostle, in his Ep. to the Hebrews, among other arguments to prove the supreme dignity and divinity of the Messiah, the Son of God, adduces this passage also. That the ancient Hebrews ascribed to the Messiah a divine origin and nature, appears likewise from the description of him in Is. ix. 5, 6. Gesenius, indeed, in his commentary on that passage, denies that the more ancient Hebrews held this opinion of the divine nature of the Messiah; and contends that it was adopted by the later Jews, not very long before the birth of Christ: and therefore, in a Note, he explains the passage of the Psalm before us thus;—‘*Thy God’s throne stands for ever*, i. e. thy throne entrusted to thee by God;’ taking it to be a construction similar to that in Lev. xxvi. 42. *My Jacob’s covenant*, i. e. entered into with Jacob. Much in the same way, Aben Ezra explains the clause thus, *Thy throne is the throne of God*, conceiving the construction to be like that in 1 Chron. xxix. 23. *And Solomon sat upon the throne of Jehovah, to be king*; and 2 Chron. xv. 8, where the full phrase on account of the termination ה the first word, would have been הַיְהוָה בְּיָמָיו the prophecy, even the prophecy of Oded. The same Jewish author also states that Rabbi Saadias, understanding a supplement of יָדָן, explains the words thus, *God will establish thy throne for ever*. But the ellipsis of this verb would be very harsh. No one will deny that to take *Elohim* as a vocative is a much plainer construction, than either of those proposed by Aben Ezra and Gesenius. And surely there can be no reason to doubt that the more ancient Hebrews regarded the Great Sovereign whom they expected to bring back the golden age, as a person of a nature superior to the human, when we consider that similar opinions existed among other nations, the most ancient in Asia [Rosenmüller alludes particularly to the Persians and the Hindoos]: and that such an expectation of a Divine Restorer and Saviour of mankind to be at some future time manifested, was much more in accordance with the notions of the earliest antiquity, concerning the gods holding intercourse with mortals, than with the sober way of thinking which later ages have adopted on such subjects.”

Upon the interpretations of the unbelieving Jews, and the scarcely less unbelieving Neologist, it is not requisite to say much more than that they are forced and violent, contrived to serve a purpose, and which would probably never have been thought of had not such a purpose been to be served. Gesenius’s semblance of argument from Lev. xxvi. 42, is certainly adroit; but I object to its applicableness for two reasons: (1.) He calls it a case of a word “having *two* genitives of different reference depending upon it:” now, *pace tanti viri*, I venture to question whether such a case can be found; and, in this instance, a much more reasonable resolution of the sentence is given by supposing an ellipsis, of לְ or some equivalent preposition, before each of the proper names; and this is adopted by the three Targums and all the ancient versions. (2.) If even we were to admit the validity of his rule, its application in this instance is so palpably arbitrary and constrained, as justly to repel our assent. The same reasoning holds against the more plausible example adduced by Aben Ezra. By the theocratic constitution, the nation of Israel, and the kingdom, the king, and the throne, all belonged to

Jehovah; and this fact is, with peculiar propriety, brought into view in the narrative of the inauguration of Solomon under such very peculiar circumstances, in the life-time and by the express direction of David himself: but the suffixed pronoun, in the clause of the Psalm, renders the case so widely different as to destroy the pretence of analogy. As for the passage in 2 Chron. if the reader will look at his Hebrew Bible, he will find that the critic has perverted it, to serve his purpose. I cannot but lament the tone of Rosenmüller's concluding sentence. Happily there are passages in his writings which forbid our suspecting him of an insidious wish to put the primeval expectation of a Messiah, founded on the revelation of the blessed and only God, on a par with the fables of heathenism. But, with the most lenient construction, his language is extremely blameable.

Note D, page 211.

Mr Belsham refers to Grotius. But that eminent scholar, much as his predilections might have induced a wish to do so, does not venture to give "God is thy throne," as the *construction* of the passage. (See Note A, Section VII.) He seems anxiously to avoid any construction, contenting himself with saying, "The *sense* is, God himself is thy perpetual seat." Long before Grotius, the Jew Saadias had advanced a similar gloss; saying that there was an ellipsis of יְיָ, and that the sense is, "God shall establish thy throne." This violent extravagance was, however, disowned by his own nation. None of them, though from the principles of modern Judaism they might have been strongly disposed to it, have dared to follow him. Enjedin says that the words will *admit* of this explication; "possunt sic commodè explicari." Macey, in his Gr. and Engl. N. T. 1729, and Samuel Crellius, as might be expected, follow Enjedin. But, as one has often occasion to observe that the writers of this school become bolder as they advance, improving wishes into conjectures and conjectures into certainties, we find a writer in the *Commentaries and Essays* issued from Essex Street, in 1783, under the signature of Elipandus, roundly affirming: "The *juster* construction and translation of it, is not, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;' but 'God is thy throne,' *i.e.* the support of it, 'for ever and ever.'"

Dr Sam. Clarke, in his *Reply to Nelson*, p. 87, written after his *Scripture Doctrine*, follows the commonly received construction. So does Mr Peirce, in his *Paraphrase*, but in a Note affirming that it is "doubtful," and perhaps intimating a wish in favour of the other rendering.

Note E, page 211.

Some interpreters invert the common order of the subject, and predicate in this clause, thus, "—the winds his messengers, and the flash of fire his servants." This version would equally support the contrast and the conclusion of the argument. But it appears inadmissible, because (1.) It would not thus be true that this is said "concerning the angels," as the Epistle asserts, whether we understand by that term human or superior beings: (2.) The structure of the Hebrew in Ps. civ. 4, most naturally, and of the Greek in the Epistle *necessarily*, requires the common construction: (3.) The mention of the angelic orders appears eminently proper, as a part of the enumeration describing the created universe in its *dependence* on Jehovah and its obedience to him; thus corresponding with the sentiment in Ps. ciii. 20. The Chaldee Targum paraphrases the verse: "Who maketh his messengers swift as the wind; his servants mighty as the glittering fire." All the Ancient Versions decidedly adhere to the same construction.—Mr B. adopted the interpretation here declined, in a Note which certainly does not pay *too much* respect to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "Another remarkable instance of *lax interpretation*. The quotation is from Psalm civ. 4, the proper translation of which is, 'He maketh the winds his messen-

gers, and the lightnings his ministers.' It is an assertion in beautiful and poetic language of the sovereign dominion of God over the powers of nature. But this writer *avails himself* of the ambiguity of the language, and accommodates the words to the authority of the prophets."—P. 207.

Note F, p. 212.

In the instances almost innumerable of the invocation, *O God*, which occur in the Book of Psalms, I have not been able, after a close examination, to find a single example of $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, but all are $\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. In the other books of the LXX. I can find $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ only in Lev. xvi. 22; Deut. iii. 24; Judges xvi. 28; and 2 Kings [Sam.] vii. 25. In the N. T. only in Matt. xxvii. 46.

Note G, page 214.

Michaelis maintains, from strong internal characters, that, independently of any elucidation from the New Testament, this Psalm has no relation to Solomon or to any literal marriage-celebration: and he proceeds to remark, "The orientals are much accustomed to represent a state or kingdom as a lady of rank, and its sovereign as a husband or bridegroom. Now in this Psalm, seeing that the person of whom it treats is appointed by God to be the bridegroom, on account of his *love to righteousness* (v. 8), it is manifest that the other persons introduced are not literally beauteous females, but that under this figure are intended the provinces which are annexed to a superior state. In v. 13, 'the daughter of Tyre' is mentioned; but, according to the usual Hebrew phraseology, this is certainly no other than the city of Tyre. Thus, if I were perfectly ignorant of whom the Psalm treats, yet I should be certain that 'the queen' here described, and the other females who are her attendants, were valuable countries which had been subjected to a conqueror. When, therefore, the Epistle to the Hebrews explains the Psalm of the Messiah, I find not the smallest difficulty in believing it, and acquiescing in this explication."—*Anmerk.*

"Upon the whole, therefore, it appears, that, in the character which the psalmist draws of the king whose marriage is the occasion and the subject of this song, some things are so general, as in a certain sense to be applicable to any great king, of fable or of history, of ancient or of modern times. And these things are, indeed, applicable to Solomon, because he was a great king, but for no other reason. They are no otherwise applicable to him, than to King Priam or Agamemnon, to King Tarquin or King Herod, to a king of Persia or a king of Egypt, a king of Jewry or a king of England. But those circumstances of the description which are properly characteristic, are evidently appropriate to some particular king,—not common to any and to all. Every one of these circumstances, in the psalmist's description of his king, positively exclude King Solomon; being manifestly contradictory to the history of his reign, inconsistent with the tenor of his private life, and not verified in the fortunes of his family. There are, again, other circumstances which clearly exclude every *earthly* king,—such as the salutation of the king by the title of God, in a manner in which that title never is applied to any created being; and the promise of the endless perpetuity of his kingdom. At the same time, every particular of the description, interpreted according to the usual and established significance of the figured style of prophecy, is applicable to and expressive of some circumstance in the mystical union betwixt Christ and his church. A greater, therefore, than Solomon is here."—*Horsley's Serm.* vol. i. p. 75.

SECTION XV.—ADORED BY ANGELS.

 Psalm xcvi. 7.

 “Worship him, all ye gods” [*meaning angels*].

THAT the Being to whom supreme adoration is here required, is “JEHOVAH, the God of the whole earth” (ver. 1, 5), none can doubt. But it is doubted whether this is the passage cited in Heb. i. 6, as an attribution of homage by angels to Christ. It is of little importance, whether beings of a superior rank be there intended, or those human *messengers* of the divine will, the prophets, mentioned in the first verse of the Epistle.⁸³ The Epistle reads differently from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint; not indeed as to the sense, but in the form of expression: “Let all the angels of God worship him.” Mr Belsham and the Annotator on the Improved Version (who indeed could not be reckoned two persons), following Patrick, Whiston, Sykes, and Samuel Crellius, affirm that the quotation is from the Septuagint translation of Deut. xxxii. 43; a passage of no authenticity, not being found in the Hebrew text, nor in any of the other ancient versions. Its absence from the Arabic affords no faint presumption that it was not in the copy of the Septuagint, from which that version was made; and its variations in the different manuscripts of the Septuagint itself, afford another presumption against its genuineness. All things considered, it appears not improbable, that some reviser or editor of the Greek Pentateuch made the insertion, as his interpretation applied to the calling of the Gentiles; either deriving it from the Psalm before us (as Mr Peirce suggests), or, with a mistaken zeal for apostolic accuracy, from the citation in the Epistle.

But the Annotator does not scruple to assure us, that the passage “is spoken of the Hebrew nation, and *therefore* cannot be understood of religious worship.”⁸⁴ We reply, that the words are NOT “spoken of the Hebrew nation;” but that the antecedent to the relative manifestly is JEHOVAH, and that, *therefore*, they MUST “be understood of religious worship.”⁸⁵

If the quotation were intended to be from the Psalm, as we

⁸³ Note A.⁸⁴ Note B.⁸⁵ Note C.

have the greater reason to believe, the difference in the words is immaterial to the sense, and is not greater than occurs in other instances of passages from the Old Testament introduced into the New.⁸⁶

The manner in which the citation is adduced seems to be, not at first sight, but on a more intimate inspection, allusive to the scope and purport of the Psalm. "When he introduceth the first-begotten to the world, he saith——." Where shall we find any thing corresponding to this? Nothing in the least resembling it is found in the preceding context of the passage in Deuteronomy. But, admitting with the most learned and rational interpreter among the modern Jews,⁸⁷ that the Psalm refers to the Messiah, we find the context in that Psalm such as, in the most sublime manner and with the imagery usually applied to *the same* subject in the prophetic writings, plainly INTRODUCES HIM TO THE WORLD. After a splendid opening, as it were painting the awful majesty of the Being, at whose dominion the world is called to rejoice, the prophet declares, that "the heavens" (the most exalted instruments for promulgating the divine will) announce, and all the nations of the world receive, "his righteousness and glory;" the very terms by which the prophets often describe the doctrine and reign of the Messiah:⁸⁸ he predicts the abolition of idolatry and the punishment of those who shall obstinately adhere to it: *he calls on the angels to do their homage* to this illustrious Sovereign: and then represents the exultation of the true church of God among the Jews, on account of the extension of his holy and gracious empire over the Gentiles.—Thus does the Lord God of the holy prophets INTRODUCE THE FIRST-BEGOTTEN TO THE WORLD.

But it is not necessary to insist upon this, satisfactory as I think it must appear to an impartial person. For the bare purpose of our argument, it is not important to what place of Scripture the writer of the Epistle had reference. In either case, the pronoun which represents the object to whom adoration is commanded to be paid, has most clearly no other antecedent than "the Lord of the whole earth,"⁸⁹ who "lifteth up his hand to heaven, and saith, I live for ever."⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Note D.

⁸⁷ David Kimchi. He says that the Psalms xciii. to ci. contain *the mystery of the Messiah*.—*Rosenm. sen.* in Heb. i. 6.

⁸⁸ Isa. xl. 5; li. 4–8. Ps. xcvi. 2, 3.

⁸⁹ Psalm xcvi. 5.

⁹⁰ Deut. xxxii. 40.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XV.

Note A, page 219.

Mr Belsham (citing as his supporters, Mr Wakefield and his own Impr. Vers.) asserts, "The connexion requires that the word ἄγγελοι, 'angels,' in this chapter, should be taken in its usual sense of *messengers*, not *angels*." (*Calm Inq.* p. 205.) The Impr. Vers. accordingly carries on this interpretation down to ch. ii. 4, using the word *messengers*. Then it is compelled suddenly to change to *angels*; v. 5-18, the argument so palpably requiring it. But it becomes an impartial inquirer to consider, whether there be any solid reason to admit such a change of reference in the subject; and whether the sense of ch. i. 7, ii. 2 (compare Gal. iii. 19), do not more probably limit the term throughout to the single acceptation of celestial agents.—Our argument, however, is not affected by this question.

Note B, page 219.

Impr. Vers. So also Mr B. "By a bold prosopopœia, the former prophets and messengers of God are summoned to do homage to Christ, in consequence of his resurrection from the dead, and to acknowledge him as their superior." "The quotation is from Deut. xxxii. 43; LXX. The words are not to be found in the Hebrew. They are applied to the Hebrew nation upon its restoration from a calamitous and desolate state: and it is with a very great latitude of interpretation, which was indeed common in that age, and in which this writer frequently indulges, that they are made applicable to Christ."—*Calm Inq.* pp. 206, 207.

Note C, page 219.

This will appear to any who, with common attention, consult the passage. The following close translations will make the matter clear to the unlearned reader. He is desired to read, in his Bible, the preceding connection.

| Hebrew. | LXX. Aldine. | LXX. Vatican. | LXX. Alexandrine. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing praises, ye nations, his people: | Rejoice, ye hea- vens with him, and let all the angels of God worship him: | Rejoice, ye hea- vens, with him, and let all the an- gels of God wor- ship him. Rejoice, ye nations, with his people, and let all the sons of God be strong in him: | Rejoice, ye hea- vens, with him, and let all the sons of God wor- ship him. Rejoice, ye nations, with his people, and let all the angels of God strengthen them: for he avengeth the blood of his sons, and will avenge; and he will re- compense ven- geance to his enemies, and he will recompense those that hate him: and the Lord will purify the land of his people. |
| for he will avenge the blood of his ser- vants, and he will render ven- geance to his ene- mies; | for he avengeth the blood of his sons, and will avenge; and he will re- compense ven- geance to his enemies, and he will recompense those that hate him: and the Lord will purify the land of his people. | for he avengeth the blood of his sons, and will avenge; and he will recompense vengeance to his enemies, and he will recompense those that hate him: and the Lord will purify the land of his peo- ple. | for he avengeth the blood of his sons, and will avenge; and he will re- compense ven- geance to his enemies, and he will recompense those that hate: and the Lord will purify the land of his people. |

Note D, page 220.

Προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ, πάντες ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ. "Worship him, all his angels." LXX. Προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ, πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. "Let all the angels of God worship him." Heb. i. 6. Also the Samaritan and the Syriac read *angels*. That אֲלֹהִים is used of angelic natures we have seen in Psalm viii. 5, and it is probable also in

lxxxvi. 8, and cxxxv. 5. Seiler thinks that the design of the Psalmist in xcvi. 7, in using this appellative, is to include all the greatest and loftiest created beings, whether kings and rulers on earth, or superior intelligences in other states of being.

SECTION XVI.—THE CREATOR, ETERNAL AND UNCHANGEABLE.

Psalm cii. 24–28.

24. "Through all ages are thy years!
 25. "Of old thou didst lay the foundation of the earth;
"And the work of thy hands, the heavens are.
 26. "They shall perish, but thou shalt endure:
"Even the whole of them, like a garment, shall wear away;
"As a covering thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed:
 27. "But thou art HE; and thy years shall never be finished.
 28. "The children of thy servants shall abide,
"And their seed shall be established in thy presence."
-

NONE deny this passage to be a description of the eternity and immutability of God. It is quoted by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in such a manner as at least appears to be a direct and unreserved application to Christ. If, however, this were admitted, and the Epistle acknowledged to be of divine authority, the question, whether Christ possesses a nature properly divine, would no longer remain controverted. It is, therefore, asserted, that "the immutability of God is here declared as a pledge of the immutability of the kingdom of Christ."⁹¹ On this we observe:

1. This interpretation falls under the objection made to that of Ps. xlv. 6, as not comports with the design and reason of the argument.

2. The passage being annexed by the simple copulative to the former passage, which is undoubtedly an address to Christ, we are obliged, in fairness of construction, to understand it in the same direction.

3. The orthodox interpretation suits, without any straining or perplexity, the connexion and the scope, both of the Psalm and of the citation in the Epistle.

The Psalm was written by some pious and inspired Israelite, with great probability during the captivity in Babylonia. The outline of it is, a plaintive description of the depressed condition of the church of God, and an encouraging contemplation of its revival and extension among the Gentiles; then the writer is

⁹¹ Note A.

suddenly checked by reflection upon his own mortality, and the thought that he could not hope to enjoy the happy state which the spirit of prophecy enabled him to behold afar off: but to relieve his mind from this distressing feeling, he takes refuge in the unchangeableness of the great Preserver and Deliverer of the church, and the certainty that he would fulfil the promises of his grace to the latest posterity of his faithful people. Is it incredible or improbable, that, under these descriptions, the mourning but not despairing psalmist looked forwards to the promised Saviour, the Hope of Israel? His knowledge was, of course, obscure; but his faith was not the less certain. Who was destined to restore the desolate church, and to extend its blessings among all nations,—but “Jesus Christ, THE SAME “yesterday, to-day, and for ever?”

The propriety of this reference is still further sustained, by a consideration of great importance, but which cannot be introduced here without anticipating a future part of this inquiry. It is the position, that the manifestations of the Deity under the Old Testament, for the protection and deliverance of his people, and for the bestowment of especial mercies upon them, were made *in the person of HIM*, who in the fulness of time, became incarnate as the promised Messiah. He who rescued the selected nation from the slavery of Egypt, who gave them their sacred institutions, who guided them in the wilderness, and who condescended to be the Redeemer and the God of Israel, is also called “the Angel of Jehovah.” He was pleased, on some great occasions, to manifest himself in a visible form.⁹² In one of those

⁹² “Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel “went up: and THEY SAW the God of Israel: and beneath his feet was as it “were a pavement-work of sapphire, and as the substance of heaven for brightness. But to the nobles of Israel he stretched not forth his hand” [*i.e.* to invite them to approach nearer, a privilege conferred upon Moses alone]; “yet “THEY BEHELD the God of Israel, and they did eat and drink;” by partaking of a sacred repast, for the ratification of the covenant, according to the established usage with the ancient oriental nations. Exod. xxiv. 10, 11. A similar representation, but more detailed and filled with emblematical circumstances, is in the beginning of the prophecies of Ezekiel, chap. i. 4–28, at the close of which are these sentences: “And above, on the expanse which was over their heads, “was as it were the appearance of a sapphire-stone, the resemblance of a throne; “and over the resemblance, the throne, a resemblance as THE APPEARANCE OF “A MAN, over it, from the summit. As the appearance of the bow which may “be in a cloud in a day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness around. “It was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of JEHOVAH. And I SAW “it, and I fell upon my face.”—Ver. 26, 28.

The passages relative to “the Angel of Jehovah” will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

instances of divine condescension, that with which the visions of Ezekiel are opened, the design of the symbolical imagery was to represent the God of the Jewish people as preparing and directing the machinery of his providence, for their moral improvement by their chastisements, and then for their deliverance from the captivity. Now this is *the very blessing* for which the author of the ciid. Psalm so fervently prays. But, with regard to the DIVINE FATHER, the Scriptures assure us that “no one hath seen Him, or can see Him.” Can we then avoid inferring that the object of the afflicted psalmist’s prayers was *that same* DIVINE PERSON who had allowed himself to be seen in a glorious human form, by Abraham, by Jacob, by Moses and his associates, and by Ezekiel; the Angel of the Covenant; the Hope, the Redeemer, the Saviour of Israel; to whom Isaiah, and the prophets who lived during the captivity, continually directed their countrymen to look for pardon, consolation, and restoration?

It is by no means necessary to suppose that the author of the Psalm had a distinct knowledge of these objects. That could not have been attained, till after the Messiah’s advent and the completion of the scheme of revelation. But it is sufficient that the facts were what we have stated: for then it follows, that the prayer addressed to “the LORD who should build up Zion and appear in his glory,” was directed to the Messiah, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who spake by the prophets, testifying of him (1 Pet. i. 11; 2 Ep. i. 21); and that the apostle, in making use of it as a testimony to the supremacy and deity of that Messiah, expressed no more than the true and original meaning of the passage.

The manifest design of the part of the Epistle in which the citation occurs, has been stated: and it is evidently most agreeable to that design, to place in contrast with the dependence, the weakness, the nothingness, of the most exalted creatures, the characters of ETERNITY and IMMUTABLE FAITHFULNESS in the Saviour of men and Lord of angels.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. XVI.

Note A, page 222.

This is the annotation in the Unitarian *Improved Version*. The same interpretation is given by the old Socinians, and has been generally adopted by their followers. Mr B.’s remark will serve for all the rest. “These words are a quotation from Ps. cii. 25, and are certainly addressed to the eternal God. The writer

of this epistle having cited the promise, Ps. xlv. 6, that God would support the throne of the Messiah, in an eloquent apostrophe he addresses the Supreme Being in the language of the Psalmist, acknowledging and adoring that immutability of the divine nature, and of his wise and benevolent purposes, which constitute the surest pledge of the stability of the Messiah's kingdom."—P. 172.

Enjedin prefers another solution. He considers the passage as addressed to Christ, by accommodation, as the Founder and Head, and so in a sense the Creator, of the new world, or gospel dispensation. This was also Grotius's notion. We shall, in another place, inquire into the doctrine of Scripture on the new creation.—To what deplorable distress must Grotius have been reduced when he could bring himself to write:—"This world being created for the sake of the Messiah, I should think that the expression, *thou hast founded*, may signify, *thou hast been the cause of the earth's being founded*; and, *the work of thy hands*, the same as, *made for thy sake*."—*Annot. in Heb. i. 10.*

But, as an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, let us hear in what manner writers of the highest abilities for grammatical interpretation, but most of whom were far from acquiescing in our sentiments on the most important subjects of Christianity, have acknowledged the great point at issue in our examination of this passage.

"The citation here made from Ps. cii. 25, 26, cannot, agreeably to the connexion, be referred to any other than to Christ; for the conjunction *and* respects the declarations immediately preceding in v. 8 and 9. Though the Psalm quoted does not treat properly of Christ, but of Jehovah, yet, if we follow Eckermann's" [and Gesenius's] "supposition, it had grown into an established opinion among the Jewish teachers, after the Babylonish captivity, to understand, by the Jehovah to whom they looked for the fulfilment of the promises, the Messiah, who was to sustain upon earth the person of Jehovah. Paul, therefore, took only the grammatical sense of the Psalm, and he had a right so to employ it in this place, and apply it to the Messiah, according to the custom of his age. So also Rosenmüller, senior, maintains that the Psalm does not immediately treat of the Messiah, and that Paul does not even say so; but that, since the Son of God was the Creator of the world, what the Psalm speaks concerning God as the Creator is justly applicable to him. In a similar way Limborch, in his Commentary on this Epistle, says that in the Psalm the words are manifestly addressed to God, and in the Epistle to the Son of God; to show that the Son possesses all things in common with the Father, but in a subordinate manner. Michaelis, though in a note to his translation of Peirce on this Epistle, he had explained the Psalm of the Messiah, yet in his Paraphrase published afterwards, acknowledges his error, and understands it of the Babylonish captivity and the deliverance from it." [Michaelis, in an exceedingly perplexed manner, represents the design of the quotation to be a declaration that God had *created* the angels, the elements, and the celestial regions, and that therefore they were inferior to the Son.] "Heinrichs has nearly the same sentiment; conceiving that the passage expresses the pious desires of an Israelite, mourning under the miseries of the Babylonish captivity, and praying to Jehovah to bring back his own people to the land of their fathers; but that the Jews, suiting it to their own notions, explained the passage of the Messiah, because it was from that Messiah that they expected their deliverance."—*Dindorfii Additamenta ad Lectiones Acad. Jo. Aug. Ernesti in Ep. ad Hebr.* pp. 47, 48. Leipzig, 1795. *Michaelis Erklär.* p. 118. Dindorf scarcely does justice to Heinrichs, who after much other matter adds, "But if the appellation *Lord* be referred to the Messiah, as the case requires, he is in these verses designated as the Creator of the world, the same as in v. 2."—*In Hebr.* vol. viii. *Ed. Koppiana N. T.* p. 49.

It is truly melancholy to see with what cold effrontery Eckermann (from whom indeed this does not surprise us), and I fear also I must say the late Professor

Dindorf,⁹³ assumes that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was a *dishonest arguer*.

I turn with pleasure to the Comment of Dr Seiler, who, notwithstanding his piety, commanded the high respect of even the adverse party for his learning and judgment as a Bible-critic.

"These words, from Ps. cii. 26, are to be regarded as an expression of praise to the Creator of heaven and earth. But here the apostle declares, that what was said in the Psalm, in general terms, concerning God as the Creator of all things, may rightfully be applied to the Son: the ground and reason of which is, that the Father created all things by the Son. Thence it follows, that to the Son also the name Jehovah may be given, and that to him the eternal Godhead must be ascribed. Can this be said of any angel? Hath the loftiest seraph given to the earth its form, to the heaven its expansion? No: by the Son every thing is made that hath been made. He remains the unchangeable One, when the whole world shall be changed. He will cause the heaven itself to pass away with a great noise, and will create a new heaven, and a new earth, wherein righteousness shall dwell."—*Grösseres Bibl. Erb. Buch*, vol. xvii. p. 109.

SECTION XVII.—THE LORD; THE IMMORTAL PRIEST AND CONQUEROR.

Psalm cx.

1. "Jehovah saith to my Lord [Adon], Sit thou at my right hand,
"Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.
2. "Jehovah out of Zion shall send the sceptre of thy strength:
"Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.
3. "Thy people [shall present] voluntary offerings, in the day of thy power,
in the beauties of holiness:
"From the womb of the morning, thine shall be the dew of thy youth.
4. "Jehovah hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever,
"After the constitution of Melchisedek.
5. "The Lord [Adonai] is on thy right hand: [*The address is now turned to Jehovah.*]
"He smiteth kings in the day of his wrath;
6. "He will execute judgment on the nations, filling them with the bodies of
the slain;
"He smiteth the chieftain over a great country:
7. "He will drink of the stream by the path,
"And will therefore [triumphantly] lift up his head."⁹⁴

SEVERE and scrupulous critics agree that it is impossible to apply these descriptions to any other than to the Messiah. He is introduced as the Lord, the Sovereign, of David; undoubtedly that great descendant to whom his faith had been so often directed by the divine inspiration. This Sovereign is here represented as a then existing person, as distinct from Jehovah, and as receiving from him a dominion the most extensive, a dominion the exercise of which is described in characters which

⁹³ Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leipzig. He died in 1812.

⁹⁴ Note A.

we cannot, without difficulty, conceive as inherent in any merely created and dependent being. He is represented as a King to reign, no less than a Priest to make the sacrificial propitiation; as receiving the homage of his devoted subjects; and as employing irresistible powers in discomfiting and punishing his persisting opposers. He is also called, in the second instance, *Adonai*; a name appropriated to the only living and true God.

These descriptions might, indeed, after undergoing considerable qualification, be considered as a symbolical picture of the progress and efficacy of Christian doctrine, *declaring* the favourable regards of the Most High to those who dutifully receive it, and his displeasure upon those who reject and resist it. But it would remain to be considered, whether the abatements and modifyings necessary for such a purpose, could be vindicated on grounds of fair and just interpretation. Perhaps an impartial and cautious inquirer, supposed to know nothing of the prophetic characters of the Messiah except what is here declared, would think it expedient to suspend his judgment, and to pursue his investigation in the hope of finding some RECONCILING PRINCIPLE, which might show the compatibility of these vast extremes in the same subject, and thus rationally unite the dependence and the supremacy.

Jesus certainly proposed this passage, as involving his enemies in a difficulty, out of which they could not extricate themselves. "How, then, doth David, by the Spirit, call him Lord, saying, "Jehovah said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till "I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him "Lord, how is he his son?"⁹⁵ This difficulty is not removed by saying, with Mr Belsham, that David in prophetic vision saw things future as if they were actually present.⁹⁶ For such an answer proceeds on a wrong assumption of the point under consideration. Had the question been, How could David speak of the Messiah, many ages before he had existence? this supposed answer would have been appropriate. But it is evident that the perplexity, which Jesus put upon his opponents, lay in the fact

⁹⁵ Matt. xxii. 43-45. *Impr. Vers.*

⁹⁶ "If this Psalm is a prophecy of Christ, and if our Lord is not merely arguing with the Jews upon their own principles, as in the case of demoniacs, Matt. xii. 27, the proper answer to this question seems to be, that the Psalmist was transported in vision to the age of the Messiah, and speaks as though he were contemporary with Christ. This mode of writing was not unusual with the prophets. See Isaiah liii. David, like Abraham, was permitted to see the day of Christ. John viii. 56." *Calm Inquiry*, p. 271.

of David's having represented the Messiah, who was confessedly his own descendant, as being *his Superior, his Sovereign*. I cannot perceive that it would have been "the proper answer," or any answer at all, to the question founded on this statement, to say, "that the Psalmist was transported in vision to the age of the Messiah, and speaks as though he were contemporary with Christ." Yet this is all that the writer advances to nullify whatever argument might be deduced from this passage, in favour of the supposition of a superior nature in the Messiah of whom David prophesied. Jesus here in the clearest manner affirms that the royal prophet, a thousand years before, under the highest communication and direction of the Holy Spirit, had a knowledge of the Messiah, the glory of Israel and the hope of the world; that he viewed this Messiah as at the time a living and acting person, and that thus inspired he attributed to the Messiah the honours and dominion of DEITY. If this be not contained in our Lord's argument, I do not see how we can acquit him of absolute meanness, in seeking only to perplex his adversaries, and for that purpose making evasive representations. There are men who scruple not at such dealing, in their arguments; but there is no Christian who would not shudder to bring this charge against the Holy One and the True, the Faithful Witness.

There are other Psalms and parts of Psalms which contain either direct predictions of the Messiah, or incidental and collateral descriptions of his office and work. But as we should draw no conclusions from them that would be contested, in relation to the immediate subject of this inquiry, I pass them over with this general remark; that the PRINCIPLE of their interpretation lies in the designed symbolical character of the office to which David had been *anointed*, as the act of consecration; and in the promise, so often before referred to, of the glorious and universal King who should spring from him. In his calamities and sorrows, the sweet Psalmist of Israel beheld a figure and anticipation of the sufferings of that future Personage. In his deliverances, exaltation and triumphs, he saw an emblem of the glories which should adorn the far distant reign. Undoubtedly, like the other prophets, he was not able to form definite ideas of the specific Person in whom the predictions would be fulfilled, or of the time when he would be

manifested, or of the precise manner and circumstances of his mysterious sufferings, or of the glories that were to follow. But “the Spirit of Christ in him testified” of these things. It would be absurd to suppose that the mind of David was insensible to the importance of these astonishing visions, that they were not the subject of his most interesting meditations, and that he did not often interweave them in his prayers and praises. No honest Christian can hesitate to give entire credit to the assurances of Jesus himself, that “David, by the Holy Spirit, called the Christ LORD,” and that in the Psalms, many important things were contained “concerning himself.”⁹⁷ Must it not be thought a proper, and even a necessary accompaniment of this announced intention of the divine will, that the *disposals of providence should be modelled* according to it; so that the peculiar circumstances of the royal prophet’s sufferings and deliverances should bear *such an analogy* to those of the Messiah, as that the language of his feelings should often be even more appropriate to the remote and secondary, than to the proximate but inferior subject? This principle is clearly consonant with the plan of the successive dispensations of God’s revealed mercy, with the harmony of the parts composing them, and with the integrity of the whole divine scheme. It is, also, a preventive of an arbitrary and dangerous use of what is called *accommodation*. According to this principle, there is no legitimate application of an Old Testament passage which does not rest upon a foundation of solid reason, though that may be sometimes far from obvious, and may exist under limitations. Perhaps there are no instances that may be regarded as more completely accommodations than Matt. ii. 15, 18, and John xix. 36. But when it is considered that “Israel, called out of Egypt,” contained the promise, the covenant, and the ancestry of the Messiah, and that this measure in the providence of Heaven would not have taken place, but with a view to that future Messiah;—that the sorrows of the bereaved mothers in Ramah would never have been occasioned, had not the covenant of Israel been violated, and that the massacre of Bethlehem was a repetition of the same sorrows, and on the same description of persons;—and that the Paschal Lamb, whose bones were to be so solicitously preserved from being broken, was a designed emblem (according to the ancient practice of recording knowledge by symbolical

⁹⁷ Mark xii. 35, and the correspondent places in Matt. and Luke. Luke xxiv. 44.

actions) of "Christ our passover sacrificed for us;"—it will appear that these applications were not arbitrary, not made because of a fortuitous coincidence, not a compliance with a vicious Jewish practice, but possessing a real and just connexion, formed by the comprehensiveness of the divine plan, and the providential disposal of events, in themselves very minute and apparently inconsiderable.⁹⁸ Yet I would not call these and similar instances, *prophecies* of the Messiah, but *pre-arranged allusions*. If, however, any serious interpreters prefer to call these instances *accommodations*, in the same way as we may quote a pertinent sentence from Jewel or Hooker, and apply it to any remarkable occasion, I do not take upon me to be a reprover.

Hence, by a rational mode of investigation, we discover the propriety of the representations made in Psalms xxii. lxix. lxxii. lxxxvii. lxxxix. xevi. xcvii. xcvi. cxviii. cxxxii. and probably some parts of others. If we reject this principle of anticipative reference, we lay our interpretations under a load of exaggeration and inappropriateness, extremely remote from historical truth and poetical judgment, not to mention the divine inspiration: while the admission and sober application of the principle brings the light of reason and fact, to illustrate the language and guide the application. The descriptions which can be understood of David, or any other ancient Israelite, only in a most attenuated manner; and numerous other descriptions, which cannot be at all applied to them, by any fair use of language; become strictly reasonable and proper, when understood of the Messiah. Thus we maintain the criterion before laid down, of a prophecy of the Messiah; not, indeed, that the description cannot by any possibility be applied to any other object; but, that the fair, unconstrained application, that which satisfies all the rational conditions of verisimilitude, is to the Messiah and to him alone: and thus we avoid the extreme of refusing to admit those prophecies of him which solid evidence warrants, and that of allowing fancy to make or to interpret them.

Though I must confess that Bishop Horsley appears to me often to go beyond the bounds of evidence, in his discussion of words and his interpretation of sentences, in relation to this subject; yet he has set a part of the case before us, with such a felicity of manner, and in a light so clear and just, as eminently to merit attention.

⁹⁸ See Note A, Section VII.

“—The suppliant is always in distress. His distress arises chiefly from the persecution of his enemies. His enemies are always the enemies of God and goodness. Their enmity to the suppliant is unprovoked. If it has any cause, it is only that he is the faithful servant of Jehovah, whose worship they oppose. They are numerous and powerful; and use all means, both of force and stratagem, for the suppliant's destruction: an object in the pursuit of which they are incessantly employed. The suppliant is alone, without friends, poor and destitute of all support but God's providential protection. When the great inequality between the suppliant and his enemies is considered, with respect to their different rank and fortunes in the world, it seems strange that one so inconsiderable as he is described to be, should at all attract the notice of persons so greatly his superiors, or that having once incurred their displeasure, he should not be immediately cut off. But, although their malice is perpetually at work, their point is never carried. They keep him indeed in perpetual alarm and vexation, but they seem never to advance a single step nearer to the end of their wishes, namely, his destruction. The suppliant, on the other hand, often miraculously relieved, is yet never out of danger, though he looks forward with confidence to a period of final deliverance.”⁹⁹

It may be safely said that history presents not to us a person in whom these singular conditions unite, except ONE. “Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things, and enter into his glory?”¹⁰⁰ And “who is this King of glory?” The characteristics which in the Psalms depict him, allow us not to be mistaken: and they rarely display the dark and mournful scenes of his sufferings, but they also show him emerging from them in the triumphs and the beauties of holiness. “A seed shall serve him, and it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation. They shall come and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born; that he hath done this.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *Horsley's Psalms*, vol. i. p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ Luke xxiv. 26.

¹⁰¹ Ps. xxii. 30, 31. Of this Psalm “the first part sets forth the Messiah as in a state of violent suffering; and the beginning was expressly spoken by Jesus upon the cross. Matt. xxvii. 46. The insults of the Jews, on that occasion, here predicted in verses 7 and 8, are recorded by the same evangelist, xxvii. 43. The crucifixion itself is foretold, v. 16, and the circumstances of ‘his garments parted’ (*i. e.* divided in pieces among the soldiers), and ‘lots being cast for his vesture,’ which was not divided—are recorded in Matt. xxvii. 35, and John xix. 23, 24. Note also, that these extraordinary particulars, thus predicted of the Messiah, and fulfilled in Jesus, and thus proving Jesus to be the Messiah, do not admit

The principle also may be applied to cases in which the reason of the interpretation lies in the prior and more general covenant of God with Abraham, and that with the people of Israel ; covenants which preceded and included the particular one established with David. For example : a Psalm, probably composed by him on the bringing of the sacred ark to the more suitable place which he had prepared for it, has the words, “Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captive captivity ; for the receiving of gifts by man, and even from the rebellious ; for the inhabitation of the Lord God.”¹⁰² A part of this passage is by the apostle Paul applied to the mediatorial exaltation of our Blessed Redeemer : but the original subject and the connexion do not at first appear to supply the grounds of the application. Let the fact, however, be remembered, that the selection of Israel to be the depositary of divine institutions was a part of the *system* of preparations for the great Descendant of Abraham, Jacob, and Judah ; and then let the circumstances be considered. “Thou hast ascended on high :” the way from Egypt towards Canaan was an ascent, and is often expressed by the verb here used ; and, when the people arrived at Mount Sinai, it is exceedingly probable that the miraculous pillar of cloud and fire, which was a token of Jehovah’s peculiar presence, rose in the air and stationed itself on the highest summit of the mountain, where, amidst the dark clouds and awful lightnings, Moses received the law from God. He also had “led captive captivity,” that is, the persons who had held the Israelites captive ; by his judgments upon them, by delivering his people from their oppression, and by disposing them to make rich presents to the Israelites on their departure. From the gold and other valuable materials thus obtained, Jehovah deigned to accept “from men, even the rebellious,” the offerings for the construction of the tabernacle, in which “he dwelt among his people,” manifested his glory, and “communed with them from the mercy-seat ;” and, as one of the peculiar tokens of his favour, he conferred upon the seventy elders of Israel especial gifts of wisdom and grace. But that deliverance was a providential

any just application to David ; nor derive the least countenance, as to him, from the very long history given of him in the Old Testament. It is equally impossible to apply properly to David the second part of this hymn ; which expresses the triumph of the Messiah, after his resurrection, and the progress of Christianity through the world.” *Kennicott’s Posthumous Remarks*, p. 182.

¹⁰² Ps. lxxviii. 18. Eph. iv. 7, 8.

lesson, an anticipative emblem, of the redemption of mankind, by his “descending” to the saddest humiliations of pain and death,—the real sacrifice which the paschal lamb represented. The gifts, presented for the structure and furniture of the sanctuary, afforded a similitude of the incomparably more valuable obedience of faith and holiness; the dutiful homage of true Christians: which, when God accepts, he but receives his own gifts, for they are the fruit of his Spirit. That tabernacle, too, with its ark, its cherubim of glory, its altars, and its sacrifices, was but “a figure for the time then present,—a shadow of future “good things,”—a faint representation of that wondrous glory of the Saviour’s grace, by which he dwells with men and bestows his favours upon them, to the end of time, and thenceforward to an eternity of blessedness. Thus the passage answers the design of the apostle in citing it, for confirming the gratitude and faith of Christians, “unto every one of whom is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ.” Thus “the law “was given by Moses, but grace and truth are come by Jesus “Christ.” And thus, upon principles of interpretation not arbitrary or fanciful, but arising out of a previously known system of subordination to ulterior purposes, in the Israelitish covenant, the testimony of “Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms” is elicited to the gospel of JESUS.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. XVII.

Note A, page 226.

Ver. 1. *Adon* denotes a Sovereign, one who exercises a sole dominion. It is applied to a husband, father, master of a family, teacher, or magistrate, and very frequently to the Supreme Ruler. Michaelis proposed *Adonai* with Kametz, instead of the possessive *Adoni*, and this was afterwards confirmed by the Cassel and some other MSS. The form *Adonai* (which Gesenius shows to be an abridged plural form) is used, he says, “exclusively of God.”—*Handwörterbuch*, p. 11. Michaelis also remarks, “This King in Zion, of the race of David, the everlasting Priest over the sanctuary of Melchisedec, who is here described, is the Lord himself: he is the *true God*; for this name (in Hebrew *Adonai*) is given to no other than the true God, and is equivalent to Jehovah.” *Anmerkungen*.

“Sit thou at my right hand.” For the illustration of this expression, I may be allowed to refer to the Second of *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, Atonement, and Redemption*.

Ver. 3 is thus translated by Dr Kennicott, on the authority of the Syriac, LXX. and Arabic:—

“With thee shall be royalty, in the day of thy power;

“In majesty and holiness from the womb;

“Before the morning star, I have begotten thee.”

But I cannot venture to deviate so far from the Hebrew, which, though somewhat involved, presents, to attentive consideration, a good and noble sense. Bishop Lowth, with strong examples of such a construction, maintains an ellipsis of עַל before יְהוָה, producing the sense above adopted. "*Thy youthful progeny shall be to thee as a dew, exceeding, in number and abundance, the dew which issues from the womb of the morning dawn.*"—The figure of the dew denotes fruitfulness, multitude, and such abundance as produces further fruitfulness: (compare Mich. vi. 7,) to thee shall be born a numerous race, and that again shall produce to thee an abundant progeny." *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* præl. x.

The principal difficulty lies in determining to whom the address is made in ver. 5. As it is well known that many of the Psalms are written in the dramatic form, it seems very probable that here the poet turns to Jehovah, as distinguished from Adonai in ver. 1. Kennicott and Horsley were disposed to insert *Jehovah*, or *God*, as a vocative; Boothroyd adopts it into the text. "In the first verse, 'the Lord' is distinguished from Jehovah, and placed at his right hand. It is difficult to believe that at so small a distance in the same Psalm, both the titles and the situations should be interchanged, viz. Jehovah called the Lord, and placed at the Lord's right hand. I am, therefore, much inclined to indulge in a conjecture, which Dr Kennicott, too, seems to have entertained, that the word יְהוָה or אֱלֹהִים, hath been lost out of the text after the word יְהוֹשִׁיָּע, and should be restored." *Horsley's Psalms*, vol. ii. p. 256. One MS. of Kennicott's collation, and several of De Rossi's, read *Jehovah* before *Adonai*; and nineteen of Kennicott's have *Jehovah* without *Adonai*.

Rosenmüller states, in the strongest manner, that the descriptions of this Psalm can belong to no other than the MESSIAH. *Scholia*, p. 1659, ed. 2. This indicates a happy improvement, in comparison with the first edition. He also rebukes the Antisupranaturalist de Wette, for objecting to the application to the Messiah, that the description involves warlike and sanguinary scenes, inconsistent with the benign and gracious character of Christ; by referring to the obvious fact, that these circumstances are only the imagery and symbols of the scene, and denoting the removal of all obstacles to the Redeemer's kingdom, and the triumphs of truth and righteousness. But the solution is so obvious, and has been so often made before, that de Wette is inexcusable.

SECTION XVIII.—THE LORD; THE KING; INFINITELY HOLY; JEHOVAH.

Isaiah vi. 1, 2, 3, 5.—"I saw the Lord [Adonai] seated upon a high and exalted throne, and his beams filling the temple. Seraphs stood on high before him,—and one to the other cried and said, 'Holy, holy, holy Jehovah of hosts! The whole earth is full of his glory.'—And I said, 'Alas for me!—the King, Jehovah of hosts, mine eyes have seen!—'"

"THESE words said Isaiah, when he saw HIS glory and spake concerning HIM;¹⁰³ that is, the Messiah, as the context in the evangelist proves, and as indeed is generally admitted.¹⁰⁴ In

¹⁰³ John xii. 41.

¹⁰⁴ The *Zohar* of R. Simeon ben Jochai (see the note on Gen. xlix. 10), says, in an incidental reference to this passage;—"The tradition is that, in every place

narrating this vision, the prophet denominates the person whose glory he beheld, ADONAI, a name appropriated to the Divine Being : and he, not less explicitly, attributes to him the supreme and incommunicable name, JEHOVAH. The conclusion seems inevitable, that either the language of prophecy is blameably and dangerously incorrect, or that the Messiah is indeed the true GOD, JEHOVAH of hosts.

Some have affirmed that the pronouns in the passage of John refer to the Almighty Father, because "the Lord," in ver. 38, is the nearest antecedent.¹⁰⁵ But this proceeds upon a misapprehension. The appropriate use of the pronoun in question (αὐτός), is to mark the person or thing which is the principal subject of the discourse. If it were possible for any one to read the whole preceding connexion, and have any doubt that Christ is that subject, his doubt could not but be dissipated by the next sentence : "Yet many even of the rulers believed on **"HIM."**

Others have preferred to say that the demonstrative "these things," or "these words," in the evangelist, refer, not to the quotation immediately preceding, but to the first passage quoted, "Lord, who hath believed our report?" But this is a purely arbitrary and violent construction. On all the principles of grammar and the common use of language, the reference *may* indeed include both the passages, but *must* refer to the latter as the immediate and necessary object.

Mr Belsham acquiesces in another solution : "the prophet saw, that is, foresaw, the glory of Christ, as Abraham saw, *i.e.* foresaw, his day : John viii. 56."¹⁰⁶

But, 1. this assertion is purely arbitrary, and is unsupported by any attempt at proof.

2. There is no parallelism between the case of Isaiah, in this vision, and that of Abraham. Abraham "eagerly desired"¹⁰⁷ to

where וַיֵּשֶׁב occur, there [is meant] the Shechinah."—*Zohar in Gen.* ap. Schættg. *Hor. Hebr. et. Talm.* tom. ii. 158. And *this to this* וַיֵּשֶׁב cried, etc. *This* וַיֵּשֶׁב with the Holy and Blessed God, one ; *This* וַיֵּשֶׁב with the Shechinah, one : and all, Jehovah."—P. 159.

¹⁰⁵ *Enjedini Expl. Locorum V. and N. T.* p. 233.

¹⁰⁶ "Dr Clarke, after Grotius, and with him all the Unitarians, understand the evangelist as affirming, that the prophet saw, etc."—*Calm Inquiry*, p. 213.

¹⁰⁷ Valde expetivit ; *Grotius*. Gestivit, desideravit ; *Schleusner*. Lætabundus desideravit ; *Kuinöl*.—A désiré avec ardeur ; *De Sacy*.—A désiré ardemment ; *Amelote*. Earnestly desired ; *Boothroyd*. The verb "either includes in itself, *sensu prægnanti* [a frequent scripture-idiom], the idea of desire for the attain-

see the day" of Christ: "and he did see it, and rejoiced." No particular time or manner is specified of the desire or the vision. The "day of Christ," or period of his ministry and of the gospel dispensation, was a future event, and could be seen only in some prophetic representation; and many such representations were made to Abraham. But the vision of Isaiah furnishes no appearance in the circumstances, nor the slightest intimation in the description, of any thing future: for the obduracy of the Jewish people, though afterwards it became justly chargeable on the contemporaries of Jesus, is in the original passage plainly a matter of present fact, not of prediction. The notion of *foreseeing* the glory of Christ is a mere pretence, invented before either Grotius or Dr Clarke, by the Polish Socinians, in order to serve a system.¹⁰⁸

3. Granting it, however, this notion does not serve its purpose. If any words are clear and definite, those here used are so, to express, that the object presented in vision to the prophet, whether seen or foreseen, was the glory of the Lord JEHOVAH, the Being whom the hosts of heaven adore. It would be useless to reason with any one who could read the passage, and deny this. The same objections lie against another passage from Dr Clarke, referred to by the *Calm Inquirer*, and transcribed as if oracular in the *Annotations on the Improved Version*. It is evasive, arbitrary, incongruous, and inadequate to its intention.¹⁰⁹

We find, then, that the apostle John did not hesitate to make a direct application to the person of his Lord and Master, of the loftiest style of Deity that the Old Testament could furnish.¹¹⁰

ment of the object rejoiced in, or the conjunction *that* presents the object of the joy, the being enabled to see."—*Tholuck*.

¹⁰⁸ "Thus Isaiah will here be said to have seen the glory, that is, to have prophesied about it; not that he then saw, but foretold, the glory of Christ, which is a good sense, and not contrary to our sentiments."—*Enjedini Expl. Locorum*, p. 233.

¹⁰⁹ "The true meaning is; when Isaiah, c. vi. 1, saw the glory of God the Father, revealing to him the coming of Christ, he then saw 'the glory of him who was to come in the glory of his Father.' Matt. xvi. 27. Isaiah, in beholding the glory of God, and in receiving from him a revelation of the coming of Christ, saw, that is, foresaw, the glory of Christ, just as Abraham, John viii. 56, saw, that is, foresaw his day and was glad."—*Dr Clarke on the Trinity*, p. 93.

¹¹⁰ "That which is said by the prophet of God, in the general expression, the apostle John applies in particular to the Son, our Divine Redeemer: and justly; for the Father and the Son are ONE. The Word was in the beginning with God. Isaiah saw the glory, not only of the Father, but of the Son likewise; and spake also of him."—*Seiler's Gr. Erb. Buch*, vol. xiii. p. 269.

SECTION XIX.—IMMANUEL.

Isa. vii. 14.—“Nevertheless, the Lord himself will give you a sign: Behold the young virgin! She has conceived; and she shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name Immanu-el [God with us].”¹¹¹

THIS passage is adduced in the Gospel of Matthew, as having been fulfilled in the formation of the human body of Christ, out of the established course of nature: but, to discover the mode of fulfilment, and the principle on which the correspondence is founded between the prophetic declaration and the circumstances of the Saviour's birth, is attended with considerable difficulty. It seems to be as clear as words can make it, that the son promised was born within a year after the giving of the prediction; that his being so born, at the assigned period, was the “sign” or pledge, that the political deliverance announced to Ahaz should certainly take place: and that such deliverance would arrive, before this child should have reached the age in which children are commonly able to discriminate the kinds of food.

When it is contended that this is a DIRECT prophecy of the Messiah, the question arises, How an event, which would not happen till more than seven hundred years had elapsed, could be a *sign*, pledge, or assurance, of another event which was to take place within two, or at the utmost three years?—This appears to be not merely a difficulty, but a plain, palpable, and insuperable objection. The most plausible solution that has been attempted, so far as I can learn, is this: that, since the promise of the Messiah in the fulness of time to be born, included an assurance of the preservation of the Jewish nation and the royal house of David, till that time; that promise was, by inference, a sign of deliverance from the present Syrian invasion.¹¹² But it is obvious that—

1. Such an inference is so very distant, and includes so many intermediate links in the chain, that it appears altogether impossible to have been proposed for the assuaging of present anxieties. The subjects of those anxieties were the king, his court and ministers, and the people at large; the object was to tranquillize their minds; and that could not be effected except by plain and palpable reasons.

¹¹¹ Note A.¹¹² Note B.

2. It is not likely that the prospect of an event so remote, and in which the irreligious mind of Ahaz could not feel a proper interest, would be to him a pledge of security under a present and most terrifying danger. "His heart and the heart of his people were agitated, as the trees of the forest are agitated by the wind."¹¹³ An unbelieving and careless man would take the shorter course of giving credit to the word of the prophet in relation to the immediate deliverance, far more readily than that he would confide in the promise of an event immensely remote from his time, and which, considered as a topic of reflection or desire, was little congruous with his habits of mind.

3. In fact, the nation of Judah and the royal family were, after this time, repeatedly subjected to successful invasion, and to every calamity short of absolute extermination. Had Ahaz, therefore, concluded that he and his country were safe from the imminent ruin, because his line would certainly be preserved till the coming of the Messiah, he would have drawn an unwarrantable conclusion.

4. The terms of the prediction seem to define its application to circumstances existing at the time, or speedily to exist. The demonstrative term, "*The virgin*," naturally points out some young female, known to the parties addressed, and probably present on the occasion. It is also as clearly declared, that the child, when born, should be nourished with the preparation then commonly given to infants in that country, till he should become capable of distinguishing correctly between the bad and the good sorts of food; but that, before that time, that is, within about two years, the country of the invaders should itself be ruined and deserted.¹¹⁴ Some, indeed, understand this part of the passage as expressing the sentiment, that the deliverance of the country would be effected within an *equal* period to that which would, in the eighth century afterwards, elapse from the birth of the Messiah to his attaining the discretion of childhood. But this gloss appears so far-fetched, so evidently made to serve

¹¹³ Ver. 2.

¹¹⁴ Ver. 15, 16. It is worthy of observation, that there is a special reason for mentioning the apparently trivial circumstance of the particular food on which the infant was to be nourished, cream sweetened with honey. Those articles being the produce, the one of cows and she-goats in the meadows, and the other of the mountainous and desert parts, of Judea, the assurance is given that a sufficient supply of them should be obtained, even though the usual culture of the country should be interrupted; and it is also implied that the necessary communication would be kept up with the country.

the hypothesis, and so manifestly weak, that one would regret to see any good cause burdened with such an argument.

On the other hand, the words of the evangelical historian are such as do not comport with the mere application of a passage in the way of resemblance or accommodation. "All this took place in order that [the declaration] might be completed which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Behold the virgin shall be pregnant, and shall bring forth a son; and they shall call his name Emmanuel."¹¹⁵ This passage, therefore, comes under the class of prophetic testimonies, which had a primary, but inferior and partial, reference to some proximate person or event; but had another and a DESIGNED reference to some remoter circumstance which, when it occurred, would be the *real* FULFILMENT, answering every feature and FILLING UP the entire extent, of the original delineation.

Upon this principle of "a springing and germinant accomplishment," it appears to me that the semblance of opposition between the place as it stands in the prophet, and the citation in the evangelist, may be removed, and the difficulties rationally explained.

1. I conceive that the divine declaration was calculated for two classes of persons, and therefore intended to comprise two very different objects. The first class consisted of Ahaz and his family, together with those among the Jews whose minds regarded only temporal enjoyments, and whose wishes rose no higher than to a political deliverance. The other was the class of pious persons, who knew the value of spiritual blessings, and who regarded the promises and the providence of God with an especial view to the consolation and redemption of Israel by the Messiah.

To the former description of persons, the birth of a male child,—at the close of the usual period of gestation reckoned from the giving of the prediction, and born of the person distinctly pointed out,—would be a manifest proof of divine omniscience and agency, and would be a sufficient SIGN to insure their reliance on the accomplishment of the rest of the prediction within the specified time.

The other class, aided by their knowledge of divine truth and grace so far as then made known by revelation, *might* attach to

¹¹⁵ Matt. i. 22, 23. The authenticity of the portion from which this is cited, will be considered in its place.

the proximate design of the expressions, a reference to their most exalted hopes, and an assurance that God would "raise up a horn of salvation in the house of his servant David, as he had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets." This supposition is rendered the more probable, by the consideration that it was the usual custom of the Jewish prophets, and particularly of Isaiah, when commissioned to administer encouragement to their countrymen, under some actual or threatened calamity, to derive the chief topics of consolation from the great "hope of Israel," the promise of the Messiah.

2. For the reasons already stated, it appears necessary to admit that the definite appellation, "The virgin," was at the moment applied to a known individual who, at the proper time afterwards, became the mother of a distinguished child. Abrahanel and other Jewish writers maintain this, and suppose the person to have been the wife of Isaiah; and some Christian interpreters have adopted the supposition. To me, I confess, the most probable conjecture is that the person was the queen of Ahaz; to whom, I further conjecture, that he had then been just married, and that she was at the time beginning to be pregnant with a son, who proved a blessing to his country, and a signal honour to the house of David, namely, the pious and upright Hezekiah.¹¹⁶ The most weighty objection to this interpretation is, that it runs counter to the usual sense of the word translated *virgin*. Whether that sense be absolutely necessary, is considered in the Notes. But the assumption which I have made, may not be required. The conjecture is by no means impossible that the queen was betrothed only, and the marriage not yet consummated. If this be supposed, the most serious difficulty is removed.

3. It is admitted on all sides that the declaration, "she shall call his name Immanu-El," is expressive of a fact, as a commemorative and descriptive title.¹¹⁷ It does not appear to have been intended as a proper name. Its meaning, therefore, must be deduced from the circumstances of its application. In what I suppose to have been the primary and inferior reference, it would express no more than that, in the existing distresses of Judea and Jerusalem, GOD would be WITH THEM as their

¹¹⁶ Note C.

¹¹⁷ Instances of this usage, or allusions to it, occur in Is. lxii. 4; lv. 13; lxxv. 15, 16. Ezek. xlviii. 35.

Almighty Protector. In this acceptation it is most clearly repeated in a following part of the context, which again affirms the signal overthrow of the two invading powers. "Form your counsels; and they shall be defeated: issue your orders; and they shall not stand: because GOD IS WITH US."¹¹⁸ But, by the same rule of interpretation, the application of the expression to the Messiah must be governed; and the sense which it yields remains to be ascertained, by our previous knowledge concerning the person, office, and circumstances of HIM who was to be the Messiah. If, from other evidence, it shall have satisfactorily appeared that HE is a Divine Person, then may this descriptive appellation be understood as declaring, not only that the protection and favour of God abide with his church in a distinguished manner under the administration of the Messiah; but that, in the most full and literal sense, He who was manifested in the flesh and born of the virgin, has a superior nature, and is "over all, GOD blessed for ever."

Of this point, however, the present passage, according to the view here given of it,¹¹⁹ is only an accessory and corroborative proof, and cannot be regarded as an independent evidence.¹²⁰

That difficulties and objections attach to this interpretation, I am very sensible; and it would be a satisfaction to me, if I could perceive sufficient evidence to embrace the interpretation more generally approved. I have therefore sincere pleasure in laying before the reader a passage of Frederick Rosenmüller, which is one of those which have conferred an honourable pre-eminence upon the later published editions and new parts of his *Scholia*.¹²¹ He maintains the commonly received opinion. To that, I may again remark, the great and insuperable objection appears to be the circumstance of *time*: and Rosenmüller has not removed this objection, nor even attempted to remove it. His interpretation seems to take for admitted, that the predicted event would *soon* take place; and in fact his reasoning rests upon the position of an *early* occurrence: nor does he afford us any hint of

¹¹⁸ Ch. viii. 10. Literally,—“because Immanu-El.”

¹¹⁹ Note D.

¹²⁰ “The passage—has a manifest historical meaning as applied to Isaiah’s wife; the sign being one of time, that, within the youth of an infant presently to be born, Syria and Israel should be overthrown. Emmanuel might improperly be the name of a common child, just as Jesus or Joshua was; but both apply to our Lord, and to Him only, in unexaggerated strictness.” *Dr Arnold; Life and Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 197.

¹²¹ Note E.

the way in which he might have proposed to himself to remove the difficulty which thus arises. This is the more to be regretted, as the omission looks too much like a surrender to the Neologists of a vital point: for the most able of those writers, finding the scheme, before tried, of excluding from the Hebrew oracles all expectation and foresight of a Messiah, to be incapable of being held together, have had recourse to a new fiction; that all those passages refer, not to a distant futurity, but to events so near at hand that the pious Israelites then living might safely guess at them, and fully expect to enjoy the glorious and happy times of the Messiah's reign.¹²²

The American Expositor, Mr Albert Barnes, has supported the view of the passage which I have here maintained, in a disquisition of considerable length and marked with solicitous impartiality.¹²³

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XIX.

Note A, page 237.

לָקָה "Nevertheless;" *Kennic. Serm.* 1765. *Pocock on Mic.* v. 3. *Nihilominus tamen*; *Noldii Partic.* No. 6. *Aber darum, doch, hoc non obstante, nihilominus*; *Gesen.* β.

הַעַלְמָה with the Emphatic ה, must certainly, by the rules of the Hebrew language, be rendered "*The young virgin*," or "*This young virgin*," with a definite reference; as in the LXX. and Matt. i. 23, ἡ παρθένος. See *Joh. Michaelis Lexicon Partic. Hebr. Schultens Inst. ad Fund. Ling. Hebr.* p. 251. *Kennic. Serm.* Note 29.—The rendering "*Behold the young virgin!*" and taking the next word as beginning a new clause, is equally close to the Hebrew as the common mode. Neither can be deemed as absolutely excluding the other.

The substantive עַלְמָה occurs but seven times in the O. T. in all of which places (for Prov. xxx. 19 is evidently not an exception, though by some pretended to be so) it undoubtedly denotes a *young woman* who is properly and strictly a *virgin*. But whether, from this paucity of instances, we are warranted to regard the latter part of this explanation as *essentially* included in the meaning, appears to me doubtful, for these reasons:

1. As it is unquestionably formed, as a regular feminine, from עַלְמָה a *young man*

¹²² This is the theory of Gesenius, laid down in his *Historical and Critical Introduction to Isaiah*, chap. i. § 5, on the *Character and Maxims of the Prophet*: and when occasion serves, throughout his *Commentary*. How true and melancholy is the reflection, that, in this, our apostate and rebellious world, the misuse of learning is equally criminal and pernicious, perhaps more so, with the abuse of political power! Both gifts of providence, designed for the noblest purposes, and capable of diffusing incalculable happiness among mankind; but both often perverted to the worst application of tyranny in the one case, and irreligion in the other, of injury to men and dishonour to God!

¹²³ Note F.

in the prime or first bloom of youth; its signification, by fair analogy, should be a young woman just arrived at a marriageable age.

2. The addition to the term in Gen. xxiv. 16 seems to prove that it does not, of itself and necessarily, signify what is commonly supposed. "The more precisely to express the state of virginity, the scripture often adds to the words *maid* or *virgin*, these or such like words, *Neither had any man known her.*—*Cruden's Conc.* on the word *Virgin*.

3. The reason submitted in the ensuing remarks (No. 4), on the passage under consideration, make it appear probable, if not absolutely certain, that the word, though generally denoting a young virgin in the strict sense, was also applied (by a national courtesy, perhaps) to a young woman of high rank very recently married. So the English word, *Bride*, strictly denoting a female in the period from the solemnization to the consummation of her marriage, is generally extended to an application through several days, or even weeks.

4. Though the remains of the Hebrew language furnish only the etymological analogy mentioned above (No. 1), we have another in the cognate Syriac verb, in *Pael*, ܡܕܝܢ to become a youth, i. e. to arrive at the age of puberty; and in

Ethpeel, ܡܕܝܢܐ (Rev. xiv. 18, for $\alpha\kappa\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$) to become ripe, or applied to mankind, to become marriageable.

I decline to lay any stress on the opinions of Jewish philologists since the Christian era, because they were probably influenced by party views of hostility to Christianity. But the fact ought not to be omitted, that Trypho, in Justin's Dialogue (p. 200, ed. Jebb), and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (*Euseb. Dem. Ev.* vii. 1), translate הַעַלְמָה by $\eta\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$, the damsel; and that Abrabanel maintains "puerum eodem sensu עַלְמָה et puellam עַלְמָה vocari, sive virgo sit sive maritata, sive uxor sive innupta; cum hæc vox non alium nisi ad ætatem respectum habeat."—*S. Andreae Diss. ad Es.* vii. 14, § 20. Gesenius, whose authority in a question purely philological is of the highest kind, considers it as the regular feminine of עַלְמָה , and says, "The meaning of the word lies solely in the idea of marriageable age, not in that of spotless virginity, for which the Hebrews had another word, בְּתוּלָה ." *Lex.* These reasons he urges at large in his *Commentar über den Jesaia*, with much illustration, from the etymology of the word; the agreement of the dialects in the signification of age only, and in using בְּתוּלָה as the appropriate word for the other meaning; the passages Ps. lxxviii. 26; Song of Sol. vi. 8; Prov. xxx. 19; and the evidence of all the ancient Jewish translators and interpreters, except the LXX.

הָרָה has conceived, or it may be taken as a participle, is conceiving; but, in the strict construction of the word, it cannot be a future.

וְקָרָא may be either *she shall call*, or *thou wilt call*. The former appears preferable by the rule of apposition.

Note B, page 237.

To strengthen this argument, it has been maintained that the sign was not intended for Ahaz, but for his family, or rather his remote descendants. The learned Galatinus (an unhandsome copyist, by the way, of Porchet and Raymundus Martini; see *Christoph. Cartwrighti Annot. in Gen.* ii. 4) asserts this, and some writers have gravely applauded his sagacity for so doing. "The remoteness of the time is no objection; since a rememorative sign [i. e. one which proposes a future event as the evidence of the character of a preceding one; for example, 1 Kings xxii. 28], though placed at a great distance, has the same reference to a past event as a prognostic sign has to the future. And, indeed, it was proper that this sign should be put at so great a distance of time, in order that Ahaz,

who had disbelieved the simple word of God, might receive a sign whose remoteness from his own times would be in proportion to his unbelief. His future posterity were the persons who were eventually to see it. The sign, therefore, was not given to him, but to the house of David." *Galatin. de Arcanis Catholice Veritatis*; vii. 15.—This interpretation of the passage, as a direct and exclusive prophecy of the Messiah, is maintained by interpreters, ancient and modern, too numerous to be mentioned. The honoured name of Dr Ebenezer Henderson belongs to them.

Note C, page 240.

The great objection urged by Abrabanel, Socinus, Kennicott, and others, is that, according to the annals of the kingdom of Judea (2 Kings xvi. 2; xviii. 2), Hezekiah was ten years old when this prophecy was delivered, in the second year of the reign of Ahaz. But if the numeral כ *twenty*, in 2 Kings xvi. 2, and 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, on which this computation rests, be admitted as correct, it will follow that Ahaz was only *eleven* years old at the birth of his son!—It is well known that there are many inaccuracies in the numbers of the common copies of the Old Testament, particularly in the later historical books, producing palpable inconsistencies. It was next to inevitable that such mistakes would be committed by copyists: since, in the most ancient manuscripts, numbers were expressed by single letters, not by words at length as in the printed Hebrew Bibles. (*Tychsen de Codicibus Hebr. V. T.* Rostock, 1772, p. 239.) In this case, it is probable that כ 20 has crept in for ל 30. The excellent Vitringa admits the probability of some corruption, but suggests no emendation. If this be allowed, the time of the birth of Hezekiah will sufficiently coincide with the circumstances before us.

Note D, page 241.

This view certainly appears to me the most rational and the least embarrassed of any that I have met with. The principal objection to it, I apprehend, arises from the extended sense which it seems to give to the appellative עַלְמָה , which cannot be certainly rejected. Yet it is not necessary: for there is nothing violent or incredible in the supposition which I have made, that the young queen was only betrothed, or espoused to Ahaz; so that she was strictly a virgin. But, if neither of those solutions should appear satisfactory, perhaps Dr Kennicott's hypothesis will claim attention.

He conceives that "the text contains *two* distinct prophecies; each literal, and each to be understood in one sense only; the first relating to Christ, the second to Isaiah's son." The one is contained in vv. 13, 14, and 15; and the other in v. 16. Dr K. paraphrases them thus:

I. "Fear not, O house of David, the fate threatened you; God is mindful of his promise to your father, and will fulfil the same in a very wonderful manner; Behold! a virgin (rather the virgin, the only one thus circumstanced) shall conceive, and bear a son; which son shall therefore be, what no other has been or shall be, the seed of the woman, here styled **THE VIRGIN**: and this son shall be called (*i. e.* in scripture language, he shall be) **IMMANUEL**, God with us; but this great Person, this God visible amongst men, introduced into the world thus, in a manner that is without example, shall be truly man; he shall be born an infant, and as an infant shall he be brought up: for butter and honey (rather milk and honey) shall he eat; he shall be fed with the common food of infants, which in the East was milk mixed with honey, till he shall know (not, that he may know, as if such food was to be the cause of such knowledge, but) till he shall grow up to know how to refuse the evil and choose the good."

II. "But before **THIS** child [pointing to his own son] shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good; the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings."

“—הַיֶּלֶד should be rendered, *THIS child*:—a son of Isaiah, Shear-jashub; whom God had commanded the prophet to take with him; but of whom no use was made, unless in the application of these words; whom Isaiah might now hold in his arm; and to whom therefore he might point with his hand when he addressed himself to Ahaz, and said, But before this child shall grow up to discern good from evil; the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings.”

“The child’s name is evidently prophetic; for it signifies, *a remnant, or the remainder, shall return*. This prophecy was soon after fulfilled. And therefore this son, whose name had been so consolatory the year before, was with the utmost propriety brought forth now, and made the subject of a second prophecy—namely, that before that child, then in the second year of his age, should be able to distinguish natural good from evil, before he should be about four or five years old; the lands of Syria and Israel, spoken of here as one kingdom on account of their present union and confederacy, should be forsaken of both their kings; which, though at that time highly improbable, came to pass about two years after; when those two kings, who had in vain attempted to conquer Jerusalem, were themselves destroyed, each in his own country.” *Kennicott’s Sermon on Is. vii. 13–16. Oxf. 1765.*

I beg leave also to recommend to the reader’s consideration the following passages from two of the more moderate and candid among the German scripture critics.

“That this passage has a respect to the Messiah, both the terms of the passage and the testimony of St Matthew (i. 23) require us to admit. I am aware, indeed, that a late English writer, one Williams, if I mistake not,¹²⁴ to escape the difficulties of this passage, has preferred to reject as spurious the first two chapters of Matthew. But a thinking man will employ every fair means of restoration, rather than have recourse to the desperate measure of excision. Commentators of this more sober description, though adopting different opinions, have proved that a respect to the Messiah may be justly attached to these words, either, as some maintain, *properly* and *directly*; or, according to the larger number, by a *symbolical allusion* to the birth of the blessed Redeemer. I shall sketch the arguments on each side.

“Those who affirm that the passage refers *directly* to the Messiah, chiefly rest their opinion upon (1.) the noun מָלֵךְ, which they contend can be applied only to a miraculous event: (2.) the actual fulfilment of the prediction, which cannot be pretended in any other than in Christ, and which the testimony of inspiration expressly affirms, not merely comparing but arguing, ‘this came to pass (*ἵνα*), IN ORDER THAT the word might be fulfilled:’ (3.) the name IMMANUEL, which, they affirm, cannot be applied to any mere human being: (4.) the supposed allusion to this passage in Mic. v. 1–3: (5.) the scope of the prophet, who, by announcing the future nativity of the Messiah as a descendant of the house of David, afforded to the distracted monarch an assurance that the royal family should infallibly be preserved. See *Crusius’s Gnomon, Bp. Lowth, etc.* etc.

“The other hypothesis maintains that the *sign*, promised by the prophet, actually took place at the time; namely, that a virgin (either shortly after married to some person, perhaps to Isaiah himself, or in some preternatural way) did bring forth a son, to whom the name Immanuel was given, as a figure and assurance of *God being with them* by his Almighty protection. This they support by these considerations: (1.) Another instance of prophetic significance in marriages, and in the births and names of children; Hos. i. ii. iii. [Is. viii. 1–4, is more to the purpose]. (2.) The circumstances, which necessarily require

¹²⁴ Thus slightly does the German critic speak of the late Dr John Williams, of Sydenham. His pamphlet was entitled, *A Free Enquiry into the Authenticity of the 1st and 2d Chapters of St Matthew’s Gospel*; London, 1771, and 2d ed. 1789.

an application to the then existing time; for example, ver. 15, compared with 21: (3.) The design of the prophet; which was to show to the distressed and distrustful king, that, in this extremity of his affairs, there was no reason to despair, and that the country should not be subdued. This, they suppose, the prophet declares by a significant name, to show that Judea was not abandoned, but that, according to the signification of the word *IMMANUEL*, God was on its side; and he adds a promise that, within so many years as usually elapse between the birth of a child and its early attainments of knowledge and conversation, the two monarchs who were so formidable to the Jews would be driven from their thrones. No person, they say, could conceive the hope of speedy deliverance, from the prophecy of a Messiah to be born of a virgin seven hundred years after.—The apprehension was not for the extermination of the royal family, but for the ruin of the nation. The assurance of the Messish was satisfactory against the former apprehension: but it was no security against the latter, the evil really in question. The kingdom both could have been ruined, and in fact was so, long before the birth of the Messiah. These interpreters add, that another of the prophet's children, by having a significant name, was a figure of the near destruction of the same two kingdoms, those of Israel and Syria; ch. viii. 3; and that he therefore justly declared that his children were *for signs*; viii. 18. *Faber's Notes on the German transl. of Harmer's Observations. Isenbiehl's New Essay on the Prophecy of Immanuel, 1778.* But Professor Isenbiehl does not admit the symbolical sense." *Döderlein's Version and Notes on Isaiah; Altorf, 1780, pp. 30-33.*

"I cannot pass over the late Essay, etc. of Prof. Isenbiehl of Mentz, in which that learned writer labours hard to prove that this prophecy has no reference to the miraculous birth of the Messiah, and that the citation of it by Matthew is nothing but an accommodation, or a comparison of two similar events. The learning, diligence, and impartiality of this gentleman are entitled to honour: and I sincerely lament the cruel persecution which he has suffered, in chains and a dungeon, for his sentiments on this question of theological criticism.—But to his hypothesis, I can by no means assent. The allegation of this passage by Matthew appears to me to be very different from an accommodation, or comparison of similar events. The mode of citation which the Evangelist uses (i. 22, 'All this came to pass, IN ORDER THAT the word might be fulfilled,'—etc.) is manifestly a formula for an argument, not for a comparison; and it is extremely different from the other mode often used by the sacred writers of the N. T. (for example, ii. 17, 'Then was fulfilled the word'—), which, and similar phrases, I acknowledge to have been frequently used when only an accommodation is intended.—Though, on account of the allegation by Matthew, I conceive that this prophecy of Isaiah respects the nativity of the Messiah from a virgin, yet I regard this sense as belonging to the words of the prophet, not literally, but *TYPICALLY*. Those who explain it in this application literally, are reduced to constructions extremely forced, and to which the whole context is repugnant. It is clear that the prophet promises a sign to be very shortly given, from which Ahaz was to know that his deliverance would very shortly take place. Such was not the promise of the Messiah, to be born of a virgin above seven hundred years after. The solutions which have been devised for answering this objection, are extremely improbable, and manifestly wrest the prophet's words.—I think, then, the weight of evidence to be in favour of those who interpret the passage thus: that the prophet pointed out some virgin who was present and well known to all the persons addressed; that he predicted that she should, in a miraculous manner, bring forth a son, for a confirmation of the promise given; and that this miracle, while it *immediately* respected the times of the prophet, was a *TYPE* of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary.—As the brazen serpent was a type of the cruci-

fixion of Christ, and Jonah of his being three days in the grave; is it incredible that God should have been pleased thus to prefigure his miraculous birth?—" *Dathii Prophetæ Majores*; Halæ, 1785, pp. 22-25.

Note E, page 241.

"As the expression, *God is with us*, was employed by the Hebrews to signify his benignant regard and delivering aid (see chap. xliii. 2; Ps. xlv. 8, 12; lxxxix. 25; Jer. i. 8; Joshua i. 5); so the name *Immanuel* appears to have been given to the promised child for the purpose of presignifying the deliverance of the Jewish people from their troubles and difficulties, and their being defended from all their enemies. That this should be accomplished by one who would be born of a virgin, who would be also really God, dwelling and acting among men by assuming their nature, and who would therefore be actually *Immanuel*, Θεάνθρωπος, *God-man*, is further manifest from the circumstance that, in a following part of this same section of prophecy (ch. ix. 5), this future child is, among other epithets, called the *Mighty God*. Lactantius therefore very properly says, 'By this name, *Immanuel*, the prophet declared that God would come to men in the flesh: for *Immanuel* signifies *God with us*, because, on account of his being born of a virgin, men would have to declare that God was with them on earth and in mortal flesh.' *Div. Instit.* iv. 12. Jerome also justly gives this paraphrase: 'Therefore that child who shall be born of a virgin, O family of David, is now by you called *Immanuel*, that is, *God with us*; because, by the very fact of being delivered from the two invading enemies, thou wilt have a proof that God is present with thee.'

"It is to be considered that, in the time of Isaiah, and particularly among the Jews, the belief was extensively cherished, and had been indeed received among many other nations of antiquity, that a kind of Divine Hero or King would be born of a spotless virgin, who should redeem men from wickedness, release them from troubles, and deliver them from miseries: in a word, who should restore to the world the happiness of the golden age.¹²⁵ The Hebrews looked for that Divine Sovereign among themselves, to be the son of a virgin of the house of David, and they expected that he would be in an especial manner the Redeemer and Deliverer of his own nation. Those of them who relied upon that ancient and brilliant divine promise (2 Sam. vii. 16), on the *perpetual duration of the kingdom of David*, looked for his appearance whenever they were so heavily oppressed with great public calamities, that they supposed the last or iron age of the world to be certainly near its close. As then total ruin seemed to be impending over the royal race of David and the entire kingdom of Judah, from the confederacy of the kings of Syria and Israel, the prophet encourages their troubled and dejected minds by the hope that this Divine Prince, so ardently longed for, would shortly be born of a virgin, in a miraculous manner.

"That this expectation existed among the Jews of that age, appears also from Micah (ch. v. 1, 2), a prophet contemporary with Isaiah; in which passage, after the birth of the Messiah in Bethlehem is plainly declared, it is added, 'Therefore he [Jehovah] will give them up, until the time that she who is labouring in birth [*i. e.* who, they expected, would shortly be so] shall bring forth.' This is a prediction so resembling the one before us, that it is evident that one of them refers to the other, and that they illustrate each other.

"But, it may be objected, Isaiah had promised a sign which should be a *confirmation* of the promise before given that the efforts of the kings combined against Judah should be utterly defeated: and what effect to this object could

¹²⁵ He refers to the ancient mythological fables of the Indian *Buddha*, the *Fohi* or *Xaca* of China and Thibet, the *Astræa* and other ideal persons of the Greeks and Romans; and above all, the descriptions of Virgil in his *Poëtie*, so wonderfully coincident with the prophecies of Isaiah, particularly chap. ix. 4-7; xi. 1-10; xli. 35.

accrue from a *new promise of another future thing*? In reply to this, I remark, that we often in Scripture find the promise of a less considerable blessing confirmed by the promise of a greater; the *sign* answering the end of a *proof*. Thus the divine mission of Moses, before he returned from Arabia into Egypt, was confirmed by this sign, that, after the deliverance of the people of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, they should worship God in that same Mount Horeb: Exod. iii. 12. — So a sign was afforded to King Hezekiah, that the attempts of the Assyrians to overthrow the kingdom of Judah, would be frustrated; namely this, that to the second year after the raising of the siege of Jerusalem, the people should be supported by the spontaneous produce of the ground, and in the third year should sow and reap, plant vineyards, and eat their fruits. Isa. xxxvii. 30. The design and character of the passage under consideration, is the same as of those. The prophet confirms the promise of a speedy deliverance from the hostile invasion, by another promise, that the great and Divine Deliverer, who was to spring out of the house of David by a miraculous birth, would speedily make his appearance: as if he had said, So far shall your now threatening enemies be from effecting any part of their projects, that, on the contrary, ye shall soon behold born among you, the glorious and Divine Deliverer who shall confer upon you safety and liberty, and shall elevate your national interests to such a point of prosperity as they had never before attained.”—*E. F. C. Rosenm.* in loc.

“ — Certainly, the prophet hath in his eye, not the king alone, but his whole retinue; and his elevated voice proclaims the inspiration of the Lord. In the sublimest rapture of the Spirit, he looks around, and, behold! a young virgin presents herself to his eyes. In her, by the inspiration of the present, he views the consolatory symbol of the future. She gives him the interpretation of a happy expectancy.”—[At the time thus marked out],—“the prophet announces the consolatory assurance that there would be cause for the grateful remembrance of this name, GOD WITH US, in the house of David and with the whole nation.”—In the Notes to this Paraphrase, the author, a man highly esteemed for his learning, judgment, and piety, says,—“though we cannot, with full confidence, explain this passage as directly referring to the Messiah, yet a typical application is allowable, and our faith rests especially upon the consolatory name, Immanuel.”—*Umbreit, üb. die Propheten des Alten Bundes*; vol. i. pp. 63, 66. Hamb. 1841.

Note F, page 242.

Mr Barnes concludes his candid investigation with this summary: “Though the prophet at first had his eye on an event which was soon to occur, and which would be to Ahaz full demonstration that the land would be safe from the impending invasion, yet, his mind was thrown forward to future times. He employed language which would describe also a future glorious event; and which would be a fuller confirmation and demonstration that God would protect the people. He became *fully* absorbed in that event, and his language at last referred to that alone. The child that should then be born would, in most of the circumstances of his birth, be an apt emblem of HIM who should be born in future times; since both would be a demonstration of the divine power and protection. To both, the name IMMANUEL, though not the common name by which either would be designated, might be appropriately given. Both would be born of a virgin: the former, of one who was then a virgin, and the birth of whose child could be known only to God; the latter, of one who should be appropriately called THE virgin, and who should remain so at the time of his birth. One of these events suggested the other; and Isaiah, when he had a vision of the Messiah (chap. ix. 1, 2), seems to have become *wholly* absorbed in the contemplation, and to have given then (ver. 3-7) a description that was applicable to HIM alone.

"This seems to me to be the meaning of this difficult prophecy. The considerations in favour of referring it to the birth of a child in the time of Isaiah, and which should be a pledge to him [Ahaz] of the safety of his kingdom then, seem to me to be unanswerable: and the considerations in favour of an ultimate reference to the Messiah (a reference which becomes in the issue *total* and *absorbing*), are equally unanswerable: and, if so, then the twofold reference is clear."—*Notes, and a New Transl. of Isaiah*; 3 vols. Boston, U. S. 1845.

For some further considerations on this subject, I beg to refer the reader to Book III. chap. i.

SECTION XX.—JEHOVAH, THE OBJECT OF CONFIDENCE AND OF REVERENCE.

Isa. viii. 13, 14.

13. "To Jehovah of hosts himself pay holy homage,
"Even Him your fear, and Him your dread;
14. "And He shall be for a sanctuary,
"And for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of ruin,
"To both the houses of Israel;
"For a snare and for a net,
"To the inhabitant of Jerusalem."¹²⁶

THE evident design of this passage is to point out the True and Eternal God as the Author of safety and deliverance from imminent danger; that it is the duty of men to honour him and rely upon him in this capacity; and that those who refuse to do so, will be the objects of his awful displeasure, involved by their own unbelief and disobedience in the more terrible ruin. The middle clauses are introduced by the apostles Peter and Paul, with an explicit application to Jesus Christ.¹²⁷ There is also a conformity of sentiment, well worthy of being observed, with other declarations of the New Testament, on the opposite effects

¹²⁶ This striking imagery is derived from the very ancient practice of consecrating massive stones, often used as altars, to the deity. These stones, as afterwards temples and other sacred places, were invested with *the right of sanctuary or asylum*; affording safety to any one who, pursued by an enemy, or by the vindicator of another who had suffered real or supposed wrong, was fleeing for refuge. This beautifully represents the power and grace of a Divine Saviour, conferring deliverance from sin and all substantial happiness upon those who place their confidence in him. On the other hand, a man running from danger, but disbelieving or disregarding the sacred refuge, might stumble over the very stone which would have afforded him safety; and thus be seriously injured, or even lose his life, either by the severity of the fall on rocky ground, or by being intercepted so as to become an easy prey to the pursuing enemy.

"That the ancient Jews understood this passage of the Messiah, appears from a very clear passage of the Talmud of the Sanhedrim, quoted by Raymund Martini in his *Pugio Fidei*, ed. Carpov. p. 343."—*Rosenm.*

¹²⁷ Rom. ix. 33. 1 Pet. ii. 8.

of obedient dependence on Jesus as the only Saviour, and the rejection of him. "Behold, he is appointed for the falling and the rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against:—that the reasonings out of many hearts may be disclosed. "We preach Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them who are called,—Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God."¹²⁸ It may, however, be said that the application is only in the way of allusion and accommodation; and it is admitted that examples of such allusive citations do occur in the New Testament. But this admission must be limited by the principles of reason and religion. We cannot carry it so far, as to impugn the good sense or the piety of the sacred writers, if we even did not regard them as inspired. It was one of the first doctrines of their religion, both as Jews and as Christians, that the "things of God" are ever to be treated with reverence, and that in no respect is "his glory to be given to another." Can we suppose that they would, without scruple and without any qualifying intimations, take up the attributes and descriptions appropriated to the Great God, and promptly apply them to an inferior being, to a mere fellow-mortal? Yet, with this strange inadvertence, to give it the mildest name, we are asked to charge "the apostles of the Lord and Saviour;"—men who claimed to "have the mind of Christ," "and to speak in the words which the Holy Spirit taught;"—men who demanded assent to their testimony, under the solemn declaration, that "he who despiseth, despiseth not man but God!" If we cannot accept this side of the alternative, the remaining part is that *there was a sense* in which the awful and peculiar attributes of the Deity might *strictly* and *properly* be ascribed to the Messiah; and that the inspired apostles felt no restraint or difficulty in making such ascriptions.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Luke ii. 34. 1 Cor. i. 23.

¹²⁹ The excellent and learned Vitranga offers a body of argument to show that the paragraph (Is. viii. 14; ix. 6) refers immediately and exclusively to the Messiah. His principal reasons may be thus reduced. (1.) Express N. T. authority. Luke ii. 34. Rom. ix. 33. 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8. Heb. ii. 13. In the latter passage, v. 18, is adduced as a basis of doctrine, to prove that the Messiah must partake the nature of those whom he came to redeem. This of necessity requires that the passage should have an original reference to him. (2.) The just interpretation of the terms will apply naturally to Christ and his dispensation, but to any other objects only in a forced and tortuous manner. (3.) The apostrophe in v. 16, definitely respects the doctrine and grace of the Messiah communicated to mankind. (4.) The analogous prophecy; ch. xxviii. 13, 16. (5.) The confessions of ancient Rabbinical writers that the Messiah is the subject of this portion of the prophet.

The words which immediately follow this passage require attention, since a part of them is cited in the Epistle to the Hebrews as uttered in the person of the Messiah, and declaring his participation of the nature of those whom he came to redeem. "Bind up the testimony, seal the instruction, with those who are taught by me : and I look for Jehovah, who hideth his face from the house of Israel ; and I wait for him. Behold I, and the children whom Jehovah hath given me ; for signals and for representations in Israel, from Jehovah of hosts who dwelleth in mount Zion." (v. 16-18.) Under the acknowledged difficulty of this remarkable passage, and amidst the various interpretations which have been proposed, it appears to me the most satisfactory to regard the whole¹³⁰ as spoken by the prophet, directing that the gracious message and promise of deliverance which he had received from God, and which was so ungratefully disesteemed by the persons to whom he had delivered it, should be deposited in the securest manner, as the most precious possession ; declaring that he would persevere in devoting himself to pray for his perverse countrymen ; and again calling upon them to reflect upon the instruction conveyed by the names of himself and his sons.¹³¹ This method of declaring facts, enforcing sentiments, and perpetuating memorials, by giving *significant names*, is of the highest antiquity : the earliest records of all nations attest it : and innumerable examples of it occur in the Scriptures. It was also, often and with especial urgency on attention, made a vehicle of instruction by the prophets. It was, therefore, a part of that *system of symbols* which characterised the whole theocracy of the Israelites. Persons, offices, things, and actions, were "figures for the time then present," and "shadows of good things to come." It would indicate narrowness of mind, or great inattention to primeval usages, if we were to condemn this mode of speaking by actions, or to regard it as a less rational and serious method of transmitting thought than our more commodious way of written and printed signs. It was consonant with the habits of ancient nations, it was an accredited usage, and it spake in the most intelligible and forcible manner. Upon this principle it is, that

¹³⁰ The Targum represents v. 16 as a command from God, and the remainder as the words of the prophet.

¹³¹ The word *Isaiah* denotes "salvation from God ;" *Shearjashub*, "a remnant shall return ;" and *Maher-shalal-hhashbaz*, "hasten to the booty, quick to the spoil," that is, of the discomfited and fleeing enemies of Judea.

I conceive the passage before us to involve the reference to the Messiah which is assumed by the apostle. As the three great *offices*, to which the holy ANOINTING was the symbolical inauguration,¹³² were to be concentrated in the Messiah, it followed, as a natural and just consequence, that the most distinguished persons among the successive occupants of those offices, were, in those *appropriate* respects which *arose out of* the offices, PREFIGURATIONS, or symbols, or types, of the Messiah. Thus understood, *Typical Theology* is a most rational form of divine knowledge, founded upon the solid basis of historical truth; and the study of which is absolutely necessary to the understanding of a very large part of the plan of revelation, and perfectly remote from those arbitrary fancies which some have unhappily substituted for it.¹³³ As Melchisedec, Aaron, and the succession of the Levitical priests, were anticipative representations of the Messiah, in their capacity; as David, Solomon, and the kings of their family, were in theirs; so likewise Moses, Isaiah, and perhaps others of the prophets, were to be regarded as, in respect of their office, symbols of the same great Person,¹³⁴ who was to be the pre-eminent Prophet, “to build the temple of the Lord, and to sanction its glory.” Upon this principle, the words of Isaiah are, in their most exalted signification and with the utmost propriety, transferred to the incarnate Son of God: “I shall [be “known to] have put my trust in him:—behold, I and the “children whom the Lord hath given me!”¹³⁵ As if the apostle

¹³² See p. 132–135 of this volume.

¹³³ I would earnestly recommend the study of J. D. Michaelis's *Typische Gottesgelahrtheit* (Sketch of the Theology of Types); Götting. 1763; and Fairbairn on the *Typology of Scripture*; Edinb. 1845.

¹³⁴ See p. 166 of this volume.

¹³⁵ Michaelis, both in his *Annotations* on the Prophecy, and his *Commentary* on the Epistle, has declared his opinion that the passage refers primarily to the Messiah; but he has not given his reasons. His remark on Isaiah viii. 16–18 is this: “Here a command is given to the prophet from a very exalted person, but one distinct from God: for he says, that he himself would patiently wait upon Jehovah, and hope in him. It can scarcely be supposed that this is any other than the Messiah.” The passage in the Epistle he paraphrases thus: “In another place he describes himself, in the precise way which we are accustomed to represent as distinguishing the sons of Abraham, namely, as one who puts his trust in the Lord; and immediately after he unites with himself certain children who have been given to him, who imitate him by committing themselves entirely to the Lord in their greatest distresses, and who, with him, on account of their unexpected deliverance, shall be equally objects of admiration.”

In Heb. ii. 13, “and again,” does not necessarily denote the adducing of a different passage; but it intimates the continuation of the same, with emphasis

had said, 'The Redeemer and the redeemed are partakers of the same nature, descended from one ancestor: he avows them as his brethren: he regards and treats them as his children, whom the Father had given to him, that they might be sanctified and saved by him: in relation to him and to them, the ancient symbols and prophecies were constructed, and were laid up as a deposit, under security and seal, till their full meaning should be developed by the new gospel-covenant: and now that the development has taken place, he and his followers are exhibitions to the world; their character and happiness are proofs of the reality of his union with them, and the efficiency of what he has done for them.'

SECTION XXI.—THE WONDERFUL, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE ETERNAL, THE SOVEREIGN.

Isa. ix. 5, 6.

5. "For a child is born to us;
 "A son is given to us;
 "And the sovereignty is upon his shoulder;
 "And his name is called Wonderful, Counsellor,
 "God the Mighty, Father of the everlasting age, Prince of peace:
6. "To the extent of [his] sovereignty, and to [his] peace, [shall be] no end,
 "Upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom,
 "To fix it and to establish it, in judgment and in righteousness,
 "From henceforth and for ever."¹³⁶

THE connexion of this distinguished passage, the citation of a part of that connexion in the New Testament as an express prediction of Christ,¹³⁷ and the terms of the description so absolutely exclusive of any other application,—leave the rational and impartial reader in no doubt of its true meaning. Few have been perverse or hardy enough to reject this application. Interpreters ancient and modern, Jewish and Christian, and of almost every sect and community, have agreed in regarding it, to use the language of Dr Priestley, as "*evidently* a reference to the MESSIAH."¹³⁸

Is it, then, extravagant to affirm that, if there be any dependence on the clear meaning of words, the Messiah is here drawn in the opposite characters of humanity and DEITY;—the nativity and frailty of a mortal child, and the incommunicable

and a call to attention. This has been shown by Heinsius, Carpzovius, Heinrichs, and Dindorf.

¹³⁶ Note A.

¹³⁷ Matt. iv. 14-16.

¹³⁸ Notes on SS. in loc.

attributes of the Omnipotent and Eternal GOD?—Justly is his name called WONDERFUL; for unsearchable is his person, and admirable above all praise are his acts and offices. He is the Counsellor, the Mediator or Administrator of the gospel-covenant, in whom perfect wisdom and grace reside; the Paternal Head, Protector, and Guide of all who trust in Him to life everlasting; and the Sovereign, reigning in the kingdom of peace effected by his expiation and his power, the kingdom of holiness and benevolence.

The force of the expressions in the prophecy will be better estimated by comparison with passages in which the same terms occur. "Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel,—GOD THE MIGHTY. "Jehovah thy God, he is God of gods, and Lord of lords; GOD "the great, THE MIGHTY, and the awful:" this last epithet has a close affinity to that in the prophecy, *wonderful*. "Who is "this King of glory? Jehovah strong and MIGHTY, Jehovah "MIGHTY in battle. Jehovah thy GOD, in the midst of thee, "MIGHTY, a Saviour." Of this last passage the connexion and scope appear to me strongly to authorize a reference to the Messiah under these very descriptions. "Thou, the God who doest that which is wonderful!"¹³⁹ And this description is employed to designate an object divinely great and unsearchable, in Judges xiii. 18. "Why this, that thou askest for my name? Even it is wonderful."

It is evidently proper, even necessary, to regard the entire passage as presenting the person of the Messiah, under the especial aspect of his functions and the execution of them as the SAVIOUR of mankind. The union of the two natures in his person makes him the object of holy *admiration*, a wondrous manifestation of the Divine Perfections. In allusion to the constitution of the oriental royal courts (imagery frequent in the Hebrew poetry), he has the great affairs of the sovereign and his subjects put into his hands, that he may do every thing required for the honour of the crown, and conducing to the good of the subjects; thus realizing the New Testament descriptions of revealing the otherwise unknown Deity, mediating, propitiating, introducing, recommending to favour by the most powerful pleas, interceding, preserving, saving to the uttermost. GOD *the mighty*; for omnipotence is requisite to the effectuating of

¹³⁹ Chap. x. 20, 21. Deut. x. 17. Ps. xxiv. 8. Zeph. iii. 17. Ps. lxxvii. 14, with which comp. lxxxvi. 10, and Jer. xxxii. 18, 19.

the purposes laid down. He is the *Father of the everlasting age*, the Head of the dispensation (the final *αἰών* of the New Testament), which shall never pass away, the kingdom of grace and glory, the *eternal life* which He is, in the Gospel of John, so often and emphatically described as giving. And, He is the harmonizer, who hath made and bestowed and perpetuated *peace*; answering to many declarations of the New Testament. Thus "it hath pleased" infinite Wisdom and Benevolence, "that in Him all the fulness" [of the Godhead¹⁴⁰] "should dwell."

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. XXI.

Note A, page 253.

מְשִׁיחָא denotes the government of a sovereign, or absolute prince.

פֶּלֶא, "the abstract for the concrete,—*insignis*, distinguished, extraordinary, worthy of admiration, though not exactly superterrestrial, nor arising from a superterrestrial cause." *Gesen. Comm.* "Admirabilis, eximius (de rege Messia)." *Id. in Lex.* "Whatever excites admiration and transcends the comprehension of human reason." *Fürst; Concordant. Hebr. Leipz. 1840.* Except in one place (*Lam. i. 9*), it is always applied to stupendous acts of the Divine Being.

אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹר, most exactly, *the mighty God, the valiant*; for אֱלֹהֵי carries in itself the idea of might. Considerable pains have been taken to dilute the force of this intensive epithet. Grotius, understanding the passage primarily of Hezekiah (and in this Gesenius follows him), forces it into a construction *in regimine* with the preceding word, and would render them, *The consulter of the mighty God*. But יוֹעֵץ signifies a *giver* of counsel, not a *solicitor* of it. The word denotes a great officer of state, a grand vizier, a prime minister. Enjedin's *Explicatio Locorum*, being a posthumous and unfinished work in the part relating to the prophecies, has nothing upon this passage. Rosenmüller, in his first edition, said "אֱלֹהֵי hic est *fortis, potens, heros*, ut Job xli. 17. 2 Reg. xxiv. 15:" overlooking the tautology which he would incur, and that in the two passages referred to, the word actually does not exist. But in his second edition he renounces this style of interpretation, and maintains that the two words cannot be separated, but must signify *Mighty God*, in the proper sense. He records, more amply than in his former edition, his conviction that to the Messiah only the prediction can refer—Mr Dodson makes up a reading partially and arbitrarily from the Vatican copy of the LXX. and the Heb. *ex hypothesi*: "his name shall be called, The Messenger of the great design, the Father of the age," etc. But he overlooks the great variations of reading and the palpable errors in the Greek version of this prophet, which render it of little value in criticism; and he rejects the clear reading of the Heb. without reason. Dr Priestley in his Notes on SS. follows Mr Dodson. The reading of the Heb. is most clearly supported by the Targum, the Arabic, and the Vulgate; that is, by all the ancient versions except the LXX. The Syriac has not אֱלֹהֵי, but reads thus,—“his name shall be called [Object of] Admiration, Counsellor, the Mighty Everlasting God, the Prince of Peace.” With respect to the LXX. the perplexed state of its text will appear from the following view of its three families of descent.

¹⁴⁰ De Wette's supplement. "Denn in ihm gefiel es [Gott] die ganze Fülle [der Gottheit] wohnen zu lassen." Col. i. 19.

"For a child is born to us, a son also is given to us, on whose shoulder is the dominion, and his name is called, Messenger of the great counsel. For I will bring peace to the rulers, and health to him. Great is his dominion, and of his peace there is no limit, upon the throne of David and his kingdom, to regulate it, and to establish it, in judgment and in righteousness, from this time and for ever." *Vatican*.

"For [etc. as the Vat.].—Messenger of the great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty One, Potentate [or, Mighty Potentate], Prince of Peace, Father of the future age. For I will bring"—[etc. nearly as the Vat.] *Alexandrine*.

"For [etc. as the Vat.].—Messenger of the great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Potentate, Prince of Peace, Father of the future age. For I will bring"—[etc. *slightly* varying from Vat. and Alex.] *Aldine*. So likewise the passage is cited by Eusebius, in *Dem. Ev.* lib. vii. cap. 5.

Leclerc explains the phrase, "*Divine Counsellor*, one whose counsels, that is to say, his precepts, should be divine, as they really are."—*Annot.* Dr Lant Carpenter has also assumed this interpretation in his *Discourse* on this text, *Exeter*, 1817. He renders the whole thus, "And his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor of God, Mighty, Father of the age, Prince of Peace." The particular phrase under consideration Dr Carpenter regards as having this import;—"Counsellor of God,"—fully and intimately acquainted with the gracious designs,—the mind and will of God with respect to the duty and expectations of mankind;—and sent to communicate them to his fellow men."—Pp. 7, 13. Against this translation the following objections appear to lie.

1. The prefix ׀ before אֱלֹהִים might have been expected to mark its dependence on the preceding word. It does not seem likely that an exception from this usage would take place in an enumeration of appellatives, where it was otherwise impossible to determine whether a word was independent or in regimen. In the last epithet שֶׁ-שָׁלוֹם *Prince of peace*, this is determined by the sense. In the other אֱלֹהִים-בָּרֵךְ *Father of the age*, it is certainly determined by the resumption of the third radical *Jod*. See *Schultens Inst. ad Fund. Ling. Hebr.* p. 235. *Schröder Inst.* p. 142.

2. All the ancient versions, so far as they can be applied, are against the construction. No argument can be built upon the Septuagint. But the observation of Gesenius is worth attention, that μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος is a composite reading made by joining the first two attributives with אֱלֹהִים taken in the sense of *angel* or *messenger* (Ps. viii. 5; xcvi. 7; cxxxviii. 1), "from theological grounds," that is, probably, from regarding the Messiah as the *Angel of Jehovah* so often mentioned in the O. T. This learned but unhappy man readily admits the whole passage to be a "Messianic prophecy," in his sense of the phrase, *i. e.* the longing and expectation of pious patriotism, for a future national hero, to deliver the nation from its depressions and raise it above all others. *Gesen. Jesaia*, I. 360, 366. The remains of the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion consent in making אֱלֹהִים independent of the preceding word, and in separating it from the following: they render it ισχυρὸς *strong*; and the next they make also independent, δυνατὸς and δυνάστης, *mighty*. Eusebius, by whom the fragments are preserved, adds: "The Hebrew instead of ισχυρὸς has ΕΙ, which signifies *God*." See *Drusius*, in the *Critici Sacri*.

3. Wherever the two words occur together they *invariably* are connected as substantive and adjective, in the same order, אֱלֹהִים-בָּרֵךְ. See the very phrase in Isaiah x. 21, and with other adjectives in Jer. xxxii. 18. Dan. ix. 4. Nehem. ix. 32, and in the passages quoted at the close of this Section. In these and all other instances, אֱלֹהִים comes before the adjective. See *Buxtorf's* or *Taylor's Hebr. Concord*. This single consideration convinces me that the usual rendering, *God the Mighty*, cannot be justly rejected.

Luther, not here exhibiting his usual felicity, separates the two words and takes the first, with the one preceding, to denote the abstract ideas instead of the concrete; thus, "He is called Wonderful (*Rath, Kraft, Held*), Counsel, Might, Hero, Everlasting Father, Prince of peace." In several places of his Expositions and Sermons, he maintains that the epithets belong, not to the person of Christ, but to his work and office. He understands הַיָּד in the sense of *power* or *ability*, citing for his authority Deut. xxviii. 32, where, as in about four other places, the expression occurs of an action's being or not being "in the *power* of the hand." Of this idiom, probably elliptical and proverbial, I think that Simonis (after Sebastian Schmidt) has given a satisfactory account; though Gesenius, arbitrarily and adducing no reason, declines to admit it. "The word is used proverbially of *power, strength, and efficiency*, in the phrase, My hand [is or might be] to me for God; that is, My resources are sufficient for this or that.—So Virgil, *Dextra mihi Deus*; Æn. x. 773. Eloah occurs in a somewhat similar sense in Job xii. 6, and Habak. i. 11." *Simonis et Eichhorn, Lex.* p. 61. That the illustrious reformer rendered הַיָּד by *Rath*, I presume arose from the use of that word, in his day, for *Rathsmann*; and this seems to be implied in his observation, that the term is applied to Christ "because, by the gospel, he consoles his followers in the world, under all their distresses and troubles." *Luther's Schriften*, ed. Walch, vol. xi. p. 2670. Oversights in some instances, are but a small detraction from the exquisite energy and beauty of Luther's Bible.

Gesenius translates the epithet, "starker Held," *strong Hero*; and refers to the plural form of the very same words in Ezek. xxxii. 21, "The strong among the mighty," or "strong heroes." This example furnishes, I must acknowledge, some reason on his side; but I think it is outweighed by the consideration, that the singular form is always used as a description of Deity. J. D. Michaelis prefers *God the Hero*. Seiler, Dereser, and Umbreit, *Strong God*. De Wette, the same as Gesenius. Ewald, *Hero-God*, to denote *invincibly triumphant*.

אֲבִי-עָדָם Dathe regards this as an instance of the well-known oriental idiom by which names of affinity, as *father, mother, brother, sister*, are used to designate the author or eminent possessor, of a quality or object; and therefore renders it simply *The Eternal*. See also *Schultens in Job.* xvii. 14. *Golii Lex. Arab.* p. 10. *Dindorf. Lex. Hebr.* Lipsiæ, 1801. p. 1. This idiom is abundantly evinced in the composition of many proper names; as Abiel, Abidah, Abihud, Abitob, Abishuah, etc. On this principle, Dr Priestley himself says, "So here the MESSIAH is called the *Father of eternity*, his authority being designed to be of long continuance." *Notes on SS.* But does this comment represent the text?—Rosenmüller acquiesces, and translates, *Immortal, or possessor of eternity*. Cocceius, Vogel, and Hensler, adopt *Father of perpetuity*. Mr Dodson has *Father of the age*; perhaps not being aware that עָדָם does not signify a limited portion of time, but absolute and indefinite duration. Bishop Lowth escapes this objection by adopting *Father of the everlasting age*. Michaelis renders it paraphrastically, *Father of the people for ever*. Gesenius and de Wette retain Luther's version, *Everlasting Father*. Seiler, *Father for ever*. Ewald understands it in the sense of *caring for and protecting*, the function of a kind father; a general idea, to which all the varieties of rendering converge.

The Chaldee Paraphrase is very observable. "The prophet speaketh to the house of David, Because a child is born to us, a son is given to us, and he taketh the law upon himself to observe it; therefore his name is called from of old, Wonderful in counsel, God the mighty, He who abideth for ever, the Messiah, whose peace shall be abundant upon us in his days." Or the latter part may be translated, "his name shall be called from the presence of him who is wonderful in counsel, God the mighty, abiding for ever, Messiah," etc. Hence, some represent it to have been the design of the Targumist, to make

only the term *Messiah*, with its following adjunct, the predicate. But this could not be proved to be the sense of the words: and, if it were admitted to be the intention of the paraphrast, it would be a very preposterous representation of the original.

The new Geneva Version of 1805 (whose editors were not liable to the charge of orthodox predilections), renders the whole verse thus: "Il nous est né un enfant, un fils nous a été donné; il sera revêtu de la souveraine autorité; on le nommera l'Admirable, le Conseiller, le Dieu puissant, le Père du siècle à venir, le Prince de la paix."

Since the three verses preceding the passage are very unhappily translated in the authorized version, so that the connexion of sentiment is quite obscured, this Note may not be uselessly closed with a translation and paraphrase of them.

Version.

Ver. 3. Thou hast enlarged the nation; its joy thou hast increased. They rejoice in thy presence as the joy in harvest, as [warriors] rejoice in the division of spoil.

4. For the yoke which they had borne, the log [chained] on their shoulders, the levying staff of their oppressor, thou hast broken, as in the battle of Midian.

5. For all the greaves of the warriors greaved for the tumultuous fight, and the war-cloak rolled in gore, shall even be for the burning and consumption of fire.

Paraphrase.

By the coming of the Messiah, thou, O God, increasest the number and the happiness of thy faithful people, so that their exultation and triumph are raised to the highest.

Thou hast thus delivered them from the usurped dominion of sin, in a way as superior to human agency, and as clearly shown to be by divine interposition, as when the Israelites under Gideon were delivered from the tyranny of the Midianites.

All the horrid apparatus of war shall be abolished, by the ultimate triumphs of the Messiah's benignant empire; as if utterly burned up.

SECTION XXII.—THE OFFSPRING OF JESSE.

Isa. iv. 2; and xi. 1-5, 10.

"And in that day shall be a Branch of Jehovah, for splendour and for glory; and
"a fruit of the land, for majesty and beauty for the liberated remnant of Israel."

xi. 1. "From the stock of Jesse, though cut down, a branch shall grow;

"And from his roots a shoot shall become fruitful.

2. "Upon him the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest:

"The Spirit of wisdom and understanding,

"The Spirit of counsel and strength,

"The Spirit of knowledge and piety towards Jehovah.

3. "And he will take his delight in piety towards Jehovah.

"Not according to the appearance to the eyes, will he judge:

"Nor according to the report to the ears, will he reprove.

4. "But with justice he will judge for the oppressed;

"And with uprightness he will decide, for the afflicted of the earth.

"For he will smite the earth with the rod of his mouth;

"And with the breath of his lips he will slay the wicked one.

5. "And justice shall be the girdle of his reins,

"And truth the girdle of his loins.

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10. "In that day shall be a root of Jesse,

"Which shall stand for an ensign to the peoples:

"To him the nations shall seek:

"And his resting-place shall be glorious."¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Ver. 1. *שֹׁמֵר* denotes the stump, or bottom part of a tree, after the trunk has been hewn down. Job xiv. 8.—Ver. 2. *Fear of Jehovah*, is the ordinary Hebrew

THE former of these passages is one of those delightful annunciations, which appear as oases in the bleak desert of threatened judgments, and by which the people of God were preserved from utter despair; annunciations of the prospective glories of the Messiah, viewed in the distance beyond the limit of their country's guilt and woe. The Targum of Jonathan, and others of the best Jewish and Christian interpreters, regard it as a prediction of the Messiah; and the internal evidence is plain. The term "Branch, or Offshoot, of Jehovah," stands in correlation to the "fruit of the land;" both conveying the idea of derivation or production. Thus the same person is the son of Jehovah, and a child of the land of Judah; He it was, that should confer the greatest beauty and glory upon the recovered and repentant residue of the scattered Jews, and, with an evergrowing lustre, extending to the Gentiles under the gospel.

The reference of the second passage to the Messiah is plainly affirmed in the Targum,¹⁴² and is substantiated by a direct citation,¹⁴³ and by a manifest allusion,¹⁴⁴ in the New Testament. The terms of the passage describe him as a descendant of the house of David, to be born at the time of its extreme depression; as endowed, by the immeasurable influence of the Holy Spirit, with all holiness and wisdom; as a righteous Judge and powerful Sovereign; and as a benignant Saviour, readily receiving all nations under his protecting mercy. He is clearly represented as a human being, and the characters and offices so far enumerated are fairly conceivable as the attributes of a man. But another part of the description must give us pause, before we can regard its just meaning as comporting with any other than a being possessed of personal omnipotence.—"He will smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he will slay the wicked one." Undoubtedly the in-

expression for piety or religion.—Ver. 3. The sense of יִרְצֶה with ב is to take delight or find pleasure in an object. Cocceius, in *Lex. Rosenm.* and *Gesenius*.—Ver. 10. The figure is that of a noble, spreading tree, whose thick and extended branches furnish that shelter and place of repose which is so welcome in the burning deserts contiguous to Judea.

¹⁴² "From the children of Jesse a king shall proceed, and from his children's posterity the Messiah shall arise to greatness." *Targ. Jonath.* on v. 1. Referring to this passage, *R. Simeon ben Jochai* says, "When the King Messiah shall be revealed, all the nations of all the world shall be gathered to him." Not only Rosenmüller, but even Eichhorn, de Wette, and Gesenius, maintain that the description can belong only to the Messiah.

¹⁴³ Rom. xv. 12.

¹⁴⁴ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

strument, symbolically called his rod or sceptre and his breath, is his gospel, that "word of truth and meekness of righteousness," in both its doctrines and its judicial declarations, with which "his right hand will show awful things." But the AGENCY which wields this instrument and gives it its effect, is evidently something higher than a bare annunciation of doctrine or prophecy. It is the agency of one who has POWER to execute TO THE UTTERMOST the decisions of his justice. The apostle, applying this clause to the final destruction of the great corruption which should for a season deform the public state of Christianity, uses expressions which seem little compatible with the powers of any mere creature: "Then that lawless one shall be brought to view, whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the breath of his own mouth, and will destroy with the brightness of his own presence." ¹⁴⁵

SECTION XXIII.—JEHOVAH, THE SAVIOUR AND SHEPHERD.

Isa. xl. 3-5, 9-11.

3. "A voice [of one] crying out;—
 " 'In the wilderness prepare a way for Jehovah!
 "Make level in the desert a path for our God!
4. "Every valley shall be raised, and every mountain and hill shall be levelled;
 "The craggy rock shall become a smooth plain, and the rugged grounds a low vale;
5. "And the glory of Jehovah shall be revealed,
 "And all flesh together shall behold [it:]
 "For the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken."
- * * *
9. "Daughter, proclaiming glad tidings to Zion! Ascend the lofty mountain.
 "Daughter, proclaiming glad tidings to Jerusalem! Lift up thy voice with strength.
 "Lift up [thy voice], be not timid,
 "Say to the cities of Judah, 'Behold your God!
10. "Behold, the Lord Jehovah will come with [his] strength,
 "And his arm ruling for himself.
 "Behold, his reward is present with him,
 "And his work before his face.
11. "As a shepherd to his flock, so will he be a shepherd:
 "With his arm he will collect the new-born lambs, and in his bosom bear them;
 "The ewes giving suck he will gently lead.'

IN predicting the deliverance of the sons of Judah from their mournful slavery in Chaldea, the Spirit of prophecy looks for-

ward to the great and spiritual redemption which had been the chief object of revelation, and of the best hope of men in every age. That Spirit was the "Spirit of Christ."¹⁴⁶ By the ministry of this sublimest of the prophets, he depicts the guilt and misery of the world under the yoke of sin, a state of the deepest degradation and enslaved wretchedness; the person and work of the SAVIOUR, his humiliation, triumph, and glory; the blessings of his reign; its extension among all nations; its spiritual character, as a system of truth, holiness, and benevolence; its generous invitations to sinful mortals to partake of its provisions; and its eventual efficacy in the prevalence of true piety, social justice, mutual kindness, and substantial happiness, through the whole earth.

In former parts of this volume sufficient evidence has, I trust, been adduced, or at least the nature, sources, and application of it pointed out, to satisfy a candid inquirer after truth, that those persons are in the error of gross defect, who can see nothing in this august series of divine oracles (from the fortieth chapter to the end of the book), beyond the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, and their partial and short-lived prosperity in the land of their fathers. Still more awfully mistaken we cannot but regard those who, with Koppe, Eichhorn, Justi, the younger Rosenmüller, Gesenius, de Wette, and some others, imagine this portion to have been the production of one or more persons who had witnessed the Babylonish invasion, the desolations of Judea, and the miseries of the almost exterminated people; who merely personated, that is, falsely assumed, the style and manner of one that had lived long before; and whose language of the most solemn and holy prediction was nothing but the bold utterance of the nation's hopes, the fire and enthusiasm of patriotic poetry. This unknown person they presume to denominate the *Pseudo-Isaiah*. The advocates of this system belong to another school than that which will seriously inquire into the evidence of any theological doctrine. Notwithstanding their rich literature and their never-failing industry, they have yet to unlearn their pride and self-righteousness; and they have yet much to learn of the highest concernment for them to know; their relations to God as the Moral Ruler of men, the holiness of his law, the consequences of despising it, and the whole frame and evidence of revealed grace. Till they have made these

¹⁴⁶ 1 Pet. i. 11.

moral acquirements, till their reason and their feelings are governed by the belief of the truth which flows from the divine intellect into the otherwise forlorn soul of man,—they may be assured that they still want the most essential qualification for understanding and explaining the word of salvation.

I am not insensible to the appearance of argument with which this hypothesis is supported;¹⁴⁷ but I conceive that it may be fairly met by the following counter-positions:—that the descriptions (which these critics regard as indicating a contemporary or a later author) of the state of Judea after the Chaldean invasion, and the affairs of other states, were presented to the mind of the prophet in ecstatic vision, and therefore are pictured as present scenery, under the inspiration of the Omniscient Spirit:—that many of the arguments adduced arise from a false interpretation of particular passages, and from unreasonably demanding a literal fulfilment of metaphorical language, the real intention of which was to depict the moral and spiritual happiness produced by the gospel in the minds of men, under the reign of the Messiah:—the difference of style and phraseology appears to my humble judgment to be exaggerated, or rather greatly misrepresented; and that, so far as such difference exists, it can be accounted for on rational grounds, without impugning the genuineness of the work:—causes may have existed, arising from the extreme profligacy and irreligion which had long prevailed, which prevented Jeremiah from being acquainted with the writings of Isaiah, and therefore left him destitute of the consolation which they would have afforded:—and, finally, that the difficulties are not sufficient to outweigh the positive evidence, from the universal tradition and acceptance of the Jewish nation, and from the authority of the New Testament. On these topics I only hint: the Christian scholar can pursue them.

But this work is humbly designed to assist the researches of *serious Christians*, who take the Bible as the guide to eternity, and who treat the authority by which it speaks with the reverence due to the Adorable and Infinite God. Every such person will admit that the prophecy of which we have cited a part

¹⁴⁷ Chiefly by Bertholdt, Gesenius, and Fred. Rosenmüller, on the adverse side; but, see Jahn, Kleinert, and Hengstenberg, in defence. A translation of a considerable part of Dr Hengstenberg's Vind. of the genuineness of Isaiah xl. to lxvi. is in *Dr Edw. Robinson's Biblical Reposit.* No. IV. Oct. 1831. I venture also to refer, for a brief view of the question, to a *Discourse on the Princip. of Interp. as applied to the Prophecies*, pp. 67–72. Lond. 1831.

expressly marks the forerunner and herald of the great spiritual Deliverer of a fallen world.¹⁴⁸ If, then, with unbiassed minds we follow the plain and natural construction of the passage, it appears an inevitable conclusion that this Messiah is characterised as the GOD of Israel, the Lord JEHOVAH. To rebut this conclusion, it is asserted that "John was the forerunner of the Lord their God, by being the forerunner of Jesus, the great messenger of God to mankind."¹⁴⁹ It must be confessed, that this interpretation is not destitute of apparent reasons.¹⁵⁰ But, after weighing the arguments on each side, I acknowledge that the evidence in favour of the other interpretation seems to me to preponderate.

The question ought to be, which sense agrees most exactly with the language and the scope of the original prophecy. The language is abundantly plain and unambiguous. No terms could more clearly convey, that the Being whose "coming" is announced with such a magnificence of joy, is JEHOVAH, in his own special presence, and not by a mere representative. If the scope of the place be considered, it will appear no slight incongruity that, after all the solemnity and splendour of the personage thus introduced, he should turn out to be not the Sovereign promised, but only the fellow-servant of the herald. The beautiful imagery employed, while it represents, in consonance with many other places of the prophets, Jehovah, the God of his peculiar people, as their Deliverer, Guide, and Provider, bringing them back from captivity and misery, and enriching them with the blessings of his special presence, in their recovered

¹⁴⁸ "This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make his paths straight!" Matt. iii. 3. John i. 23. "Thou, child, shalt be called *the prophet of the Most High*; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare his ways." Luke i. 76. "Many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; and he shall go before HIM in the spirit and power of Elijah." V. 16.

¹⁴⁹ *Calm Inq.* p. 217, on Luke i. 16, 17. To the same effect Enjedin, pp. 123-126, and the general train of Socinian writers.

¹⁵⁰ Chiefly resting on the principle of these texts: "I am come in my Father's name." John v. 43. "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me," ch. vii. 16; and many others to the same effect. But it should be observed, that the inferiority and delegation proper to the mediatorial office of Christ, is a distinct consideration from the question of his possessing, or not, a superior and divine nature; and that the office, so of course implying the inferiority of subjection and servitude, is often represented, in the New Testament, as a matter of condescension and assumption, on the part of Christ.

country and metropolis and temple; displays also the same Person as coming for a purpose of infinitely greater beneficence, in the capacity of a *spiritual* Saviour, making manifest "the glory of the Lord" in a manner unknown before, obtaining eternal redemption, the Author of everlasting salvation. THAT GLORY shone forth, in the first and temporal deliverance, in a series of great providential occurrences, yet without any thing properly miraculous: but, in the eventual application of the predictions, it was beheld, not only in providential events, but in stupendous miracles, wrought in a manner which no prophet had ever pretended to, and in manifestations of the Divinity which the sacred writings represent as of a kind absolutely peculiar and unique, spiritual, heavenly, and infinite; and those distinguishing qualities in the manifestation are described as the effects of something unrivalled *in the person* of their Author. "No one hath ever seen God: the only-begotten Son, who is "in the bosom of the Father, HE hath declared him. The "word became flesh and tabernacled among us, full of grace "and truth; and we beheld his glory, the glory truly of the "Only-begotten from the Father. He that hath seen me, hath "seen the Father." These appear to me to be the necessary transitions and connexions of sentiment involved in the passage under consideration.

It is proper, further, to remark the correspondence of a discourse of our Lord with this language of the prophecy; a correspondence which, if it had not been designed and proper, would have subjected the speaker to the charge of uttering highly incautious and dangerous expressions. The office and duty of rulers, in presiding over and caring for their subjects, are, indeed, represented by pastoral metaphors. Moses and David in the sacred writings,¹⁵¹ and other chieftains in the oldest records of Gentile language and manners,¹⁵² are called the *shepherds* of their people. But it is to the *distinguishing* and exalted manner in which this appellation and its attributes are given to Christ, that the attention of the serious inquirer is invited. "I am the GOOD SHEPHERD: and I know my sheep and am "known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know "I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep. And

¹⁵¹ Isa. lxiii. 11. Ps. lxxviii. 71.

¹⁵² Agamemnon, Menelaus, Hector, Laertes, and many others in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

“other sheep I HAVE, which are not of this fold: them also I MUST BRING, and they shall hear my voice.—I GIVE unto them “eternal life.”¹⁵³ This language would ill become a mere dependent being.¹⁵⁴ It answers to “the Lord Jehovah coming in his strength.” It implies an actual dominion over the minds, the moral principles, and the everlasting state of mankind. It is the style of a CHIEF SHEPHERD, in whose hand it is to confer the “unfading crown of glory” on his faithful servants.¹⁵⁵

SECTION XXIV.—BELOVED SERVANT OF GOD.

Isa. xlii. 1-4.

1. “Behold my servant! I will support him.
“My chosen! The delight of my soul!
“I have bestowed my Spirit upon him:
“He shall bring judgment to the nations.
2. “He will not be noisy nor be clamorous,
“Nor shall his voice be heard abroad.
3. “A bruised reed he will not crush,
“And faintly smoking flax he will not extinguish.
“He will bring forth judgment unto [manifest] truth.
4. “He will not faint, nor will he be broken down;
“Until he shall have placed judgment in the earth,
“And the distant lands shall long for his doctrine.”¹⁵⁶

THE Messiah is here described as distinguished above all the other servants and prophets of God; the object of the most

¹⁵³ John x. 14-16, 28. It may be objected, that our Lord follows up this style of sovereignty with expressions of subordination and dependence: “This commandment have I received of my Father;—my Father, who gave them to me, “is greater than all; and no one is able to pluck them out of my Father’s hand.” But, in reply to this, and to the same objection under other forms, we readily say that we without hesitation admit the Christ to be the servant and messenger of the Father, and therefore officially subordinate and dependent; but that the *previous requisite* of CAPACITY and QUALIFICATION for executing the mediatorial office, is nothing less than the possession of DIVINE dignity and power. Let it not be forgotten; that the Redeemer subjoined to the declaration of his mediatorial appointment, this great assertion, “I and my Father are ONE.” A oneness of *design* will not reach the evident requisites of the connexion; which are to call efficaciously, to preserve infallibly, and to save eternally, all the church of God. It is manifestly a unity of *power*, and how that could exist without a UNITY of ESSENCE let the truly serious and impartial reflect.

¹⁵⁴ “The Proprietor of the sheep, not a hireling: the true Messiah. Isa. xl. Ezek. xxxiv.” [Ye, my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men, and I your God; saith the Lord Jehovah.] *Rosenm. sen. in Joann.* x. 11.

¹⁵⁵ 1 Pet. v. 4.

¹⁵⁶ Ver. 4. חֲסִינִים “Coasts,—islands,—the remote shores and countries of the

perfect divine complacency ; qualified, by the richest participation of heavenly gifts, for communicating the true religion to the world ; modest, lowly, and unassuming ; supporting and soothing the weak and afflicted : indefatigably persevering in his arduous work of evangelizing the earth ; and finally successful in it ; a Conqueror and a Sovereign, but one who subdues and reigns by love.

If, with some interpreters, it be admitted that this description had a primary respect to Isaiah in his prophetic character ; it is not the less to be maintained, from the force of the terms, the known genius of Hebrew prophecy, and the evidence of the New Testament,¹⁵⁷ that the complete application can be to none other than the Messiah. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye him !"

SECTION XXV.—JEHOVAH, THE SUPREME GOD, THE RIGHTEOUS, AND THE SAVIOUR.

Isa. xlv. 21-25.

21. —"I Jehovah, and no God besides me :
" God the righteous and the Saviour ; none except me.
22. " Look unto me, and receive salvation,
" All the farthest regions of the earth ;
" For I am God, and there is none besides.
23. " By myself I have sworn : the truth-word hath issued from my mouth ;
" And it shall not be recalled :
" That unto me every knee shall bow,
" Every tongue shall swear [homage].
24. " Of me shall it be said, ' Surely in Jehovah is righteousness and strength :
" Unto him they shall come, and all who scorn him shall be confounded :
25. " In Jehovah all the race of Israel shall have righteousness and shall triumph."

To urge the consideration that " we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ,"¹⁵⁸ the apostle Paul undeniably cites and argues from this passage ;—" It is written, As I live, saith the Lord, unto me every knee shall bow ; and every

west, which were obscurely known to the Hebrews by the navigation of the Phœnicians." *Gesen. Handwörterb.* In Exod. xxvii. 15, " the Indian Archipelago is meant." *Id. in Lex.* תורת in its most proper and strict meaning denotes *doctrine, instruction communicated* : the notion of *law*, an injunction with a penalty annexed, was secondary.

¹⁵⁷ Matt. xii. 18-21.

¹⁵⁸ —παρουστήσονται τῷ βήματι.— " We shall be presented [as objects of judicial cognizance] at the tribunal of Christ."

“tongue shall render acknowledgment to God: so therefore
 “every one of us shall give account of himself to God.”¹⁵⁹ That
 here is an intended application of the passage to Christ, is at
 least corroborated by another reference of the apostle: “That
 “in the name of Jesus every knee may bow, of beings in
 “heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth; and that
 “every tongue may acknowledge that Jesus Christ is Lord,
 “to the glory of God the Father.”¹⁶⁰

Whether, in these instances, the apostle wrote under a deliberate and solemn belief that the passage which he introduced had an original respect to the Messiah; or whether he designed only to accommodate it to his present purpose; is most properly to be ascertained by attending to the words as they stand in the prophecy, and to the argument built on them by the apostle. “The sense of the words,” says the younger Rosenmüller, “is that the time is approaching in which all men throughout the world shall renounce idolatry, and shall acknowledge and worship Jehovah as the true God.”¹⁶¹ But this was effected in only a very small degree, till the triumphs of the religion of Jesus took place. The passage is one of those instances, characteristically numerous in this prophet, in which he makes a natural and sublime transition from near to remote objects, from earthly things to heavenly, from temporal to spiritual blessings. The prediction of the conquest of Babylon and the liberation of the Jews, furnishes occasion for introducing this striking section on the vanity of idolatry, its approaching downfall, and the obtaining by sinful men, of peace, pardon, and holiness, by the reception of that pure and benign religion which the Messiah was to establish. The person who is first addressed, and then personified, is represented in the very terms which are familiarly employed in the New Testament to designate Jesus Christ: he is the SAVIOUR, the RIGHTEOUSNESS, the STRENGTH, of his people. The clause, “unto Him they shall come,”¹⁶² expresses

¹⁵⁹ Rom. xiv. 11.

¹⁶⁰ Phil. ii. 10, 11.

¹⁶¹ *Schol.* The same interpretation is given by his father in his *Scholia*, on Rom. xiv. 11.

¹⁶² “I conceive that קָרַי יְהוָה are put impersonally, as אָמַר just before; and that the speech is to be conceived as that of converts exhorting and encouraging others to the true acknowledgment of God.” *Dathe*, *V. T.* vol. v. p. 159. So likewise *Seiler*: but *Michaelis*, *Rosenmüller*, and *Gesenius*, following the Rabbi *Jarchi*, join the clause thus, “All who have opposed him shall come against him and shall be confounded.”

a prophetic character of the Messiah, which is particularly represented and enlarged upon by Isaiah, in other passages;¹⁶³ the conversion, obedience, and attachment to him, of the once benighted and idolatrous Gentiles. This circumstance, though not certainly conclusive, must be allowed to have considerable weight, and not the less on account of its being of the incidental and minute kind.

The argument of the citation is plainly this. A position is to be confirmed, namely, that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ." In confirmation of this, a passage of the prophetic testimony is adduced which declares the eventual ascendancy of a GREAT BEING, in the acknowledgment of his supremacy and the reception of his doctrine among mankind. It is evident that another proposition must be supplied to make the premises complete; and the omission to mention it formally is a proof that the apostle considered it as either self-evident or as sufficiently known and acknowledged. This prior proposition must be to this effect; that He who receives the homage of the earth in consequence of the prevailing influence of his religious doctrine, is by this circumstance declared to be the future Judge of men. Supply this assumption, and the argument is good; without it, the argument fails. But if we admit the truth of the assumption, and the conclusiveness of the reasoning, we must also admit two other points as manifestly included in that reasoning: the one, that HE whose doctrine is foretold to have so extensive a triumph, and who should be hailed as the Saviour, the Righteousness, and the Strength, of those who were to be gathered unto him; in one word, the Messiah,—is in truth JEHOVAH, the ONLY GOD: the other, that HE at whose tribunal we shall be presented for his awful judgment, to whom every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess homage, and to whom every one of us shall give account of himself,—is the same, JEHOVAH, the ONLY GOD. The former of these characters identifies itself with the entire doctrine of the New Testament concerning the work and offices of Christ as the Redeemer: the latter comports with, and is illustrated by all those passages which teach that "all judgment is committed to the Son; that "He will sit upon the throne of his glory; that all nations will "be gathered before him; and that we must all appear before "the judgment seat of CHRIST, that every one may receive [for]

¹⁶³ Is. xlix. 6-12; lv. 5.

“the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether good or bad.”¹⁶⁴ It is further to be observed, that this part of the conclusion does not rest upon any opinion, more or less exalted, that may be entertained on the *nature* of that judgment which the New Testament assigns to Christ (a subject which must be considered in its place); but it is valid on all hypotheses relative to that question. Be the time, the kind, and the manner of the judgment what they may, HE who shall execute it IS GOD.

From these considerations, there appears to me sufficient reason for regarding the passage now considered, as a prophecy and designed representation of the Messiah.

The interpretation proposed by Faustus Socinus,¹⁶⁵ and generally adopted by his followers, is perspicuously stated by Dr Priestley. “The judgment-seat of Christ, and that of God, are the same, not because Christ is God, but because he acts in the name and by the authority of God, which is fully expressed when it is said that God will judge all the world by Jesus Christ; so that being judged by Christ and by God is in effect the same thing.”¹⁶⁶ By this gratuitous assertion the difficulty is evaded; but whether it is not advanced to serve the purpose, whether it is not far-fetched while the other sense is near and obvious, and whether it duly comports with the terms and the scope of the passage, and with the argument of the citation,—the reflecting and candid reader will judge.

All the notice which the *Calm Inquiry* takes of these two passages of the New Testament, is in two summary annotations;¹⁶⁷ which are undoubtedly true, so far as they go, but they are totally silent on that which is the main point of the case, the reference to the prophet: and thus they leave the argument untouched.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ John v. 22. Matt. xxv. 31, 32. 2 Cor. v. 10.

¹⁶⁵ *Resp. ad. Vujek.* cap. iii. Arg. 9.

¹⁶⁶ *Notes on Script.* vol. iv. p. 330, on Rom. xiv. 12.

¹⁶⁷ “Rom. xiv. 9. Christ is Lord of the dead, as he will be invested with authority to raise them to life, and to judge them according to their works. He is Lord of the living, as the whole human race will ultimately profess subjection to his gospel.” *Calm Inq.* p. 272. “Phil. ii. 9, 10. The learned Peirce, whose system countenanced the worship of Christ, explains this text in his paraphrase as not bearing upon that question. ‘Upon this account God has advanced him higher than before, and freely bestowed on him an authority that is superior to whatever he granted to any other: that *by virtue of the authority of Jesus* all should be constrained to submit to God.’” P. 365.

¹⁶⁸ These verses describe a period when the knowledge and worship of the True

SECTION XXVI.—JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Jerem. xxiii. 5, 6.

5. "Behold! the days are coming, saith Jehovah,
 "When I will raise unto David a righteous progeny;
 "And he shall reign sovereign and shall act wisely,
 "And he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land:
 6. "In his days Judah shall be saved,
 "And Israel shall rest in security;
 "And this is his name, which they shall call him,
 "JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

A passage parallel, or nearly so: ch. xxxiii. 15, 16.

15. "In those days, and in that time,
 "I will raise unto David a righteous progeny,
 "And he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land.
 16. "In those days Judah shall be saved,
 "And Jerusalem shall rest in security:
 "And this is he who shall call to her,
 "JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."¹⁶⁹

THE connexion and manifest scope of these two passages point their reference to the Messiah: and in this reference they have been understood by the general consent of Jewish¹⁷⁰ and Christian interpreters. Unless it be denied that such a reference is the intention of the passages, it will remain that the Messiah is explicitly called by the incommunicable name of the self-existent One,—JEHOVAH. To avoid this conclusion, different methods are resorted to.

God should be universal. None who admit the inspired authority of Paul can doubt that there is here a primary and direct reference to the Messiah. Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 10, 11. To HIM, according to the apostle's doctrine, universal religious homage and submission are due; such homage and submission as it would be idolatry to render to a mere creature. HIS is the "name above every name," LORD, JEHOVAH, the incommunicable name of the self-existent Deity. He is the "GOD," to whom all are responsible,—as the close connexion between the verses (Rom. xiv. 11, 12) clearly proves. He is [in this place of the prophet] presented to view as the Object of universal worship, the Source of righteousness and strength to his people, and the Inflicter of punishment upon his enemies.—Ver. 25. *Righteousness*, is the plural of excellence or eminence; signifying *the most distinguished righteousness*,—*the righteousness of God*, Rom. i. 17, iii. 21, 22; *the Righteousness from God* [as its author], Phil. iii. 9; *the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 2 Pet. i. 1.—*Dr Henderson's Isaiah*; p. 344.

¹⁶⁹ See Note A, at the end of this Section.

¹⁷⁰ See very ample collections of these authorities in *Dassovii Diss. Rabbin. Philol.* and *Frischmuthi Diss. de Nom. Mess.* (in the *Sylloge Dissertationum Eleg.* vol. i. Amst. 1701). Rosenmüller, jun., decidedly considers the phrase in both the passages as an appellation of the Messiah. *Schol. in Jes.*

Abbrabanel¹⁷¹ maintains that the title in question is the nominative of the verb, so that the sentence should be construed;—“And this [viz. righteous branch] is his name, which Jehovah “our righteousness shall call him.” Grotius adopts this interpretation.

Faustus Socinus makes, not the Messiah, but Israel or Judah to be the object to which the name is given, in the first instance; and Jerusalem, in the second.¹⁷²

The Rabbis Kimchi, Salomon, and Moses Gerundensis adopt a solution in which they are followed by the generality of Arian and Socinian commentators, and by some others who have no prepossession in favour of Antitrinitarian doctrines: that the title is indeed given to the Messiah, but not as a personal appellation. These writers understand it as a *descriptive* name, declaring the blessings which Jehovah would confer under the reign and by the instrumentality of the Messiah. Of such descriptive names examples are frequent: an altar was called by Jacob, El-Elohe-Israel, *God, the God of Israel*; another by Moses, Jehovah-nissi, *Jehovah my Banner*; the name of the predicted city in Ezekiel is Jehovah-shammah, *Jehovah is there*; and such names of persons occur as Elijah, *my God Jah*, the abbreviation for *Jehovah*, and with a resemblance to the appellation before us, Zedekiah, *the righteousness of Jah*.¹⁷³

To the first and second of these opinions it may be justly replied, that they are unnatural constructions, contrived and forced upon the words for the mere purpose of evasion.

But the third is entitled to more respectful consideration. The fact is unquestionable that the gratitude or hope of individuals, in the ancient scriptural times, was often expressed by the imposition of significant appellations on persons or other objects, in the composition of which divine names and titles were frequently employed: these are, therefore, nothing but short sentences declarative of some blessing possessed or expected. When such names were given, the nature of the subject indubitably suggested the sense intended. It was impossible for a structure of earth or stones, or a merely human being, ever to

¹⁷¹ *Comm. in Proph. quæst. 4. ap. Frischm. c. i. § 23.*

¹⁷² *Resp. ad Vujek, c. vi. § 2.*

¹⁷³ Gen. xxxiii. 20. Ex. xvii. 15. Ezek. xlvi. 35. But there is a considerable etymological difference between *Jehovah-tsidkenu* and *Tsidkijahu* the literal Hebrew form of *Zedekiah*.

be mistaken for the Deity ; though the one might be honoured with the epithet, equivalent to the inscription of later times, JEHOVAH IS MY BANNER ; or the other, as in the instance of Elijah, with the distinguished title, JEHOVAH IS MY GOD. Such names could never be regarded as any other than the memorials of piety, *because the KNOWN nature of the subject precludes misapprehension.*

If, then, the person of the Messiah were indubitably ascertained to be only human, this appellation would be merely a descriptive proposition, and would be properly read with the supplement of the substantive verb, JEHOVAH *is our righteousness* : but if, from other evidence, it were satisfactorily determined that the person of the Messiah includes a divine subsistence, the title would be applicable in its direct and strict signification, as a clear description of his person and of his official grace,—JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

So should we argue if the two suppositions were in equipoise to each other. But they are not so. Independently of all the evidence which we possess of a divine nature in the person of the Messiah, and which, being admitted on its own grounds, receives a corroboration from the passage before us ; there is a consideration which especially belongs to the very phrase of this passage. What is “righteousness,” in the scriptural sense ? Is it not a standing clear and unimpeached, in relation to a given standard of rectitude ? As applied to an accountable subject of God’s moral government, does it not import that state of freedom from just accusation, and compliance with just requirements, upon which the Righteous Judge can look with entire satisfaction ? Now this RIGHTEOUSNESS is the capital blessing of the gospel ; and the mode of obtaining it is the great distinction, the unique glory, of the Christian covenant. Hence Archbishop Newcome, and following him the Improved Version, generally render that word, in the doctrinal parts of the New Testament, by the terms *justification* and *method of justification*. THIS *righteousness*, this justification, is constantly, and most definitely attributed to Jesus Christ. Every other righteousness is disowned and rejected in comparison of HIS.¹⁷⁴ “He is the end” (scope, object, or design) “of the law, for righteousness.”¹⁷⁵ In the most emphatic sense, HE is called the RIGHTEOUSNESS of his people.¹⁷⁶ Hence, I conceive, it may be fairly argued, that, if

¹⁷⁴ Phil. iii. 8, 9.¹⁷⁵ Rom. x. 4.¹⁷⁶ 1 Cor. i. 30.

even the words be taken as an instructive or memorial sentence, they declare, equally as upon the other interpretation, the Messiah to be Jehovah. At the same time, in the harmony and unison of revelation, in the correspondence between the prophecies which foretold the gospel and the doctrines which were its completion, there appear to be considerations sufficient to determine the reference to the *Person* of the Divine Messiah; that “this is his name which they shall call him, the LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.”

I am indebted to Dr Hengstenberg¹⁷⁷ for the suggestion that, in the statement of the blessing which would result to the people of God, the true Israel of every age and nation (Rom. ix. 6; Gal. vi. 16), from the grace of the Messiah, there is an allusion to the dying benediction of Moses, in Deut. xxxiii. 28, 29, “Israel shall dwell in safety alone; the fountain of Jacob” (the progenitors of a great people), “in a land of corn and wine: “also his heavens shall drop down dew. Happy art thou, O “Israel! Who is, as thou, a people saved by Jehovah!” The dwelling in safety, as a nation secured from invaders (as happy Britain, by the ocean and by our national constitutions,—O that we devoutly knew our happiness!—), metaphorically represents the safety and bliss of all sincere believers, under the protection of their Almighty Deliverer: and here we have the same blessing brought forth as consequent upon the power of the Messiah: “Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell in safety,” because there is One who has the right to be called, “Jehovah our Righteousness.”

A general remark, connected with this particular instance, is worthy of mention. The most exalted method, within the compass of language, of attributing to any being the perfect possession of qualities or exercise of powers, is by employing the *abstract* terms of such qualities or powers, instead of the concrete. Thus, instead of saying that the Supreme Being is intelligent, benignant, and actively kind, the sublime simplicity of Scripture says, God is LIGHT; God is LOVE; God is GOODNESS.¹⁷⁸ Now, the observable fact to which we have adverted is, that this style of expression is more frequently and copiously used in application to the Saviour of mankind, than in reference

¹⁷⁷ Christologie, iii. 556.

¹⁷⁸ 1 John i. 5; iv. 16. Ps. cxliv. 2. But in this last passage, the word should perhaps be rendered, *my Benefactor*.

to any other manifestation of God. Christ is our Light, Life, Hope, Truth, Peace, Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption.¹⁷⁹ This is one of those circumstances in the *manner* and *spirit* of the inspired writers which cannot fail to arrest the notice of an attentive mind, a sound judgment, and an unprejudiced heart; and the careful observance of which, in their very numerous and diversified forms, brings out a general effect which appears to me perfectly irreconcilable with any scheme that denies the proper Deity of Christ. These sacred writers seem never to have felt the need of cautions or restrictions, when they were pouring out the fulness of their minds in the *most unmeasured greatness* of expression, on the glory of their Redeemer.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. XXVI.

Note A, page 270.

xxiii. v. 6. יִקְרָא *he shall call him*, or rather *he shall announce*, or *proclaim him*: understanding with the Rabbis Kimchi and Ben Melech, for the nominative case, *Israel* or *the church*. Or it may be the third person plural, *they shall call*, put indefinitely (as *ferunt*, *διδουσι*, *λειτουργοι*, etc., occurring also in the Biblical idiom, as in Deut. xxix. 24; Luke xvi. 9); which is the opinion of Abrabanel and the elder Buxtorf; and the word is so pointed in Bomberg's Bible, Venice, 1525. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Seiler, Dahler, and Fred. Rosenmüller, consider it as an impersonal form, like the German *man*, or the French *on*: and this is indeed a frequent idiom. See *Gesenius Lehrgebäude*, § 216; or *Stuart's Hebr. Grammar*, p. 352.

The difference in xxxiii. v. 16, is observable. The clause, as there given, may be read in three different ways:

1. That adopted above, which is the closest, and is sanctioned by Rabbi Altascheth, Vatablus, Sebastian Schmidt, C. B. Michaelis (the father of the late John David M.) and Dathe. It is thus rendered in the Jewish Spanish Version (Fernandez, Amst. 5486), in Cassiodore del Reyna's, and in the Dutch.

2. Understanding יִקְרָא after הָיָה, by deriving it from the parallel passage; and so reading "and this is his name which he [or indefinitely as above] shall proclaim to her."

3. "This is the name with which she shall be called." Our common version, the old Geneva French, Diodati's Italian, and in effect, though a little varying the form, J. D. Michaelis. But, though the construction with הָיָה is consistent with this sense, the insertion of the noun supposed to be understood with יִקְרָא can be derived only from ch. xxiii. and therefore would be הָיָה *his name*, not יִקְרָא *her name*. So that this reading seems to be untenable.

¹⁷⁹ John i. 9; xiv. 6. 1 Tim. i. 1. Col. i. 27. Eph. ii. 14. 1 Cor. i. 30.

But it is more than probable that the original words have sustained some alteration, and that the true reading is as found by Kennicott in several MSS. and by De Rossi in one, exactly the same as in the preceding passage, ch. xxiii. 6. This is supported by the Syriac, the best of all the ancient versions; and by the Targum of Jonathan, which paraphrases the two passages thus: (xxiii. 5, 6.) "Behold! the days are coming, saith the Lord, when I will raise up to David the Messiah of the righteous, and he shall reign sovereign and shall be prosperous, and he shall execute the judgment of truth and righteousness in the land. In his days, they of the house of Judah shall be delivered, and Israel shall dwell in safe confidence; and this is his name by which he [Israel, or indefinitely] shall call to him, Righteousness shall for us be performed, from the presence of the Lord, in his days." (xxxiii. 15, 16). "In those days and in that time, I will raise up to David the Messiah of righteousness; and he shall execute the judgment of truth and righteousness in the land. In those days they of the house of Judah shall be delivered, and Jerusalem shall dwell in safe confidence; and this is her name by which he shall call to her, Righteousness—" etc.

This emendation appears to have been adopted in the Geneva Version of 1805. It has; "et l'on appellera [ce germe] l'Eternel notre justice." The passage in ch. xxiii. it renders thus; "Le tems va venir, dit l'Eternel, que je ferai éclore [dans la maison] de David un germe de justice; je ferai naître un roi qui régnera avec sagesse, qui exercera la justice et l'équité sur la terre: sous son règne Juda sera délivré, Israël sera en sûreté; on nommera [ce roi] L'ÉTERNEL NOTRE JUSTICE." Seiler also follows the same reading; and so does Dr Dahler of Strasburg, in his New Version of Jeremiah, published in 1825, making the phrase to refer, in both passages, to the *Branch*, and rendering it, "L'Eternel, [auteur de] notre félicité." So also Dr Boothroyd; "This is his name whereby he shall be called—"

The Rabbinical work, *Sepher Hkharim* (Book of Precious Things) remarks: "The Scripture calls the Messiah *the Lord our Righteousness*: thus he is a Mediator with God, that we through him may obtain our righteousness;" meaning probably our acceptance with God. *Lib. ii. cap. 28.* "The Messiah—is called by the name *Jehovah*, which is God's own peculiar and essential name.—Jer. xxiii. 6; God himself saith that Messias's name, whereby he should be called, is *Jehovah tzidkenu*.—But does God here speak of the Messiah? Yes,—as plainly will appear, not only from the context, but also from the Jewish Talmud and other Rabbins who unanimously apply this prophecy to the Messias." *Theodore John*, a Jewish convert; 1692; cited in the *Voice of Israel*; vol. i. p. 207. Lond. 1845.

The Septuagint is greatly corrupted in both places. The latter clause of xxiii. 6, is thus:—"and this, his name which the Lord will call him, Josedek:" a manifest error from *Jehovah tzidkenu*, first contracted, and then taken for a proper name. The addition *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, is palpably a gloss afterwards interpolated.—In ch. xxxiii. the whole portion, vers. 14–26, is wanting in the Aldine, Vatican, and Alexandrine copies. It occurs, however, in three manuscripts, collated for Walton's Polyglott and Grabe's LXX. in two of which the latter clause of ver. 16 stands thus: *Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ὃ κληθήσεται, Κύριος δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν.* "And this is the name which shall be announced, the Lord our righteousness." In the third, thus: *Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ὃ καλέσει αὐτήν, Κύριος δίκαιος σὺν ἡμῖν.* "And this the name which he shall call her, The righteous Lord with us."

SECTION XXVII.—SON OF MAN, UNITED WITH THE ETERNAL GOD, AND EXERCISING UNIVERSAL EMPIRE.

Dan. vii. 9, 10, 13, 14.

“I looked, until the thrones were cast down; and [then] the ANCIENT OF DAYS sat [in judgment]. His robe was white as snow, and the hair of his head as pure wool: his throne, flames of fire; and his wheels, glowing fire. A flowing stream of fire issued from his presence. Thousand thousands were his attendants; and ten thousand ten thousands stood in his presence. The session of judgment began, and the books were opened.——I looked in visions of the night, and behold! with the clouds of heaven came [one] like a SON OF MAN; he approached to the ANCIENT OF DAYS, and was brought near into his presence. And to him was given dominion and glory and empire; and all peoples, nations, and languages shall serve him. His dominion is an eternal dominion which shall not pass away, and his empire that which shall not be destroyed.”¹⁸⁰

THE connexion of this prediction, the terms in which it is conveyed, the all but unanimous consent of Jewish¹⁸¹ and Christian interpreters, and the habitual application by Jesus of its distinguishing epithet to himself, unite to assure us of its direct reference to the Messiah.

It is generally understood as a representation of the Messiah approaching in his official character to the Eternal Father, and entering upon the exercise of his mediatorial empire. It thus contains a testimony to the *human nature* of Christ, and a confirmation of the doctrine so frequently repeated in the Old and New Testaments, of his glorious exaltation and universal reign. Unquestionable, however, as is the assertion of the Messiah's *real* humanity; it is by no means an assertion of a *mere* and *exclusive* human nature. So far from that, the magnificent descriptions which it gives, are calculated to excite a strong doubt, whether SUCH POWERS and SUCH AN EXERCISE of them are, by any possibility, compatible with the nature and capacities of any being merely human. It is replied, that the dominion of the Messiah's doctrine is the whole that is intended; the universal prevalence and the perpetual duration of his religion. The justness of this assertion will be hereafter examined, when we shall have to review the numerous declarations of Scripture concerning the reign of the Messiah, and to ascertain what *personal agency* those declarations may import.

¹⁸⁰ Note A.

¹⁸¹ Note B.

But, of a leading part of the passage before us, I would, with all deference, propose to the reader's candid consideration another interpretation, founded on two grounds, which it will be proper first to state.

1. The description given of the ETERNAL BEING in the former part of our citation coincides with another representation occurring in the New Testament, in a manner so definite and striking, that the latter cannot but be regarded as designedly alluding to the former. Each is the scenery of a prophetic vision; each is composed of the same symbols; and the signification of each plainly points to the same characters of dignity, holiness, wisdom, and all-pervading and irresistible power. It is needless to say of whom the New-Testament passage is a description:—"I turned and saw—one like to a son of man; "enrobed down to the feet; and girded around the breasts with "a girdle of gold. His head and his hairs were white as white "wool, as snow; and his eyes as a flame of fire; and his feet "[—the supporters of his throne?¹⁸²] like to fine brass, as if "they glowed in a furnace."¹⁸³

2. Though the word translated "he was *brought near*"¹⁸⁴ does not necessarily imply more than a near approach; yet it may be justly extended to the expression of a personal union. Its radical idea is that of *very close contact*; and its different forms are applied to many instances of *conjunction, indwelling, and union*, the most *near and intimate that can exist among men*.¹⁸⁵

Upon these grounds it is submitted as a fair and rational interpretation of the whole passage, to view it as declaring, in the symbolical language of prophecy, an *assumption* of the frail and humble nature of a child of man into an *absolute union* with the Great ETERNAL; and that this union is the basis of the Messiah's office as the Sovereign and Saviour of the world.

¹⁸² Τράπεζαν ἡμῖν φέρε πρὸς πόδας ἔχουσιν. *Aristoph. Pedem et nostrum dicimus et lecti, etc. Seneca de Benef. lib. ii. § 34.*

¹⁸³ Rev. i. 12-15.

¹⁸⁴ הִקְרַבְתִּי LXX. προσήχθη.

¹⁸⁵ For instance, Gen. xxv. 22; Isa. viii. 3; Lev. i. 13; Ps. v. 9; xlix. 11. Even Gesenius appears to admit, by implication, that the idea of "an incarnate Jehovah" is contained in the 13th verse.—*Comm. üb. d. Jesaia*, I. 365.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XXVII.

Note A, page 276.

עֲדִיק יוֹמִין ANCIENT OF DAYS. The adjective denotes not only *old*, but *permanent, undiminished, unaltered*: see *Schultens in Job. xxi. 7, et in Prov. viii. 18*, and *Eichhorn in Simonis Lex.* Perhaps the epithet would be more adequately rendered by the single expression, THE IMMORTAL, — SON OF MAN, בֶּן־אָדָם, the name appropriated to imply the frailty, sorrows, and mortality of human nature, and thus contradistinguished from אֱלֹהִים and אִישׁ. Michaelis renders it, *One in human form.* — הֵקֵר בְּהֵרֵי literally, *they brought him near*: but it is a well known idiom of the Hebrew and its cognate languages to use the third person, either singular or plural, no nominative being expressed or intimated, in an impersonal or indefinite sense. This idiom, indeed, is by no means confined to the Hebraic dialects. See the remarks on Jer. xxiii. 6.

Note B, page 276.

The Rabbinical commentators without exception appear to have acknowledged this application. Carpzovius, in his Dissertation on this passage (ap. *Menthenii Thesaurum*, tom. i.), has made an ample collection of their testimonies. The following are a specimen. "The interpreters explain the words, *As a son of man*, of the King Messiah, as being the one man who shall come to judgment and to supplicate for his people." *Abrabanel, Comm. in loc.* "This is the Messiah, our Righteousness, who shall draw near into the presence of God." *Joseph ben Jarchi, ed. Const. l'Empereur.* "I cannot interpret this passage otherwise than of the kingdom of the Messiah." *J. D. Michaelis, Anmerk.* "Son of man, no doubt the Messiah." *Dr Priestley, in loc.* De Wette makes it one of his objections to the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, that it contains "the doctrine of a Messiah, in ch. vii. 13, 14: xii. 1-3." (*Lehrb. d. Hist. Krit. Einl. A. T. p. 319*, 4th ed. Berlin, 1833.) He assigns it to the age of the Macabees. If then he did not design to be inconsistent with himself, he must have been prepared to admit that the Jews, in the second century before our era, expected a Messiah to whom the predicates in the passages would belong, and which he himself admits to imply a pre-existent and divine nature.

The objections of Bertholdt, de Wette, and others, have been well examined and answered by Hengstenberg; *Die Authentie des Daniel*, Berlin, 1831; upon which Tholuck wrote to Robinson (July 5, 1831, in *Am. Bibl. Repos.* ii. 205);—"On the O. T. it stands foremost, a very learned work, and more full and rich than even his *Christologie*." My readers will receive no little satisfaction from Prof. *Stuart's Critical Hist. of the O. T. Canon*, sections x. xi. xii. I also beg to refer to a brief statement of the arguments on both sides, and the grounds of my own conviction, in *The principles of Interpretation, as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture*, pp. 58-65, 1831. De Wette's work I had not then seen; but I venture to think that the substance of his arguments is met; except one, which I shall now notice. It is that four names of musical instruments, and five words besides, which have the appearance of a Greek derivation, occur in the book, viz. in ch. i. 3; ii. 6, and v. 17; iii. 4, 5, 7, 10, 15, 16; and iv. 14; i. 4; and v. 29. To this it is replied, that *Partemim*, *Nebisbah*, and *Pishgam*, assumed to be Chaldee expressions of *πρότιμος*, *νόμισμα*, and *φρίγμα*, are not so, but oriental words; Gesenius (see his *Lexic.*) assigns to them a Persian origin:—that *Petish* and *Keraz* with its noun *Keroz* (supposed to be for *πίτασος*, and *κρήσσειν*, *κρήψξ*) are by the same competent authority declared to be words from a common

origin to the Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic languages :—that *Sambuca* is regarded by Athenæus (*Deipnosoph.* xiv. 34), and Strabo (p. 686, ed. Falconer), as an oriental word :—and it is not unlikely that, even so early (and yet it was in the age of Pisistratus), Greek musicians might have been obtained by the luxurious court of Babylon, who would retain the names of their own instruments; and this will account for the acknowledged Greek names *Citharis*, *Psalterium*, and *Symphonia*.

Upon vs. 13, 14, Fred. Rosenmüller remarks,—“The Jewish interpreters are unanimous in the opinion that the *Son of man*, the person in human form, borne upon the clouds of heaven, is the Messiah.—It is a description of the kingdom of the Messiah :—and in the same terms as those which represent the dominion of God in chap. vi. 26.” *Scholia*. 1832.

SECTION XXVIII.—SOVEREIGN, SHEPHERD, RESTORER, HE WHOSE ACTINGS HAVE BEEN FROM ETERNITY.

Micah v. 1-4.

1. “And thou, Bethlehem of Ephratah,
“[Too] little to be among the clans of Judah;
“[Yet] from thee shall [one] come forth in my presence, to be Sovereign in Israel,
“Even he whose comings forth are from eternity, from the days of the everlasting period.
2. “Surely [God] will renounce them, till the time that she who is pregnant shall bear,
“And the remnant of his brethren shall return with the sons of Israel.
3. “Even he shall stand, and shall be the Shepherd, in the strength of Jehovah;
“In the majesty of the name of Jehovah his God:
“And they shall dwell in quietness, because now shall he be great to the ends of the earth,
4. “And this shall be the Restorer.”¹⁸⁶

THIS remarkable passage possesses the common character with many others in the prophecies; that it makes the sufferings and

¹⁸⁶ מֵאֲלָפִים *thousands*: but the term was used to denominate a statistical subdivision in each tribe, as the words *hundred* and *tithing* are in the English counties. See Exod. xviii. 21; Judges vi. 15; 1 Sam. xxiii. 23. To this meaning the word *clan* seems the most suitable.—קָדָם *eternity*; Deut. xxxiii. 27; Psalm lv. 19; Habak. 1. 12. עֵלֶם *“an age, eternity, the longest duration;—in particular, time past, ancient times;—PERPETUITY, so far as the nature of the subject can admit the idea of perpetual duration.—Gesenius after others derives it from עָלַם to conceal, so as to give the idea of a hidden and unknown period: but Simonis and Eichhorn derive it from a root preserved in the Æthiopic language, signifying the passage of time, continuance, duration.”* See their respective *Lex. Hebr.*—לִּי *in my presence, coram me*: so לִּי is used in Jer. xxvi. 6. v. 2. Following Grotius and Dathe, I conceive that this clause refers not so probably to Mary the mother of Jesus, as to the church, considered as now in the pangs of suffering, but to be delivered and honoured by the coming of the Messiah and by the

deliverances of the Jews from their Assyrian and other enemies, occasions of rising to animated descriptions of the Messiah, and the spiritual happiness of his reign; the objects of repeated promise and anxious hope. This character particularly belongs to the contemporary prophets Isaiah and Micah. Thus the connexion and the terms of this passage lead to its application to the Restorer and Saviour of mankind; and ill comport with the efforts of those who represent it as a description of Zerubabel, or of some other chieftain of Judah on the return from Babylon. The express reference to the Messiah is affirmed in the Chaldee Targum,¹⁸⁷ and in the commencement of the Gospel of Matthew:¹⁸⁸ and those of the Unitarians who are not disposed to receive as authentic the portion in which the reference is made, acknowledge its high antiquity, and will admit it as evidence that the Jewish nation generally regarded this prophecy as the Targumist explains it.

accession of the Gentiles, and finally of the Israelites. The same figurative representation occurs just before, ch. iv. 9, 10, and in many other instances in the prophetic scriptures. But F. Rosenmüller adopts the other interpretation: "*Therefore, or on that account*: as it was the purpose of God first to chastise the Jewish nation for their sins, and then to deliver them by the Messiah, who was to be born at Bethlehem. Compare the preceding context. *Jehovah will give them up* to be afflicted and oppressed by their enemies.—*Until the time of her who is to bring forth*; or, the time when *she who is to bring forth* at Bethlehem shall have brought forth the Divine Conqueror who shall deliver the people from their enemies; referring to the *Virgin*, of whom the men of that age expected that the Messiah would be miraculously born.—This interpretation appears most in accordance with the design of the prophet; that the Hebrews should be left to be oppressed by their enemies, till the Messiah (whose *goings forth* and place of birth are laid down in the preceding verse) should appear; and that this is expressed enigmatically, as is the manner of the prophets, by the words, *till she that is to bear, shall bring forth.*" *Scholia*, in loc. See also p. 247 of this vol.—Ver. 4. וְשָׁלוֹם *peace, prosperity, safety, restoration*; the abstract put for the concrete, as frequently, to denote emphasis. Here the paragraph ends, the next words beginning a new one. So the Targum, the Syriac Version, and some of the best modern translators and interpreters.

¹⁸⁷ "And thou, Bethlehem of Ephrata, little art thou, to be reckoned among the clans of the house of Judah; out of thee shall proceed in my presence the Messiah, to exercise sovereignty over Israel; whose name has been called from eternity, from the days of the everlasting period." *Targ. Jon.* "Thou art little; but out of thee shall come forth to me the King Messiah, of whom also the words treat, The stone which the builders rejected," etc. *Jarchi.* The same application is made by *Kimchi* and *Abrabanel.*

¹⁸⁸ The reading in Matt. ii. 6, differing, even to an apparent contradiction, from both the Hebrew and the LXX., has been accounted for in various ways: see *Rosenm. in Mich.* and *Kuinöl in Matth.* I submit, that the expression in the Evangelist is given as it was stated to Herod by the *ecclesiastical and legal authorities* (ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς), the latter being by profession the students of the

Besides the characters of supreme power employed for the most benevolent purposes,¹⁸⁹ which this passage, in common with many others, attributes to the Messiah; we find a *local* and *temporal origin* ascribed to him, and even an allusion to his wonderful birth; yet, in the same sentence, an equally clear assertion of a *prior* and *eternal existence*.¹⁹⁰

Some, following the hint in the Targum, explain the latter clause of the fore-knowledge, or the purpose of God, that the Messiah should come into existence, under the circumstances predicted. To this opinion it is obvious to reply, that it renders the most solemn and observable part of the whole description superfluous and unmeaning: for every human being, and every atom of existence, is equally with the Messiah an object of the divine decree "from eternity." No peculiarity of oriental idiom, no use of any language, can so violate the common sense of men, as to attribute ACTIVE PROCEEDINGS¹⁹¹ to a being, infinite ages before it came into existence. A man who should use such an expression, when he meant only to say that the Deity had fore-

sacred writings, explaining them, and *giving answers when consulted*. The words are therefore to be considered as *their* interpretation or [*Targum*] paraphrase, proceeding upon the idea that, though Bethlehem was too small a town to be the chief place of an *eleph*, or district of a thousand families, yet, on account of its having been designated in prophecy as the birth-place of the Messiah, it possessed a far greater dignity.

¹⁸⁹ Ver. 3. "*He shall stand, etc.* The Messiah shall govern, not by human, but by divine power." *Rosenm.*

¹⁹⁰ "Micah here declares that the Messiah should be born at Bethlehem, with respect to his human nature; but that, with respect to his Divinity, he should not be born, since he is from eternity." *Castellio in loc.*; an author whose predilections would not have led him to this annotation, had he not perceived the amplest reason for it. "Yea, *from the days of eternity*; i. e. he has already existed from eternity, before his human birth. The passage refers to the Divine Origin and Nature of the Messiah; as he is also called by Isaiah (ix. 6), *Father of Eternity, or the Eternal*." *Rosenm.* Michaelis, indeed, understands the expression as merely denoting the ancient date of the promise of the Messiah made to David: but this is surely one of the eccentricities of that great man; for the Hebrew expression is peculiarly strong. C. B. Michaelis observes that the word *days* is introduced to assist our feeble conceptions, incompetent as we are to rise to a pure conception of infinite duration. Upon the same principle, the Divine Being is called "the ancient of days." *Annot. in J. H. M.'s Heb. Bib.* Dr Priestley (in his *Notes on SS.*) admits that the person here predicted "may be the Messiah;" but, upon this important feature in the description, he observes deep silence.

¹⁹¹ The unquestionable sense of מַעֲשֵׂה in all its varieties of application, whether to the springing of fountains, to vegetation, to the rising of the sun, to the working of intelligent agents, or to any other of the motions of matter or mind.

known, or fore-ordained, the existence and actions of the object in question, would expose either his understanding or his integrity to suspicion.

With as little reason can an objection be taken against our translation of the next words in the clause: "FROM ETERNITY, FROM THE DAYS OF THE EVERLASTING PERIOD:" for, though the two principal terms, taken separately, are occasionally used to denote a limited (yet to present and human apprehensions a very long and hidden) period, the proper and usual meaning of each is a REAL ETERNITY: each occurs in passages evidently intended to be the most solemn assertions of Infinite Duration;¹⁹² and the combination of the two furnishes the strongest expression for that purpose, of which the Hebrew language is capable.¹⁹³

¹⁹² עולם see the passages referred to in the note on the text. For עולם see Gen. xxi. 33. 1 Chron. xxix. 10. Ps. xc. 2; xxv. 6; ciii. 17.

¹⁹³ "This prophecy of Micah is perhaps the most important single prophecy in the Old Testament, and the most comprehensive, respecting the personal character of the Messiah and his successive manifestation to the world. It crowns the whole chain of prophecies descriptive of the several limitations of the Blessed Seed of the woman, to the line of Shem, to the family of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the tribe of Judah, and to the royal house of David, here terminating in his birth at Bethlehem, "the city of David." It carefully distinguishes his human nativity from his eternal generation; foretells the rejection of the Israelites and Jews for a season, their final restoration, and the universal peace destined to prevail throughout the earth in "the regeneration." It forms, therefore, the basis of the New Testament; which begins with his human birth at Bethlehem, the miraculous circumstances of which are recorded in the introductions of Matthew's and Luke's Gospels; his eternal generation, as the ORACLE, or WISDOM, in the sublime introduction of John's Gospel; his prophetic character and second coming, illustrated in the four Gospels and the Epistles; ending with a prediction of the speedy approach of the latter, in the Apocalypse: Rev. xxii. 20." *Hale's Analysis of Chronol.* vol. ii. p. 463. "I cannot possibly understand this verse (ver. 1) otherwise than as declaring that a great King would be born to the nation of Israel, in Bethlehem: and, if not a word occurred in Matt. ii. 5, 6, on the explication of this text, I could not but believe that its subject is Christ, the Christ who was born under the reign of Herod. The entire connexion of the prophecy in the foregoing chapter leads me to him, and to the time of his birth." *Michaelis, Anmerk.*

SECTION XXIX.—THE DESIRE OF NATIONS, AND THE GLORY OF THE LATTER TEMPLE.

Haggai ii. 6-9.

6. "For thus saith Jehovah of hosts,
"It is yet a very little time,
"And I will shake the heavens and the earth,
"And the sea and the dry land ;
7. "And I will shake all nations ;
"And the DESIRE of all nations shall come,
"And I will fill this house with glory ;
'Saith Jehovah of hosts.
- 8 "Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold,
"Saith Jehovah of hosts.
9. "Great shall be the glory of this house,
"The latter above the former ;
"Saith Jehovah of hosts.
"And in this place I will give peace ;
"Saith Jehovah of hosts."¹⁹⁴

THE Messiah is here described as a Deliverer of whom the world would stand in the greatest need, and who should be very

¹⁹⁴ Ver. 7. A difficulty arises from the verb יָבִיאוּ *shall come*, being plural, and the nominative דֶּשֶׁרָה *desire*, being singular. Kimchi understands the prefix יָבִיאוּ so as to read, "they shall come with the desire of all nations," *i. e.* "bringing their valuable donations." The accurately learned Dr Stonard, in his *Commentary on the Vision of Zechariah*, p. 94, adopts the same idea of an ellipsis of a preposition, but prefers יָבִיאוּ. "*They shall come to the Desire of all nations ; i. e. to Jerusalem, the spiritual city of the Lord of hosts.—Judea, of which Jerusalem was the head, is called the land of desire in Ps. cvi. 24. Jer. iii. 19. Zech. vii. 14.*" The admission of the same ellipsis had occurred to Michaelis, who says, "If I followed the Jewish points, I should translate this clause, *and they shall come to him who is the Delight, or the Joy of the Gentiles ;* under which description Christ is understood." *Anmerk.* The Targum retains the Hebrew word, without alteration or any hint of explication. The LXX, perhaps read יָבִיאוּ as they translate it τὰ ἐκλεκτά. The Vulgate renders the passage, *Veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus ;* "He shall come who is desired by all nations." Michaelis, Seiler, and Rosenmüller take the word as a collective singular, signifying "valuable things," and interpret it as a prediction of the honour and rich offerings which were presented to the second temple by the Persian kings, by opulent Jews settled in foreign countries, and by the numerous proselytes from heathenism. This interpretation, they think, is supported by the specifying, immediately after, of "silver and gold." The two latter authors, however, maintain that the chief reference of the prediction, and its most complete accomplishment, belong to the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. The same interpretation is given by Dr Scholz, in his completing of Brentano and Dereser's Bible ; 1833. Dr Henderson, with a large and valuable Note, translates, "The things desired by all the nations shall come ;"—meaning the blessings of the gospel, the "good things to come ;" Heb. ix. 11 ; and adds, "As the time of the Redeemer's advent drew

extensively the object of actual desire and expectation. The preparations for the introduction and establishment of his reign, in the providential government of God, were to be such as would indicate it to be of the greatest importance; the conquests of Alexander, the wars between his successors, particularly as they affected the Jews, and the power of the Romans. But the Spiritual Glory of the Messiah's kingdom, in effecting the true happiness of mankind, was to be INFINITELY superior to all earthly splendour. This passage, however, does not appear to afford, either directly or inferentially, any definite information on the specific object of our inquiry, the nature and person of that great Deliverer.

SECTION XXX.—RESTORER, SAVIOUR, AND SOVEREIGN OF THE CHURCH.

Zech. iii. 8.

"Behold I, bringing forth my Servant the Branch."

vi. 12, 13.

12. "Thus speaketh Jehovah of hosts, saying;
 "Behold, a Man; his name the Branch.
 "And from his ground shall he spring forth,
 "And shall build the temple of Jehovah.
13. "Even he himself shall build the temple of Jehovah:
 "Even he himself shall bear the honour:
 "And he shall sit and rule upon his throne:
 "Even he shall be Priest upon his throne;
 "And the peaceful determination shall be between these two."

UNDER the figure of a branch sprouting from the tree, the Messiah has been repeatedly presented to us; probably to intimate his being the promised descendant of the family of David.¹⁹⁵ For the encouragement of Joshua the high-priest and his faithful associates, under the difficulties of their situation, it is promised that this long-desired Priest and Ruler should assuredly spring forth and grow up, in the appointed time, till which time

near, there was a general expectation of a Teacher and Deliverer, not only in the Jewish nation but throughout the world. To Christ as the Light of the world, and to the spiritual advantages which flow through his mediation, the prophecy strictly applies."

¹⁹⁵ Is. iv. 2; xi. 1. Jer. xxiii. 5. The Targum expressly applies both the passages of Zechariah to the Messiah: "Behold, I bring forth my servant, the Messiah, and he shall be revealed." iii. 8. "Behold a Man, Messiah is his name, ready that he may be revealed and may spring forth and may build the temple of Jah." vi. 12.

they and their successors should possess the Levitical priesthood ; that he should prosperously erect the temple of spiritual worshippers, a temple framed for heaven and eternity ; that he should execute the divine will, which the typical yearly atonement emblematically declared, by a real sacrifice “ taking away the iniquity of the land in one day ;” ¹⁹⁶ and that he should, in the united offices of a Priest and a King, bestow upon a ruined world the happiness of reconciliation and restoration to the favour of God.¹⁹⁷

This picture of the Messiah presents him in his characters of making expiation for the guilt of sin, exercising all-sufficient power for saving men from its enthrallment, and making them the pardoned and accepted subjects of God. Any conclusions to be drawn from this representation, with regard to the PERSON of the great Deliverer, must depend upon the information to be collected, in future parts of this work, concerning the nature of the salvation, and the qualifications requisite for its accomplishment.

A similar observation might be made concerning another passage in this prophet ; which, therefore, I subjoin in a Note. The Messiah is displayed as a Sovereign triumphing and widely reigning : but his triumphs are not those of force and violence ; he comes not upon the terrible war-horse ; his path is not marked with tears and blood. His are the victories of truth, and holiness, and beneficence ; the conquests of reason and conscience ; the reign of holiness and piety, of good-will and pardoning grace to men, and the highest glory to God ; abolishing war, cruelty, and tyranny, and establishing the surest peace upon the best foundations, in the delightful period when his religion shall have that universality of extent, and shall receive that cordiality of obedience, which are here foretold. This happiness, to be enjoyed under the Messiah’s reign, is pictured by the imagery of the richest plenty in the produce of Judea, affording abundantly the enjoyments of affluence to all classes. Such imagery is frequently employed in the style of prophecy, as the emblem of the individual and social happiness which true religion will effect, where its precepts are faithfully observed. It is especially

¹⁹⁶ Ch. iii. 9. See *Dr Stonard on Zechariah*, pp. 189–192.

¹⁹⁷ For some further illustration of this passage, I beg to refer to *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*, etc. p. 22, and the *Notes VIII. and IX.*

predicted that these triumphs of the Messiah shall be first and principally in the nations of Europe; that the pride of the Grecian philosophy, and the power of the Roman military domination, the guilty fascinations of the temples, and the consequent licentiousness of the people, the impostures of their priests and the madness of their rulers, should fall in the strife with the crucified Galilean and his despised disciples, meek and lowly of heart,—with the weapons of a warfare not carnal, by weak things subduing the mighty, and by things deemed foolish confounding the worldly wise.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ Zech. ix. 9; x. 1. From ver. 1 to 9, Jehovah is the speaker; afterwards, the prophet.

9. "Exult, daughter of Zion; shout for joy, daughter of Jerusalem;
 "Behold, thy King cometh unto thee.
 "Righteous and triumphant* is He;
 "Lowly and riding upon an ass,
 "Even upon a colt, the foal of a she-ass.†
10. "And I will root out the chariotry from Ephraim, and the cavalry from Jerusalem;
 "And the war-bow shall be rooted out.‡
 "He speaketh peace also to the nations:
 "And his dominion [shall be] from sea to sea,
 "And from the river to the bounds of the earth.§

* This verb in Niphal is thus interpreted by J. D. Michaelis, Seiler, Gesenius, and de Wette; apparently in consonance with the genius of the language. But Rosenmüller objects to it, and prefers the simple passive of the sense in Kal, conceiving that it refers to the supports of the suffering Messiah under his extreme sorrows, and his deliverance from them. The Geneva version of 1805 assumes the reflective signification (which is sometimes the force of Niphal, *Gesen. Lehrgeb.* § 68. c. *Stuart's Heb. Gram.* p. 147). "Voici ton Roi juste, et qui se sentient par lui-même."

† After showing that the prophecy can refer only to the Messiah, Michaelis goes on to say: "The association of ideas in the prophet appears to have been to this purport. In contrast with the warlike Alexander, who had been so considerable a benefactor to the Jews" [and of whom Michaelis interprets the preceding connection], "a much greater King is brought to view, whom Zion has to expect in later times.—*Gentle, and riding upon an ass.* The meaning which might have occurred to any one, previously to the accomplishment of the prediction, would be a mild and pacific King, who is on that account represented as riding, not upon a war-horse, but upon an ass. This interpretation is confirmed by the following verse, in which God declares that he will abolish the war-cavalry in Jerusalem. It would not have been readily inferred beforehand, from these words, that the promised King would literally make his entrance into Jerusalem upon an ass. Yet this really took place with Jesus. It falls under that kind of prophetic fulfillments, in which an expression, which the reader would at first take figuratively, is beyond all expectation fulfilled also literally; and thus a new and striking confirmation is given to the application.—

"To ride upon an ass was, among the Hebrews, not mean, as it is with us. See Judges v. 10; x. 4; xii. 14. In ancient times, the possession of a single horse was a rare thing: and still, in southern countries, the ass is not that contemptible and sluggish animal which it is in the northern climates; but they have a taller and more handsome breed, which is so swift that, to keep up with one at a trot, a horse must be put to a gallop.

"*The foal of a she-ass.* This expression signifies, of a good breed, the pedigree of whose dam is known for several generations. Of animals whose breed is held of consequence, it is customary to preserve their pedigrees with great exactness, and even to confirm them by oath. So the Arabs now do with regard to the race of horses."—*Anmerk. z. d. O.* [This remark will not be despised as trivial, by any who reflect upon the importance of correctly understanding every scripture-expression, and of satisfactorily answering the sneers of ignorant infidels.]

‡ This imagery represents the unlawful and inapplicable nature of war, as an instrument of promoting the religion of Jesus Christ; and the final abolition of that practice, by the prevalence of uncorrupted Christianity. Similar passages are Isa. ix. 5 (see page 253 of this Vol.), and Mic. v. 5, 10.

§ See the same expression in Ps. lxxii. 8. It is founded upon the geographical ideas of the Hebrews, but was evidently used to denote the widest extent of the earth as inhabited by man.

11. "Even thou; by the blood of thy covenant,|| I have delivered thine imprisoned ones
"Out of the dungeon in which is no water.
12. "Turn ye to the strong fortress, ye imprisoned ones who have hope.
"Even to-day, I proclaim, double will I return to thee.¶
13. "For I take aim with Judah as mine arrow.
"And use Ephraim as the bow;
"And I will arouse thy sons, O Zion,
"Against thy sons, O Javan:**
"And I will make thee as the sword of a hero.
14. "And Jehovah shall be seen above them [as their Protector]
"And his arrow shall go forth as the lightning-glance.
"Even the Lord Jehovah will blow with a trumpet,
"And will go forth [as] with the tempests of the south.††
15. "Jehovah of hosts will be the shield over them;
"And they shall enjoy plenty, and shall tread under their feet the sling-stones.‡‡
"They shall also drink, they shall shout as from wine,
"And shall be filled as from a bowl, as the corners [at the base] of the altar.
16. "And Jehovah their God will save them, in that day, as a flock, his people,
"For [they shall be as] stones of a diadem, dignified ones in the land.
17. "For how great is their enjoyment, and how great their comeliness!
"Corn and fresh grape-juice shall make the youths and the virgins to grow.
1. "Ask ye from Jehovah the latter rain in its season;
"Jehovah who maketh the darting lightnings.
"Even the great rain he will give them, for every herb in the field."

|| The allusion may be to the paschal lamb, by which, as the covenant-blood of redemption, the deliverance from Egypt was ratified: or rather to the great annual day of expiation. In either case, the prophetic reference is to the Expiation of Him whose holy and pacific character is here predicted, and who "now once [for an imperishable efficiency and therefore never to be repeated], "at the close of the [Jewish] ages, hath been manifested for the abolition of sin [to all who confide "in him and obey him] by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. ix. 26. The figure of imprisonment in a dark subterranean dungeon (which, in oriental countries, was often an old tank emptied of its water), is the well-known representation of the moral misery of sin; the rain, captivity, and condemned state of the sinner. See Is. lxi. 1.

¶ A phrase denoting the exuberance of the divine beneficence beyond the miseries of its objects. Is. xl. 2; lxi. 7. Rom. v. 20. "Je vous rendrai au double ce que vous avez perdu."—*Geneva V. of 1805.*

** *Javan*, 'Iavîa, Greece, whose mythology and philosophy ruled through the Roman world, but fell before the victorious gospel preached by the peaceful sons of Zion.

†† The imagery of war and desolating storms of lightning, hurricane, and rain; to denote the judgments of Christ upon the enemies of Christianity, in the destruction of Jerusalem, and afterwards of the Roman empire. For the execution of these judgments, "the coming" or presence "of Christ" is frequently spoken of in the New Testament.

‡‡ As it was difficult and painful, especially with naked feet, or even with the ancient sandals, to walk upon the large round pebbles used by slingers, this image denotes that God will enable his servants to march with safety and pleasure over the most rugged ground; that is, he will make them adequate to the most arduous exertions of duty. See Deut. xxxiii. 25. Some think that the epithet *sling stones* is applied to the enemies of Christ and his church, to denote their worthlessness in comparison with the people of God, who are afterwards called "the stones of a diadem."

The remaining particulars in the description, borrowed from the most overflowing plenty in the harvest and the vintage, and their effect upon the happiness of a rural community, may be intended to denote the general blessings of the Christian religion: and the concluding paragraph directs to implore those blessings from their Divine Author.

SECTION XXXI.—PIERCED BY THE PEOPLE OF JERUSALEM.

Zech. xii. 8–10.

8. "In that day, Jehovah will be the protector,
"Around the inhabitants of Jerusalem:
"And the infirm among them shall be in that day as David,
"And the house of David as [the house of] God,
"As the angel of Jehovah before their face.
9. "And it shall be, in that day,
"That I will pursue to destruction all the nations that shall assault
Jerusalem.
10. "And I will pour out upon the house of David
"And upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem
"A spirit of grace and supplications:
"And they shall look unto me whom they have pierced;
"And they shall mourn on account of it,
"As a mourner for an only son;
"And bitterness shall be on account of it,
"As one in bitterness for a first-born."¹⁹⁹

THE Jews, converted to the faith of Jesus as the real and only Messiah, are here depicted as devotionally looking to him with hope and trust, and as bitterly deploring their former dis-

¹⁹⁹ Ver. 10. Many copies in the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi read אֵלָיו unto him; but, as the majority of manuscripts, and those both of the best authority and the highest antiquity, and all the Ancient Versions, consent in the common reading, critical integrity requires it to be preferred. The Targum has: "And they shall intreat from me" [for the illustration of the phrase, see Targ. on Jerem. xlii. 2], "because they have been made to wander." In John xix. 37 it is cited, ἐψήφισται εἰς τὸ ἐξελεῖν τελευτὰν but this does not determine certainly whether ἐμὸς or αὐτοῦ be the ellipsis. That in the two next clauses אֵלָיו occurs, is not a proof against the received reading: for if it be rendered on account of him, it is referrible to the enallage of persons which Kimchi and Abrabenel lay down as a rule of the language, and of which instances occur in Ps. lxxxi. 16. Is. xxxiii. 2; xlii. 24. Ezek. xxxi. 10. See *Glassii Philol. Sacr. Lib. iv. Tract. ii. Obs. 16. Frischmuthi Diss. de Messiâ Confixo*, cap. 3, § 9. Grotius also (*Annot. in loc.*) observes that this idiom is frequent in Zechariah. But both Jewish and Christian critics have observed that the term is, in this place, more applicable to the fact than to the person. The suffix י is significant of a thing or event, as well as of a living object; as in Job xxxvi. 33 (also xiv. 22, according to Schultens), Amos i. 3. "The phrase אֵלָיו constantly denotes affection and confidence, or the hope of obtaining benefits from the person regarded.—The lamentation is not properly for him whom they behold alive and crowned with glory and honour,—but for the fact, the awful sin of having crucified the Lord of glory." *Alb. Schultens, Anim. Philol. et Crit. in V. T.* p. 547. Dathe strenuously supports this interpretation, in his *Notæ Crit.* His version is, "Intuebuntur me, quem transfixerunt, atque eâ de re lugebunt." Boothroyd follows. The Genevese Version of 1805 appears to adopt it, though perhaps *en* may have been put for its capability of being taken either way; "ils en repandront des larmes."

belief and opposition to him. But Jehovah declares HIMSELF to be the person thus treated. That God can be corporally “pierced,” no thinking person will assert. The real sufferer was “the man Christ Jesus.” If, then, we are willing to do justice to the whole testimony of Scripture, must it not follow that there is such *unity* between the suffering man and the eternal God as, without confusing the properties of each nature, renders it proper for the Divine Being to use this personal style;—“they shall look unto ME whom they have pierced?”—The language of inspiration must be just and true: and therefore the Messiah must be a divine, as well as a human being.

Rosenmüller, following Calvin,²⁰⁰ whom he quotes with marked approbation, considers the passage, not as a direct prophecy of Christ, but as having been applied to him, by the Evangelist John, in the way of inference or consequence. The primary sense he conceives to be this; the Jews shall look, by repentance and prayer, to God whom *they had pierced* by their ingratitude and disobedience: the expression being used analogically, as men say that they are pierced, wounded, or cut to the heart, by the ill conduct of any whom they tenderly love and who are under great obligations to them. By a similar figure, they are said to have “vexed” or “grieved his Holy Spirit,” in Isaiah lxiii. 10. But Christ being, in his superior nature, the true God, the opposition, cruel treatment, and rejection of the Jews, directed against Him, were very fitly represented by the application or accommodation of this declaration in the prophet.

This interpretation supports, in the strongest manner, the inference, with regard to the Divine Nature of Christ, which we have drawn: I cannot, however, but regard it as unnecessarily circuitous; and as proceeding upon a mistaken view of the design and reference of the connexion. The purport of this whole section of the prophecy (which is a distinct oracle contained in the xiith, xiiith, and xivth chapters), appears to be a description of the preparing, founding, disciplining, and finally, the complete establishment, of the Jewish Church under the New Testament. Consequently, it runs on, from the incarnation of the Messiah and its associated events, to the ultimate extinction of Jewish unbelief and the cordial reception of Christianity by that long-infatuated people: and it is expressed in the style of symbolical allusion to events, places, civil usages,

²⁰⁰ On the place, and on John xix. 37.

religious ceremonies, proverbial phrases, and other peculiarities among the Jews ; from which source, and from the relation to a futurity yet to come, arise the difficulties so peculiar, and by many of the best interpreters confessed to be at present insuperable, with regard to many sentences and paragraphs. If this idea of the general scope be just, it follows that a direct reference of the passage before us to the Messiah, as first wounded by the rejection and insults of his own people, and then received by them with contrition, is natural, proper, and harmonious. This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration that “the house of David” is so especially mentioned, as taking the lead in the compunction and repentance described : since that family was under the more peculiar obligations to receive Jesus as the Messiah, because he was one of themselves.

It is also worthy of being deeply reflected upon, that the *looking to* the Messiah, here described, is the act of dependence and hope (expressed by different verbs in Hebrew, but all agreeing in the idea), which is peculiarly the act of faith and expectation directed to God, for the most important blessings ; and which it would be impious to direct to any other. “To whom of the holy ones [angels] wilt thou look ? In the early morning I will direct [my prayer] to thee, and will look earnestly.—They looked unto him and were enlightened [*i.e.* their faces brightened with joy].—I will look unto Jehovah—and will wait for him.—They look not to the Holy One of Israel, they consult not Jehovah.—Look unto me and be saved, all ye ends of the earth ; for I am God, and there is none besides.”²⁰¹

The Rabbinical commentators have shown themselves perplexed to the last degree, to give any colourable interpretation of this passage, and yet avoid confessing the guilt of their nation, and their own, in rejecting the suffering Messiah, and thus, as far as in them lies, “putting him to open shame.” Their almost universal recourse is to the fiction of two Messiahs ; one, the son of David, the warlike and conquering monarch ; the other, the son of Joseph, who is to fall in battle, fighting for his countrymen against Gog and Magog, and so in fact *dying for them*. This invention is of great antiquity among the Jews. It can be traced up to the sixth century, and had probably existed before. The fact is of importance to Christian theology, as it

²⁰¹ Job v. 1. Ps. v. 3 ; xxxiv. 5. Isa. viii. 17 ; xxxi. 1 ; xlv. 22.

shows that the early disbelieving Jews were aware that salvation by a propitiating Messiah was the doctrine of the New Testament, and had its foundation in their own prophetic Scriptures.²⁰²

SECTION XXXII.

Zech. xiii. 7.

"Sword! Awake against my shepherd,

"And against the man of my resemblance;"

Saith Jehovah of hosts.

"Smite the shepherd, and the flock shall be scattered,

"And I will exercise my care over the little ones."

AMONG the descriptions of the conversion of the Jews, the renunciation of idolatry, the "fountain, open" to the most free access, for the pardon and purification of repentant sinners, and the awful judgments upon those who should persist in rejecting the Son of David, this passage stands disconnected and apparently solitary. That it was a designed prophecy of the Messiah, we know upon his own authority.²⁰³ But, though thus insulated, there is a discernible connexion, from associating the ideas of the conversion and holiness of one class of persons, and the persevering wickedness and unbelief of another, with the great and solemn fact which was to be, in contrary modes of operation, the *cause* of the one result, and the blameless *occasion* of the other.²⁰⁴ There is also another link of association. As the "little flock" of Christ's personal followers would be "scattered abroad" when He, their Head and Protector, should be smitten, and for a short, but to them dark and mournful season, removed almost hopelessly from their sight; so the great body of the Jewish nation, deprived by their own perverse disbelief of their "Shepherd, the Stone of Israel," who had been the Rock of salvation to their fathers, and would have been the same to them, had they not "stumbled at that stumbling-stone," should then be condemned to its long and melancholy dispersion, never from it

²⁰² The whole subject is discussed by Dr Hengstenberg, in his *Christologie des A. T.* vol. i. part i. pp. 283-9; and ii. p. 303.

²⁰³ Matt. xxvi. 31.

²⁰⁴ The same sentiment with that so strongly urged upon our hearts by the Lord Jesus and his inspired servants. See Matt. x. 34, 35; xxi. 44. Luke ii. 34. 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

to be recovered till it shall look to Him who has been so impiously pierced, so obstinately rejected.

Under the name of shepherds, the good and the faithless, the prophetic style often represents the rulers and teachers of the Jewish nation. The Messiah is in particular described by this figure.²⁰⁵ The image is much employed by the prophet Zechariah, in this and the preceding sections of his book. Among the shepherds variously described, there is one pre-eminent, who was to "save the flock," to "feed the flock which had been consigned to slaughter" by its treacherous overseers, to "cut off those shepherds" by his judgments for their wickedness, and to give convincing evidences of his power both to punish and to save, so that, he says, "the poor of the flock that wait upon me shall know that it is the word of Jehovah." Then we find the person who has been speaking thus, set up for a kind of sale (probably represented to the prophet in a vision), bought by his enemies for thirty pieces of silver, and the money "cast to the potter." Let the reader recollect the remark of Michaelis, in page 286 of this volume, on the minute fulfilments of prophecy. He needs not to be told who was betrayed, and sold to his bloodthirsty enemies, for thirty pieces of silver; nor what was, in the end, done with the money. As little can he, if he impartially reflect upon the other particulars enumerated, doubt to whom the whole description belongs.

Now THIS is the very person, against whom "the sword of Jehovah," the instrument of certain death, is commanded to "awake." The appellation, "my Shepherd," displays him to us as the person whom God had appointed to be the Deliverer, Protector, and Guide, in one word, the Saviour of his people. Michaelis adopts a different Hebrew punctuation, and reads it, "my Friend," as more accordant to the structure of parallelism with the following clause: but there appears to be no sufficient reason for departing from the Masoretic points; their reading is accredited by the frequent mention of "shepherds," as before observed, in the context; and the subsequent apposition of the "scattering of the sheep" with this "smiting," puts it out of any reasonable doubt.

The other adjunct (נָבֵר עִמִּיתִי) cannot but appear worthy of serious and deep observation. Its construct part is in form an

²⁰⁵ Isa. xl. 11, and p. 265 of this volume. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, 30, 31; xxxvii. 24-28.

abstract noun, denoting *a most close and near resemblance*.²⁰⁶ This is the only place of the Old Testament in which it occurs in this its proper acceptation. In the other instances it is used for the concrete term, by an ellipsis customary in all languages; and therefore denotes a *fellow-man*, a *fellow-citizen*, one with whom we dwell on equal terms, and to whom we attribute a reciprocity of rights and duties with ourselves.²⁰⁷ That this substantive is not found in any of the intermediate writings of the Old Testament, from Moses to Zechariah, a period of near a thousand years, is a most remarkable circumstance. It warrants the conclusion that it was revived from apparent obsolescence, by Him who inspired the prophet, by a marked and peculiar selection, from a very special motive, and with a design to make a singular and strong impression.

It may also be observed, that the word in government with this, is not the ordinary Hebrew term for *man*, but that which has the associated idea of *strength and dignity*.

Putting together these circumstances, I feel compelled to the conclusion, that not only are here attributed to the Messiah a high official station in the constitution of the kingdom of grace, and a capacity, by possessing the human nature, to suffer and to die, but an actual *equality of rank and identity of nature* with Jehovah. No conclusion short of this appears capable of satis-

²⁰⁶ "From a root preserved in the Arabic dialect, signifying *to wind a clue*, or rather *to twist one thread like another*; and used to denote any *resemblance* founded upon a sameness of internal constitution: as in Greek, *σύνκλωστος*, which properly signifies *what may be wound up in a clue*, is transferred to the general idea of things *similar and equal*, of the same nature and kind; while subjects which have no mutual relation and community are said to be *ἀσύνκλωστα*." Cited in the *Lex. Hebr.* of Simonis and Eichhorn, from John James Schultens, the son of the illustrious Albert. He died in 1778, leaving a son worthy of his learned race, Henry Albert, whose interesting correspondence with Sir William Jones is preserved in Lord Teignmouth's *Life of Sir W. J.*

²⁰⁷ See Gesenius (*Handwörterb.* and *Lex.*), who translates the words before us "*der Mann meiner Gemeinschaft, mein Nächster*; *the man of my fellowship, my nearest of kin*." I believe that the other instances are Lev. xix. 11, 15, 17; xxiv. 19; xxv. 14, 15, 17. It is remarkable that the word occurs only in the writings of Moses. Its revival, after near a thousand years, was adapted to awaken the attention of the Jews, and lead them to compare the dictates of the Spirit of God to their contemporary prophet, with the origin and design of their national constitution. "*My fellow*. I adhere to this version, because I think there is the same ambiguity in the term 'fellow' that there is in the original. It may mean his 'intimate friend and associate;' one engaged in that work which his wisdom had planned from eternity; or it may signify the man who is, at the same time, a Divine Person, 'my equal,' as enjoying the same nature: see Phil. ii. 6; John i. 1."—*Boothroyd*.

fying the necessary signification of the words: I must, therefore, either admit it, or be a dishonest interpreter of the words of inspiration.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Michaelis laments his inability to find any German expressions that would express the exact meaning of the Hebrew, and at the same time not appear incongruous to be predicated of the Deity: and he goes on to say: "The words are precisely those which the Hebrews used to denote *fellow-creature*, or *nearest of kin*. A very great and unexpected thing it is, that God should thus speak of a *nearest of kin*, one *equal to himself*! But we have before found, in this prophet, that an Angel or Messenger of God, who is also placed over the shepherds of the flock (ch. xi. 4), is called *JEHOVAH*. Undoubtedly he is the person here described. The expression probably appeared very obscure in the prophet's own time, particularly how the sword could smite One who stood in this most exalted relation of being the *nearest of kin*" [—pardon the impropriety of the term; but we are obliged to speak of the things of God in the language of men:—] "to God. But the New Testament makes it all clear to us. Christ, the God-man, is the person here spoken of: and he applied this passage to himself, Matt. xxvi. 31. Without that interpretation and accomplishment, I should have been quite unable to understand it: but, thus instructed, I perceive the meaning to be this; The great Shepherd given to the Jewish nation, the Messiah, must die a violent death: then his flock will be scattered; but God will collect them together again, he will exercise his care over the despised flock, the disciples of Christ.—The prophecy was fulfilled when the despised Christian Church in Palestine, which consisted chiefly of the poor, and which upon the death of Christ was scattered, was again collected by the power and goodness of God, was much increased, and at the destruction of Jerusalem was protected from the universal ruin." *Anmerk.*

"The person whom Zechariah here describes, is represented as in the nearest relationship to God. Who can this be, besides him who could say, 'I and the Father are One;—he that seeth me hath seen the Father?'—This good Shepherd presented himself in Jerusalem, to lay down his life for his sheep, that they might obtain eternal life. The great transaction took place according to the decree and will of God. From love to us he gave that guiltless One, to be smitten and pierced for our iniquities." *Seiler's Gr. Erb. Buch*, vol. viii. p. 286.

SECTION XXXIII.—SOVEREIGN; ANGEL OF THE COVENANT.

Mal. iii. 1.

“Behold, I send my messenger,
 “And he shall make ready the way before me,
 “And unexpectedly shall come to his temple
 “The Sovereign whom ye are seeking;
 “Even the Angel of the covenant,
 “In whom ye are delighted.
 “Behold, he cometh; saith Jehovah of hosts.”²⁰⁹

THE Messiah is here denominated LORD or SOVEREIGN by a term in a peculiar form, appropriated to signify the Supreme God as the Ruler of his visible church, and the Possessor of universal dominion. The definite use of this term appears in the demand of obedience to the Most High, as “the SOVEREIGN, Jehovah the God of Israel;”²¹⁰ and in the denunciation of his

²⁰⁹ מַלְאָךְ in *pihel*, literally *to sweep*, but *make ready* is preferred as being less low.—מַלְאָךְ *Sovereign*. This word is often applied to magistrates, fathers, and other human rulers; but, in every instance in which it occurs, as here, with the emphatic prefix מַלְאָךְ, it is used only as a name of Deity. So says the learned and minutely indefatigable John Henry Michaelis, the friend and near relative of Christian Benedict, father of John David. The Hebrew Bible of J. H. M. aided in the Prophets by C. B. (Halle, 1720), though not the most handsome, is the best edition for the student, on account of the copious Notes, upon a growing scale to the end of the Prophets, when the booksellers seem to have advised a sudden reduction of the quantity. Fred. Rosenmüller has often copied these Notes, without acknowledgment. *Notes in Proph.* The same is intimated by Cocceius and Stockius in their Lexicons, and by Eichhorn in his edition of the Simonis;—and affirmed in the most decided manner by Rosenmüller; *Schol. in Proph. Min.* vol. iv. p. 399. It may seem arbitrary to render מַלְאָךְ *angel* which in L. 1 was rendered *messenger*. But, as it is certain that in the one instance it refers to the forerunner of the Messiah (Matt. xi. 10), and next, at least, to certain, that in the other it designates the Messiah himself, the use of the two terms favours perspicuity, and, it is hoped, does not violate fidelity.—“*Angel of the covenant*—; that great Messenger, who shall be sent on no common occasion, but to establish a new covenant, better than the old, with both Jews and Gentiles. That these words are to be understood of the Messiah, Kimchi has admitted. *Grotius in loc.* “The two persons here announced cannot be any other than John the Baptist for the former, and Jesus the Messiah for the latter.” *Dr Priestley’s Note.* “By the Lord who should come to his temple, and the great messenger of God who should exercise judgment, and inflict punishments, I can understand no other than Christ, who inflicted punishment upon the Jews, destroyed their political state, their temple, and their metropolis, and thus acted as the Lord of the temple. When he is called *Messenger*, or, if the word be preferred, *Angel*, of God, and at the same time is described as *Lord of the temple*, we are again reminded of the great Angel, the Jehovah of hosts sent by Jehovah of hosts.” *Michaelis, Anmerk.*

²¹⁰ Ex. xxxiv. 23, מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

judgments upon the obstinately wicked, as the inflictions of "the SOVEREIGN, Jehovah of hosts."²¹¹ Yet this term, thus defined and appropriated by the usage of the Hebrew Scriptures, is, in the place before us, expressly attributed to the Messiah.²¹²

Let it be observed, also, that he is described as the Proprietor and Lord of the temple; and this possession is, in the constant style of the Old Testament, one of the characteristics of Jehovah, the God of Israel.

He is called the "Angel" or Messenger "of the covenant;" as his mission was the performance of the covenant of mercy for the salvation of men by a Redeemer; revealed especially to David, and before him to Abraham, and even to Adam; the great promise to which the patriarchs and the pious Israelites ever looked, and which was the ground of their consolation in all their personal and national distresses. With this covenant and promise, the first manifestation of a Messiah was made to fallen man; and with its glad recognition, the testimony of Old-Testament prophecy closes.²¹³

SECTION XXXIV.—ON THE PERSON DENOMINATED, IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, THE ANGEL OF JEHOVAH.

IN several parts of the Old-Testament Scriptures, a person is introduced under the name *Angel of JEHOVAH*,²¹⁴ in circumstances and with attributes and ascriptions so remarkable, as to

²¹¹ Is. i. 24, הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, also chap. iii. 1; x. 16, 33; xix. 4.

²¹² "The words of Mal. iii. 1, are very remarkable; 'The Lord shall come to his temple.' The temple spoken of is the temple of Jerusalem, and of that temple the person to come is expressly called *the Lord*. The lord of any temple, in the language of all writers, and in the natural meaning of the phrase, is *the divinity* to whose worship it is consecrated. To no other divinity the temple of Jerusalem was consecrated, than the Lord Jehovah, the Creator of heaven and earth. So that we have here the express testimony of Malachi that the Messiah, whose coming he announces, is no other than Jehovah." The Rev. *Ridley H. Herschell*, a learned, candid, and eminently cultivated Jew, a native of Poland, and a convert to Christianity, which he adorns by the moral excellence of his character. *Voice of Israel*, vol. i. p. 206; Lond. 1845.

²¹³ For some further illustration of this passage, see *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice of Christ*, etc. p. 95.

²¹⁴ מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה. Some conceive that the latter noun is in apposition rather than in construction, and that the term should, therefore, be translated *Angel*

require a peculiar consideration. We shall recite the principal of these passages.

To Hagar "the Angel of Jehovah said, I will exceedingly multiply thy seed."—Three times besides the same person speaks under the same name; and at last it is added that Hagar "called upon the name of JEHOVAH who had spoken to her, Thou art "GOD who seest me!"²¹⁵

Three persons in human form appeared to Abraham. Two of them passed on to Sodom, on a mission of righteous judgment; and they are called angels. The third had remained with Abraham; and he repeatedly assumes and receives the name JEHOVAH. Though he is not expressly denominated the Angel, yet the attendant circumstances are such as agree with other manifestations in which that appellation is used. Upon this passage, the Jerusalem Targum says; "The Word [Memra] of Jehovah appeared to him in the valley of vision." Other Jewish writings have the following explications: "The Shekinah was associated with them, and detained Abraham till the angels departed.—He said not who he was: but, in all these [appearances], it was the Angel of the covenant.—"²¹⁶

The repetition of the sacred name in a following part of the narrative is very remarkable: "And Jehovah caused it to rain upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah, sulphur and fire from Jehovah, from the heavens."²¹⁷ The allegation of Gesenius,²¹⁸ after others, that this is only an idiom, more expressive of reverence than a pronoun would be, appears to me unsupported and insufficient. The repetition of the proper names in ch. xvi. 15, 16, seems to be merely a resorting to the usual pedigree-

Jehovah. This remark cannot be absolutely disproved; neither can it be established by such evidence as approaches to certainty. There are so many instances of other nouns put in the same way before יהוה, and unquestionably to be construed *in regimine* with it, that the current of analogies is against this opinion. So also is the evidence of the Ancient Versions.

²¹⁵ Gen. xvi. 7-13. "This angel speaks so that he cannot be considered as any being inferior to the True God. Moses calls him Jehovah; and Hagar, God. We shall find more passages in the writings of Moses, in which a Person is introduced as making a visible appearance, whom all the circumstances oblige us to regard as the True God, and who is called Jehovah; but who nevertheless is also called the Angel, or Messenger of Jehovah." *Michaelis, z. d. O.* "Thus very frequently in these books, the names *Jehovah* and *Angel of Jehovah* are used interchangeably; the latter signifying that visible symbol under which God allowed himself to be seen by men." *Rosenm.*

²¹⁶ Gen. xviii. "And JEHOVAH appeared to him," etc. *Polygl. Walton.* vol. iv. *Midrash Tehillim.* et *Zohar.* ap. *Schöttgen.* *Hor. Heb.* vol. ii. 442.

²¹⁷ Ch. xix. 24. ²¹⁸ *Lehrgeb.* p. 741.

style, and is probably the reminiscence of a table. The passages, Gen. v. 1; Ex. xx. 7; Dan. ix. 17, and if there be any others similar, most evidently stand upon the ground of emphasis and grandeur. In the passage before us, a plain narrative, no effect of emphasis or majesty is produced by the repetition; but rather, I confess, to my feeling, the contrary. But, if we accept the idea that the Angel so often called Jehovah, who had appeared in human form, and who in ch. xviii. constantly speaks of himself as having the power and the absolute right to destroy and to save, is here presented as carrying into effect the judgment of the Father, "whom no one of men hath seen or can see;" we gain a rational sense, consistent with other intimations in the Scriptures; for example, 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; ii. 8, where the true reading is, "The Lord Jesus;" Rev. ii. and iii. throughout, xix. 11-15; etc.

"The Angel of Jehovah from heaven called to him:—Now "I know that thou fearest God, and hast not withheld thy son, "thine only one, from ME.—The Angel of Jehovah called to "Abraham a second time from heaven, and said, By MYSELF I "have sworn, saith JEHOVAH, that since thou hast done this "thing,—in blessing I will bless thee."²¹⁹

"The Angel of God said to me,—I am the GOD of Bethel.— "Thou hast nobly contended with God.—Jacob called the name "of that place Peniel, [saying] Because I have seen God and "my life is preserved. He contended nobly with GOD: he "contended nobly with the Angel: he wept and supplicated "to him: at Bethel he found him, and there he spake with "him; even JEHOVAH the GOD of hosts, JEHOVAH is his memorial."²²⁰

"He blessed Joseph and said, The God in whose presence "my fathers Abraham and Isaac have walked, the God who "hath [as a Shepherd] nourished me from my first being to this "day, the Angel who hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the "youths!"²²¹

²¹⁹ Gen. xxii. 11-18.

²²⁰ Ch. xxxi. 11-19; xxxii. 28-30; Hos. xii. 4, 5. "In point of fact, Jacob never prevailed over his brother Esau, by power and manual strength, but only by entreaties. And so Hosea explains his *contending* with God by saying, *he wept and made supplication.*" *Michaelis.*

²²¹ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. "—But who is the Angel that redeemed Jacob from all evil? Without doubt it is he, through whom the Eternal Father has always spoken to men, the Great Angel of the covenant (Mal. iii. 1), who went before Israel, and led them to the borders of Canaan; the Great Messenger of the Most High, who

To Moses "the Angel of Jehovah appeared in a flame of fire, "from the midst of the bush.—And Jehovah saw that he turned "aside to look, and God called to him from the midst of the "bush;—I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the "God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob :—I AM THAT I AM.—"²²² In the very close of the writings of Moses, we find the phrase, "He that dwelt in the bush," used as a denominative of Jehovah, from whom all blessings were to be implored.²²³ To the

hath also redeemed us from sin, the greatest evil, by his own blood." *Seiler's Gr. Erb. Buch*, i. Th. zw. Abth. S. 84.

²²² Ex. iii. 2–15. "It is manifest, from what follows, that the *Angel* or *Messenger*, who appears here, is the True God, he who had first assumed the name Jehovah, and afterwards bears that name in very peculiar circumstances; who also led the Israelites out of Egypt, and to adore whom is prescribed in the first commandment. In his former book, Moses has made mention of this same Great Angel, who speaks and acts as only the True God can speak and act: Gen. xvi. 5–14; xxii. 10–18. Thus Moses himself, that most zealous opponent of all idolatry and polytheism, describes a Jehovah as sent by Jehovah. This is, according to my best power of understanding, the most ancient intimation of the Trinity, or (to speak more properly, since the passage treats of only two), the doctrine of two persons in the Divine Essence; who in the New Testament are called the Father and the Son. I am perfectly well aware that the doctrine of the Eternal Deity of the Son of God is not agreeable to many in the present day; but I can find no other sense in the words of Moses than what I have expressed." *Michaelis, in loc.* Another citation from a subsequent volume of the same work further shows the latest conviction of this distinguished man, who was not likely to be the subject of a prejudiced attachment to orthodox theology.—"As I write this at a time in which the doctrine of the Deity of Christ is by many treated as an exploded error, and those who believe it are objects of a kind of scornful pity, the inquiry may perhaps arise whether I now believe, as I did twenty years ago, when I wrote my Annotations on the Book of Exodus, that the *Angel of the Lord*, who calls himself to Moses, *Jehovah the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob*, and who brought Israel out of Egypt, was the Second Person in the Godhead. My answer is, I can scarcely conceive how the matter can be explained otherwise, unless by assuming that the phrase *Angel of Jehovah* is equivalent to a *manifestation* [or *appearance*] of Jehovah; but such an assumption has not as yet been established by philological evidence. See my *Suppl. ad Lexica Hebr.* p. 1255." *Anmerk.* 1 Cor. x. 4.

Upon this passage, another learned layman, Senator von Meyer, remarks; "Had Michaelis declined to use the scholastic expression, which in many cases creates objection, *the Second Person in the Godhead*; and had he simply presented the view which the Jewish cabbalists would have supplied him with, that the Deity *manifested* to men is in every instance the Messiah or Son, and that every manifestation of the Deity has its foundation in the Son or Word; a fact, according to which he is styled in the apostolic Epistles the Image [*Figürlichkeit*. visible representation, *εικών*] of the INVISIBLE GOD [*i. e.* who cannot be presented to us by any conception of form or figure], and is therefore the *Angel of Jehovah*, *Angel-Jehovah*, and *Angel of his presence*;—had Michaelis possessed this knowledge of the mystery, he would have found a shorter way to the establishment of his position, and a more complete answer to objectors." *Der Vorhof*; cited by Mr Steinwender in his small but valuable work, *Christus Deus in V. T. Libris Hist.* Königsb. 1829.

²²³ Deut. xxxiii. 16.

same person is attributed, in the New Testament, the giving of the law to the Israelites; which was certainly the act of God himself. "This [Moses] is the person who was in the assembly of the people in the wilderness, with the Angel who spoke to him on mount Sinai."²²⁴

"Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared. Revere his presence, and listen to his voice. Provoke him not; for he will not bear your rebellions; for MY NAME is within him:"²²⁵ a frequent idiom of the Old Testament to denote the manifested presence and perfections of God, a reverential periphrasis for GOD himself: so that the sense involved is that of an essential unity.²²⁶

It can admit of no reasonable doubt that this was the person who, in human form, appeared to Joshua, to encourage him in the arduous enterprise to which he had been called. He is styled "the Prince [or Captain] of the army of Jehovah;" he requires the same tokens of adoration which the Angel of Jehovah required from Moses at the bush of Horeb; and he, as in that case, is styled Jehovah.²²⁷

An angel of Jehovah appeared to the wife of Manoah, and afterwards to himself. They regarded him as a prophet or human messenger; and, having duteously received his injunctions, they proceeded to acknowledge the goodness of God, in the accredited mode of sacrifice. "For Manoah knew not that he was an angel of Jehovah: and he said, What is thy name? For thy words will come to pass, and we must honour thee. And the Angel of Jehovah said to him, Why dost thou ask for my name; for it is wonderful? Then Manoah took a kid of the goats and an offering of flour, and offered them upon the rock to Jehovah; and a wonderful thing took place, Manoah and his wife being the beholders. For it came to pass, in the ascending of the flame from the altar towards heaven, that the Angel of Jehovah also ascended in the flame from the altar: and Manoah and his wife were the beholders, and they fell upon their faces towards the earth. And the

²²⁴ Acts vii. 38 compared with Exod. xix. 19, 20; xx. 1; xxiii. 20, 21; plainly showing that the *Angel* of the protomartyr was the *God* and *Jehovah* of Moses.

²²⁵ Ex. xxiii. 20, 21. Note A.

²²⁶ "Numen, quatenus mortalibus præsens adest, fere i. q. facies Jehovahæ.—*Gesen. Lex.*

²²⁷ Jos. v. 13–15; vi. 2. The verse vi. 1, is plainly a parenthesis.

“Angel of Jehovah no more appeared to Manoah and his wife. “Then Manoah knew that he was an Angel of Jehovah. And “Manoah said to his wife, We shall surely die, for we have “seen God. But his wife said to him, If Jehovah had been “pleased to cause us to die, he would not have received at our “hand the sacrifice and the flour-offering; nor would he have “given us to see all these things, and to hear already such as “these.”²²⁸ Though the characteristic brevity of the Hebrew records does not give us an answer to every question which we might be disposed to ask, it is plain that this was an appearance, not only preternatural, but regarded as having some still greater peculiarity, and as being actually a visible revelation of the Divine Majesty. The description which the Superior Person gives of himself, that his name is “wonderful” (וִפְלֵא), is essentially the same with one of the particulars describing the Messiah in Isaiah ix. 6. It is manifest also that this person, though styled an Angel or Messenger, was in the event considered to be God and Jehovah; and was adored as such.

—“He was their Saviour: in all their distresses, he was no “oppressor; and the Angel of his presence saved them. By “his love and by his kindness he redeemed them: and he bare “them and sustained them all the days of old.”²²⁹ This expression, *Angel of the presence of God*, intimates that the Person so called declares, exemplifies, and executes the gracious purposes

²²⁸ Judges xiii. 3-23. In ver. 18, Michaelis, Dathe, and Boothroyd, follow our own Version and other good authorities, in rendering וִפְלֵא *secret*. Le Cène has, *it must remain secret*: the Genevese of 1805, *it is sublime*. De Wette has *wunderbar*, which does not differ from Luther's *wundersam*, wondrous, admirable. Michaelis has this note: “The Hebrew word includes all these significations: *unknown, secret, enigmatical, mysterious, and wonderful*. Manoah probably understood it thus; *his name remains secret, he will not tell it; but is determined to remain unknown*. But in fact it carries a further meaning; *his name is so mysterious that men cannot perfectly understand it; it is unspeakable, that is, he is God, whose nature and perfections surpass the comprehension of mortals*.” Anmerk.

In ver. 19, וִפְלֵא עֲשֵׂה may be literally translated, *wonderful in doing*. The first word being an active participle (though those who reject the points make no distinction in such a case as this between the active and the passive), seems most naturally to agree with the Angel. But the extremely short and probably elliptical form of the expression renders it so difficult, that I am induced to follow Dathe in rendering it impersonally, according to a well-known idiom.

²²⁹ Isa. lxiii. 8, 9. The reading of the common Hebrew text וִפְלֵא seems more consonant with the sense of the passage than the marginal Keri וְיָ which the established translation has followed: and וְיָ does not signify an *afflicted person*, but is either an appellative noun denoting an *adversary or oppressor*, or an abstract, *distress, deep and heavy trouble*.

of the Almighty Father, for the temporal benefits and eternal salvation of men. The history, in different passages, shows that there was, in these appearances, a visible object, no doubt a majestic human form, which was the sign of a peculiar presence of God, that is, a conspicuous exercise of some Divine attribute. In one place, the term *presence* appears twice, by an evident ellipsis for *Angel of the presence*.²³⁰

In the prophecies of Zechariah, we find a very conspicuous person, who is described as intimately acquainted with the counsels of the Most High, as presiding over the affairs of the world, as directing the ministrations of superior intelligences, as protecting, vindicating, and interceding for the oppressed Jewish church, and Joshua its high priest, as judging and triumphing over the enemies of the church, as “sent by Jehovah of hosts,” and therefore repeatedly called “the Angel” or Messenger “of Jehovah;” and this remarkable person is himself called Jehovah. So that, in these passages, we find this great Angel depicted in the appropriate and exclusive characteristics of the Messiah, the Saviour, the Priest upon his throne, the Intercessor: and not less certainly described as possessing the attributes, exercising the sovereignty, and wearing the holy and incommunicable name of JEHOVAH.²³¹

“The Sovereign whom ye are seeking shall unexpectedly come to his temple, even the Angel of the covenant in whom ye are delighted.”²³²

On bringing together the principal features in these remarkable descriptions, we find them to be plainly the following. The person described is always presented with circumstances and

²³⁰ Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15.

²³¹ Zechariah i. 8, 10–13; ii. 8–11; iii. 1–10; vi. 12, 13, 15. The passages are too long for insertion here; especially as they cannot be properly understood apart from the system of prophetic symbols with which they are connected. But if the serious inquirer will examine the whole, with a close observance of their intercommunity in the plan and scenery of the symbolical representations, and taking to his aid that illustration with which the disclosures of the New Testament have enriched us; I am confident that he will find the ample proof of what I have above asserted: and if he desires the fruits of careful judgment, exact learning, deep piety, and long and assiduous research, to aid him in the study, he will derive these advantages from “A Commentary on the Vision of Zechariah the Prophet; with a corrected Translation and Critical Notes: by the Rev. John Stonard, D.D.” London, 1824. Dr Stonard was a pupil of Blayney’s; but, though he duly reveres his master, he is *nullius addictus*, etc. See also the citation from Michaelis, in page 295 of this volume.

²³² Mal. iii. 1. Note B.

attributives which spread around him the most surpassing exhibitions of greatness and honour. It is observable that when celestial creatures are spoken of as a class, they are called Angels, Angels of God, and his Angels: but we never meet with the plural phrase, *Angels of Jehovah*. This person claims an uncontrolled sovereignty over the affairs of men:—He has the attribute of omniscience and omnipresence:—He performs works which only omnipotence could:—He uses awful formula by which the Deity, on various occasions, condescended to confirm the faith of those to whom the primitive revelations were given; he “swareth BY HIMSELF:”—He is the gracious Protector and Saviour, the Redeemer from evil, the Intercessor, and the Author of the most desirable blessings;—His favour is to be sought with the deepest solicitude, as that which is of the highest importance to the interests of men:—He is the object of religious invocation:—He is, in the most express manner, and repeatedly, declared to be JEHOVAH, GOD, the ineffable I AM THAT I AM:—Yet this mysterious person is represented as *distinct* from God, and acting (as the term *Angel* imports) under a divine mission.

Are there, then, two Jehovahs?—Revelation and enlightened reason reject the notion. Three other modes of solution are proposed.

1. That the Angel of the divine presence was some eminent, celestial, creature; sent to convey the messages of the divine will to those who were the immediate subjects of revelation; acting, therefore, on the behalf of the Deity; and allowed to *personate* the Deity, in the assumption of the attributes and forms of address which are distinctive of him.²³³ To this opinion the following objections apply.

First: there is no intimation, in any of the passages which introduce this Angel speaking and acting, that he is personating the character or reciting the words of another. Unless such an intimation were expressly given, or in some way indirectly notified, it is contrary to all just principles of interpretation to assume it.

Secondly: in the numerous instances throughout the Scriptures, in which the prophets or other persons deliver addresses in the name of God, there is always a manifest, and as it were solicitously marked, distinction between the messenger and the

²³³ The opinion of Episcopius, Le Clerc, Dr Samuel Clarke, Henry Taylor in his *Letters of Ben Mordecai*, etc.

Author of the message. The proof of this circumstance will be striking to every unprejudiced person who will read a few pages of the prophets. The formula, "thus saith Jehovah," is usually made most prominent at the opening of each oracle; and, in the course of it, is repeated so frequently as to seem redundant to such as are not aware of the extreme and anxious jealousy with which the sacred writings guard the exclusive prerogatives of the Most High. The principle expressed in the declaration of the Eternal,—“I will not give my glory to another,” is ever and most sacredly observed.

Thirdly: two instances occur in the closing book of Scripture, in which an apostle, under erroneous views with regard to the person of his celestial guide, attempted to pay him divine honours. “I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who showed me these things: and he said to me, See that thou do not so! “I am thy fellow-servant:—worship God.”²³⁴—Is it to be supposed, that the heavenly messenger would thus eagerly protest against the least seeming of an intrusion into the place of the Supreme; while under the former dispensations of religion, a line of conduct exactly the reverse was pursued, on similar occasions? It should also be taken into the account, that, comparing the degree of religious information existing and diffused among men in the patriarchal ages, and at the time the Apocalypse was written, the danger of idolatry during the former period was incomparably greater than at the latter: consequently the obligation to provide against that danger was in proportion.

2. That the expression is nothing but a Hebraism to denote God himself, or any peculiar token of the divine presence, such as the burning bush was, or the pillar of cloud and fire, or the ark of the sanctuary. Thus Mr Belsham says, “The phrase ‘angel of Jehovah,’ means either the visible symbol of the divine presence, or Jehovah himself.”²³⁵ But this hypothesis utterly fails, by its leaving unaccounted for the very strong attributions of *intelligence, will, power, moral action*, and all personal properties; which it would be perfectly absurd to apply to a visible splendour, or any symbolical phenomenon whatever; and by its overlooking the *essential* part of the case, the clear and marked

²³⁴ Rev. xxii. 8, 9; xix. 10. It can make no difference to the argument, whether the transactions took place in prophetic vision, or in outward action.

²³⁵ *Calm Inquiry*, p. 308.

DISTINCTION which is preserved between this personal Angel and Him who sent him. It is this distinction, so widely different from the idea of either a symbolical token or a personal periphrasis, which makes the insuperable difficulty, upon the Unitarian hypothesis.

3. That the Being eminently called the Angel of Jehovah, is one who is, in certain respects or properties, *distinct* from God; and yet is, at the same time, truly and essentially THE SAME with God. Certainly we are not entitled to affirm, antecedently to all investigation, that such a mode of existence, distinct in some minor respects, is inconsistent with a proper unity and identity in such other manner or respects as is essential to the Deity. It is grossly unphilosophical to apply to a subject confessedly INFINITE, the reasonings and analogies which have been drawn merely from the observation of finite nature; and that observation,—O how superficial, confined, and imperfect! How little know we of the phenomena of created things! And of their intimate essences we know nothing.²³⁶ Concerning GOD, our best and only certain knowledge is that which Himself has been pleased to communicate. He only knows HIMSELF: and if, in the records of his communications of truth to mankind, such a combination of distinction with unity be affirmed,—every reasonable and upright mind will admit that the fact ought to be regarded as satisfactorily established; however beyond the reach of our knowledge, and perhaps of our faculties, the mode of that fact may be.²³⁷ Is not some such attribution necessary, in forming even our poor conception of *all possible* perfection combined in One Essence?²³⁸

²³⁶ “As a blind man has no idea of colours, so we have no idea of the modes by which the All-wise God exercises his universal perception and intelligence:” [How much less, then, of the mode of his existence, the intimate and essential constitution, to use an improper term, of his perfect and illimitable nature?—“We have ideas of his attributes; but we are absolutely ignorant what is the intimate essence of any thing:—by no exercise of either sensation or reflection, can we know intimate essences; much less can we have any idea of the intimate essence of God.” *Sir Isaac Newton’s Scholium Generale*, at the end of his *Principia*.

²³⁷ Note C.

²³⁸ It is a most remarkable circumstance, that the acute Mohammedan divines (for they also have their theological writers), in their deep metaphysical philosophizings upon the Essence and the necessary Attributes of the Deity, do attribute to Him a Triune manner of existence. Whether they derived this notion solely from the train of abstruse reasoning which they detail; or whether the hint was not suggested to them by the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures, or by the ancient Persian philosophy, or by the Platonic doctrines upon the Deity

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. XXXIV.

Note A, page 300.

On this passage the *Calm Inquiry* observes, "Here it is said that the name of Jehovah is expressly given to the conducting angel. But this remark is very erroneous. An angel is properly nothing more than a messenger, and the angel here alluded to was probably Joshua, who acted in the name, that is, by the authority, of God." P. 307. The argument of this observation is sufficiently answered by Dathe's remarks, below: to which may be added, that the command, "Be on thy guard from [*i. e.* revere, obsequiously attend] his presence, does not well comport with the rank of a human being. It is worthy of observation, that the clause, of which Dathe justly says that it is not applicable to any created being, is repeated identically in the words of Joshua, "Ye cannot serve Jehovah, for He is the Holy God [the noun and adjective both plural, אֱלֹהִים אֵל קָדִים, the avenging God [אֵל קָדִים]; he will not bear your rebellions and your sins." Josh. xxiv. 19. A strong proof that Joshua could not be the person alluded to, as Mr Belsham supposes.

The judicious and candid Dathe translates כִּי שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבּוֹ by *Idem est qui ego*: and adds, "From this remarkable passage it appears to me very clear that the Messenger or Angel of God, whom he here promises to be the Leader of his people, is not a creature, much less Moses or Joshua, but an uncreated Angel. For (1.) the clause, *He will not pardon your sins*, is not applicable to any created being, whether angel or man: (2.) the next words, *My name is in him*, cannot be explained to signify, He shall act in my name, that is, under my command, or by authority received from me; for in that case another word, *he will act*, or *he will speak*, or the like, would have been added: (3.) the same conclusion is established by a comparison of this passage with chap. xxxii. 34 [and xxxiii. 2], where God expresses his indignation against the Israelites for their idolatry by declaring that not Himself, but an angel, should be henceforth their guide: but this, the people and Moses most earnestly deprecate" [as a calamity and a judgment, whereas the present instance is a promise of favour and mercy, and is so acknowledged in Is. lxiii. 9]. "That angel, therefore, is perfectly different from him who is spoken of in the passage before us; who is the same that appeared to Moses, chap. iii. 2, and there likewise both speaks and acts as God himself." *Dathii Pentateuchus*, p. 308.

and the Logos; the fact still remains: and the conviction must have been most powerful upon the minds of those writers, to produce such an effect as would overbear the prejudices of their Mohammedanism. It is indeed easy to perceive, from their manner of reasoning, that the obligation to admit the divine mission of their false prophet is to them a heavy burden; oppressing, rebutting, and often destroying the sublime speculations in which they attempt to soar. The evidence of this extraordinary fact is given, with ample extracts and translations from the Arabic authors, whose works exist in manuscript chiefly in the Bodleian and in the libraries of Leyden and Berlin, in Dr Tholuck's small but most important work, *Die Speculative Trinitätslehre des Späteren Orients*. Berlin, 1826.

Even Wegscheider admits that, before the Christian era, there were some among the Jews who attributed to the Messiah an origin and nature superior to the human:—and that, notwithstanding the declarations of the Koran against the doctrine of the Trinity, "more recent Mohammedan divines, who appear to have followed the philosophers of the new Platonic school, have advanced doctrines concerning the Logos and Son of God, which are similar to those of the contemporary Christian teachers." *Instit. Theol.* ed. 1829, p. 273.

The threatening referred to, in ch. xxxii. and xxxiii., was given conditionally, and was revoked upon the intercession of Moses. It was evidently intended and understood as a great calamity. The reference, therefore, could not be to the Angel before mentioned, to whom divine prerogatives are ascribed, and who is promised as a peculiar blessing to the people of God; but probably was to the idea of being consigned, in the way of rejection and punishment, to the care of some very inferior being. Had it pleased God to execute it, he would have been at no loss for the proper instrument: but, since that was not the divine purpose, it is not necessary to suppose that any determinate messenger was referred to. The general notion of an inferior messenger is sufficient.

Upon the passage, chap. xxiii. 20, 21, Seiler observes: "This Angel or Messenger of God is most probably he who spake to Moses out of the pillar of cloud and fire, and as the Captain of the host led Israel through the wilderness. God says, that his own person is represented by this Messenger: 'My name is in him.' He further describes him as one who can forgive sins.—By this Angel must doubtless be understood that exalted Divine Messenger, who spake in the name of God to Israel, who appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and who at length was revealed in human flesh, Christ the Son of God." *Gr. Erb. Buch*, ii. 154.

Note B, page 302.

There is a very striking passage in the Book of Job (ch. xxxiii. 23), but which is not introduced in this enumeration, on account of the difficulty of determining whether the personage thus described were the Great Angel mentioned in so many other passages; or a mortal teacher of eminent piety and wisdom, such as Elihu himself, whose doctrines and admonitions would be the means of reclaiming and consoling the erring complainer; or a created celestial spirit, by whose ministry, as in many instances in the scripture history, God might announce his own pardoning mercy, and the sinner's duty of repentance and prayer. "If there be on his behalf a mediating messenger, one out of a thousand, to declare to man his duty: then will He be gracious unto him, and will say, Deliver him from going down to the grave; I have received a ransom." The expression "one out of a thousand," as in Eccl. vii. 28, denotes that which is rare and valuable, and consequently excellent. The absence of the definitive π is an objection to Dr Mason Good's rendering, *the thousand*; in accordance with his hypothesis of a celestial hierarchy.

The profound and accurate Schultens, after examining with his accustomed minuteness the different interpretations and hypotheses, gives his judgment that the Angel of the covenant, the Messiah, is the person described; and he alleges the correspondence of the titles, the suitableness of the descriptions, the affinity with ch. xix. 25, and the scope and argument of the passage, as determining reasons for his opinion. *Vers. et Comm. in Job*, vol. ii. p. 918.—Dr Velthusen (late Prof. Theol. successively at Kiel, Helmstadt, and Rostock, and who died in 1814) maintains the same interpretation, and thinks that this passage is one of those PRIMITIVE ORACLES which Divine Mercy had vouchsafed to the early generations of mankind, and of which he conceives that many instances occur in the Book of Job, introduced as sacred authorities. This opinion, concerning the relics of primitive revelations in this book, has been maintained by Michaelis and others. *Exerc. Crit. in Libr. Job*, pp. 102–118. Lemgow, 1772.

Note C, page 305.

"This Angel denotes some mystery.—He is the angel of whom it is written, *The Angel who hath redeemed me*. (Gen. xlviii. 16.) And, behold, so taught the Rabbis. It is decreed that, in the future period [זמנא דמשיחא the age of the Messiah], he shall become supreme and precious; so that by him the holy name shall

be exalted, and the Holy and Blessed will, by him, redeem the idolatrous nations." The book *Zohar, on Deut. ap. Schöttgen. Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* tom. ii. 125. "That Angel is the Redeemer, who is found in every redemption that is in the world:—the Shechina who always walks with man, and never departs from him." —*Id. ap. eund.* p. 145. "—The Redeemer of the world, the Guardian of men. He it is who hath prepared blessings for the whole world." *Id. ap. eund.* p. 149. "This Son is the faithful Shepherd. Of thee it is said, *Kiss the Son*; Thou art *my Son*. He is the Prince of the Israelites, the Lord over things below, the Lord of ministering angels, the Son of the Supreme, the Son of the Holy and Blessed God, and the gracious Shechina." *Id. ap. eund.* p. 6. "The Angel of the Lord, who appeared to Moses in the bush, is the Shechina." *Id. in Schöttg. Jesus der Wahre Messias,* p. 21.

The learned Polish Socinian Enjedin proposes, as a general answer to any reasoning from the supposed agency of Christ under the Old Testament, these arguments: (1.) From Heb. i. 1, it appears that the divine will was revealed of old by prophets, in contradistinction from the instrumentality of the Son, which is peculiar to this new dispensation: (2.) From ver. 5, *To which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son*, etc. it appears that no angel is the Messiah. *Expl. Loc.* p. 23. The reply to these objections is obvious. (1.) The writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews manifestly does not intend an exclusive assertion on either side: for, under the O. T. the messages of authority from God were frequently communicated in other ways than by prophets, and under the N. T. *prophets* are mentioned among the apostles, and other inspired servants of Christ: but the design of the verse evidently is to show to the Jews, who were immediately addressed, that the Christian dispensation proceeded from the same authority as the Mosaic. (2.) The fallacy of the other argument lies in a change, perhaps inadvertent, of the acceptation of the term *angel*. In the apostle's reasoning, and in the major part of Enjedin's argument, it is used as the name of a superior order of beings; but, in its application to the Messiah, it has its generic signification of *messenger*. All acknowledge that, in this sense as descriptive of office, the term is applicable to the Messiah.

"It is certain that the Gospel Dispensation was delivered to men by the immediate ministry of the Son of God, and that this is one of its distinguishing characteristics, and is stated as such by the apostle in Heb. i. 1, 2. But it does not by any means infringe thereupon, to believe that the Son of God appeared personally to the prophets of old. For, by 'the fathers,' we are to understand the body of the Israelitish people of ancient times, not the prophets or patriarchs; for to them God did show himself immediately and personally; as he did to Moses, 'face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend;' and so to Abraham, Isaiah, and others. By them God spake to the fathers; and the immediate ministry which he used therein was the ministry of those persons. Therefore the distinction drawn by the apostle will not be effaced, nor will any occasion be afforded for alleging that any part of the Old Testament was communicated to the fathers by the immediate ministry of the Son of God, because he appeared in vision to the prophet Zechariah, or to any other prophet."—*Stonard on Zech.* p. 20.

SECTION XXXV.—ON THE REMARKABLE USE OF PLURAL NOUNS AND ATTRIBUTIVES IN APPLICATION TO THE DIVINE BEING.

THE attention of scripture critics in both ancient and modern times has been drawn to a remarkable peculiarity in the Hebrew

language and its dialect the Chaldee; a peculiarity which, so far as I have been able to learn, has not its parallel in any other known language. A little explanation will make it intelligible to those who have never paid attention to these studies.

The most usual appellation of the Deity in the original scriptures of the Old Testament is אֱלֹהִים *Elohim*,²³⁹ which is constantly translated GOD: but it is the regular plural of אֱלֹהַּ²⁴⁰ *Eloah*; which also occurs, though much less frequently than in the plural form, and is always translated in the same manner.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Usually expressed by those who reject the points, *Aleim*. But it is to be hoped that this mutilated and fallacious way of treating the Hebrew language has sunk, never again to be raised. The school of Schultens had sufficiently proved that the things (vowels, compensations, and tones), represented by the Masoretic marks, are essential to the language, and cannot be neglected without a fatal enervation of the study: and the wonderful advancement in the knowledge of the Semitic tongues, which has been made within a few years by Vater, Pfeiffer, Gesenius, Ewald, Stuart, Nordheimer, and their fellow-labourers in the philosophy of language and in oriental philology, has placed the whole matter in the clearest light:—"A zealous student should give no ear to the exaggerated reports of the ease with which the language may be attained; which some have circulated in order to encourage the supine to exertion. This delusion makes many come to this study, prepared to find it easy, or to make it so: and they attain, accordingly, no higher knowledge of the language than to know what word in the original corresponds to every word in the Authorised Version. Hence, we have Grammars, which offer to teach the language without points (a system long since utterly exploded here [in Germany]), which, to spare the indolent, rob the language of the very breath of its life, and give not only a soul-less representation of it, but a false one; for there are a thousand analogies in the cognate dialects, to show that the punctuation is physiologically correct." *Mr Nicholson's* (a gentleman of the University of Oxford, who has for some time resided in Germany for the advantages of philological and biblical study) *Transl. of Ewald's Heb. Gramm.* 1836. To this English book, printed at Göttingen, Dr Ewald has himself imparted additional matter, rendering it more valuable than his own German work.

²⁴⁰ In Chaldee, אֱלֹהַּ, plur. אֱלֹהִין.—The etymology of this word has been much contested; some making it a compound of אֱל and הַ so as to signify *the Mighty Jah*; others deriving it from אָלַח *to enter into an engagement by oath*, and thus signifying *the Being of sworn veracity and faithfulness*. The most reasonable and probable derivation, so far as I can judge, is that of Schultens, Reineccius, and a host of the most eminent Orientalists; who make its primitive אֱלֹה, which, though not occurring in the existing remains of the Hebrew, is preserved in the Arabic *alaha*, and denotes *to adore*. Hence the noun will signify *the object of adoration*, or, as the illustrious Schultens well expresses it, NUMEN TREMENDUM. *Comm. in Job*, vol. i. p. 3. Gesenius supposes the radical meaning to be, *to strike with awe*.

²⁴¹ "The singular form אֱלֹהַּ occurs chiefly in the poetical books;—twice in the Hymn of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), several times in the Prophets, forty times in the book of Job, and in the other books sixteen times: but the plural אֱלֹהִים occurs about two thousand five hundred times." *Simonis Lex. ed. Eichhorn*, p. 119. Hal. 1793.

This plural appellative is generally put in agreement with singular verbs, pronouns, and adjectives: as in the first sentence of the Pentateuch, *Elohim created*;—*creavit Dii*;—*les Dieux créa*. This is the ordinary construction through the whole Hebrew Bible.

But sometimes the apposition is made with verbs, pronouns, and adjectives in the *plural* number likewise; and sometimes singulars and plurals are put together in the same agreement. The following are all the instances of these kinds, so far as I can ascertain.

Gen. xx. 13. הִתְעוּ אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים God [Elohim] “caused me to “wander;—*vagari me fecerunt Dii*;—*les Dieux m’ont fait égarer*.”

Gen. xxxv. 7. שָׁם נִגְלוּ אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים there “the *Elohim* were revealed to him.” Onkelos understands this of angelic beings.

Deut. v. 23 (Engl. V. 26), אִשְׁרַי שָׁמַע קוֹל אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים “that “hath heard the voice of the Living God [Elohim haiim];—qui “*audivit vocem Deorum Viventium*;—qui a entendu la voix des “*Dieux Vivans*.” Onkelos renders it, “the voice of the Memra “of Jah our God.”

Josh. xxiv. 19. לָעֲבֹד אֶת יְהוָה כִּי אֱלֹהִים קְדוֹשִׁים הוּא “to serve “Jehovah, for he is the Holy God [Elohim kedoshim];—servire “Jehovæ, quia *Dii Sancti ipse*;—servir à l’Eternel, parceque il “est les *Dieux Saints*.”

1 Sam. xvii. 26. מַעְרְכוֹת אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים the ranks “of the Living “God [Elohim haiim];—acies instructæ *Deorum Viventium*; “—les rangs des *Dieux Vivans*.”²⁴²

2 Sam. vii. 23. אִשְׁרַי הִלְכֹוּ אֱלֹהִים לְפָדוֹת לוֹ “whom God hath “gone [holku Elohim] to redeem unto himself;—quem *Dii*

²⁴² 1 Sam. iv. 8 contains four plural words in apposition with *Elohim*; but it is not enumerated here, since it is uttered in the person of polytheists. It adds, however, a strong confirmation to the other examples, as it shows their perfect conformity to the mode of expression used when an unquestionable plurality is signified. The same observation applies to 1 Kings xix. 2.—There are some other passages which, for similar reasons, are not here adduced. Gen. xxxi. 53. “The Elohim of Abraham and the Elohim of Nahor judge [verb plur. *judicent*; “—*portent le jugement*] between us.” But perhaps Laban might speak the language of polytheism. Deut. iv. 7. “What nation is so great, whose Elohim is near [adj. plur. *propinqui*;—*prochains*] to it?” It may be understood of their false deities. Eccl. v. 7 (E. V. 8), “He who is High above the high observeth, and *High Ones* are above them.” The latter appellation may denote orders of created beings, superior to man. Ch. xii. 1. “Thy *Creators*.” But many MSS. have the singular form. Dan. iv. 5, 6, 15 (E. V. 8, 9, 18). “Spirit of the *Holy* “God [plur. *Elohim kadishin*;—*Deorum sanctorum*;—des *Dieux saints*].” It may be taken, as in the common version, for a polytheistic expression, though I think without sufficient reason.

“*progressi sunt ad redimendum sibi*;—lequel *les Dieux s'en sont allés racheter à soi.*” The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases this passage by understanding the plural words of divine messengers: “—whom the [messengers] sent from the presence of Jah went to redeem for a people, and to place to himself a name.”

Ps. lviii. 11. אֵלֹהִים שֹׁפֵטִים בָּאָרֶץ “Surely there is a God, a Judge [*Elohim shofetim*], in the earth;—utique esse *Deos Judices* in terrâ;—assurément il y a *des Dieux, des Juges*, dans la terre.”

To these may be added, as presenting the same form of expression, though without the very word *Elohim*,—

Ps. cxlix. 2. יִשְׂמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּעֲשָׂוֵי “Israel [shall rejoice in his Maker [pl.];—*lætabitur Israël in Creatoribus suis*;—Israël se rejouira de ses *Créateurs.*”

Prov. ix. 10. “The beginning of wisdom is the fear of Jehovah, and the knowledge of the Holy [*קְדוֹשִׁים kedoshim*;—*Sanctorum*;—des *Saints*] is understanding.” According to the usual construction of Hebrew poetry, the plural epithet *the Holy* must be understood in apposition with *Jehovah* in the former half of the distich. The same phrase recurs, ch. xxx. 3.

Is. liv. 5. כִּי בַעֲלִיךָ עֲשָׂוֶה “For thy Creator is thy Husband [both plural]:—nam *Mariti tui Creatores tui*;—car tes *Créateurs* sont tes *Maris.*”

Jer. x. 10. יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת הוּא אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים “Jehovah is the God of truth, he is the Living God [*Elohim haiim*];—*ipse Dei Viventes*;—lui, il est les *Dieux Vivans.*” The same expression occurs in ch. xxiii. 36.

Dan. vii. 18, 22, 25, 27. In each of these verses is the expression, “the saints of the Most High,” the adjective being plural, עֲלִיוֹנִין [*Elionin*];—*Altissimorum*;—des *Très Hauts*. The Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and the most eminent biblical critics, refer it to the Deity.

Hos. xii. 1. (Engl. V. xi. 11.) “But Judah still reigneth with God, and with the Holy [pl. *cum Sanctis*;—avec les *Saints*] is faithful.” The parallelism of the Hebrew poetical style, as above remarked, most properly requires *the Holy* to correspond with *God*.

Elohim is generally supposed to be the only one of the divine names which appears in the plural number: but Drusius, Buxtorf, Heeser, Eichhorn, Gesenius, and other distinguished scholars, have maintained that *Adonai* (אֲדֹנָי Sovereign) and

Shaddai (שַׁדַּי the All-sufficient) are plurals of an obsolete form.²⁴³ The former of these words is of the same family with *Adon* (אֲדֹנָי Lord, master, sovereign), which, both in its singular and in its plural form, is applied to the Divine Being, as well as to human possessors of authority.²⁴⁴

From this use of *Adonim*, or in its construct form *Adoni*, the plural of *Adon*, and from another case which will shortly be noticed, the Rabbinical grammarians have deduced a rule, that substantives signifying *dominion*, *dignity*, or *honour*, are put in the plural form though denoting only a singular object, and are joined in agreement with verbs or with adjectives in the singular : and this they call the *Plural of Majesty*.²⁴⁵

The other cases upon which this rule is grounded are the following :

1. The use of *Baali*, the construct plural of *Baal* (בַּעַל, the possessor of any thing, and, in its secondary senses, a husband, a master, or an owner of any description of property), occurring in a singular sense. The instances from which this opinion is inferred are extremely few,²⁴⁶ and they all refer to such kinds of

²⁴³ But Ewald, the sharp-sighted and eminently philosophical Hebraist, regards the former word as merely a possessive, *my Lord*; and the latter as "the ancient proper name for God," the ך being an essential part of the word. But he assigns no satisfactory reason, as appears to me, in either case; and Gesenius remains unconvinced; whose opinion, in a case of philology, especially if at all favourable to a doctrine of revelation, is really equal to an argument. Indeed Ewald says nothing that can invalidate the idea of an original plural form. See his *Gramm. of the Heb. L. of the O. T.* § 324, 359; and *Gesen. Lex. Man.* p. 984.

²⁴⁴ Instances of this plural in a singular sense, Isa. xix. 4; Mal. i. 6; Gen. xxiv. 9, 51; xlii. 30, etc. etc.

²⁴⁵ "Some vestiges of plurals for the ideas of *Lord*, *Master*, have been preserved from the ancient period before Moses, and the plural must accordingly, in that earliest time, have also easily denoted extent, dignity, majesty: but this feeling of the language is utterly lost in the Hebrew language as we find it, so that only small and scattered traces of that idiom are still discoverable. The word אֱלֹהִים *God*, however, appears to have remained always in the plural in prose, from that time, not so much on account of its resemblance to the idea of *Lord*, as because they conceived the Deity in ancient times as infinitely numerous and divisible, and yet as conjoined: for אֱלֹהִים in the same manner is always used in the plural, as *penates*, even in cases where it can only mean *one* image, Gen. xxxi. 34; 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16. The poets, however, have already formed the singular אֱלֹהִים again, and with exactly the same signification. It is a *great error* to suppose that the Hebrew language, as we find it, has any feeling for a so-called *pluralis majestaticus*." *Ewald's Gramm.* p. 231.

²⁴⁶ All that I can discover are in Ex. xxi. 29, 34, 36; xxii. 10-13; and Is. i. 3, all of which denominate the owner of an ox, or ass, or of a covered well. A few other passages occur, as Job xxxi. 39; Prov. xvi. 22; Eccl. v. 12 (E. V. 13; vii. 12), but they are at least questionable, since both the sense and the construction are strictly preserved by taking the word as a plural.

ownership as are a burlesque on all ideas of dignity and majesty.

2. A very small number of instances of other words.

Tannim, תַּנִּים הַיָּדוֹל "the great dragon" [*i. e.* crocodile]. Ezek. xxix. 3. Yet this may have been by a literal error of some transcriber put for the singular תַּנִּין *Tannin*, whose regular plural is *Tanninim*: and so very many manuscripts read it. This is also the opinion of Gesenius; *Lex. Man.* p. 1062. In two or three places *Tannim* occurs as the plural by abbreviation.

Behemoth, בְּהֵמוֹת. Job xl. 15. This is generally taken to be the plural of *Behemah*, so put to designate the size of the animal. But Bochart and Eichhorn have satisfactorily shown that it is an Egyptian word (*P* or *B* the prefix, *ehe* an ox, and *mout* aquatic, thus clearly determining the animal to be the hippopotamus); with a common singular termination (*Bocharti Hierozoicon*, p. 756. *Eichhorn in Sim. Lex.* p. 213). Gesenius, though an advocate for the doctrine of "the plural of excellence," admits this derivation to be equally probable.

אֲנִיָּשָׁה מִבֹּתֶיהָ "incurable [*sing.*] her wounds; *insanabilis plagæ ejus.*" Mic. i. 9. But this is at best a very doubtful instance: for (1.) "*Maccoth* may be a singular form, like *Achoth* a sister, *Chocmoth* wisdom, and other words" (*Simonis et Eichhorn, in Lex. Hebr.* p. 1021).—(2.) The attributive may be put in the singular, to denote a *distributive* application; "each of her wounds is incurable." So in Prov. xiv. 1, "Wise women, she buildeth her house," *i. e.* every wise woman: and, conversely, in 1 Kings xx. 20, "the Assyrian, they fled," *i. e.* each man shifted for himself, and fled individually as he could:—(see *Ewald*, § 360, 1.)—(3.) The participle may be taken to agree with the personified subject, Samaria; as it is translated in the margin of our common version, "she is grievously sick of her wounds." Thus it will correspond with the ellipsis of *κατὰ* in every page of Homer, and imitated by the Latin poets: and this, from its frequency and obviousness, must rather be regarded as an ellipsis of nature, than as belonging to any language in particular: νοσήσασα τὰ τραύματα.

From the whole, I must acknowledge a suspicion, that this commonly received rule of Hebrew Syntax does not rest upon a sufficiently solid foundation; a suspicion excited by these considerations:—

1. The paucity and dubious character of the examples by

which it is conceived to be sustained, and their feeble claim to the notion of *dominion* or *dignity*. The case of *Adonai* and *Elohim* must be left out of the question; for they constitute the phenomenon to be accounted for, and the truth of the allegation cannot be assumed with regard to them, without begging the question.

2. If the rule were valid, we might reasonably expect to see it exemplified in all, or at least in the most usual, names and titles of honour which occur in the language; such as those which denote kings, princes, nobles, generals, priests, and prophets.²⁴⁷ Let the learned reader examine every word of this kind in the Hebrew Bible; and I am greatly mistaken if he will discover one instance of this pretended notation of dignity. Yet can it be imagined that such an "indication of majesty, exalted dignity, and most excellent honour,"²⁴⁸ should be conferred upon the owner of an ass, and denied to the sovereign of a kingdom?

3. The full plural *Baalim* (בַּעַלִּים) never occurs but in a proper plural application.

4. Of the existing instances of *Baali* with a singular reference, every one has the pronominal suffix ו.

I venture, therefore, to propose this solution of the difficulty: that, by one of the irregularities incidental to language, the noun *Baal* was brought within the range of the analogy of the nouns אב *father*, אח *brother*, and חם *father-in-law*. Since, like them, it expresses one of the familiar relations of life, the usage in their case, though originating in a different etymological reason,²⁴⁹ might become transferred to it by colloquial assimilation. When any of those names of relationship is used with a pronominal suffix, it takes the ו as אבִי *thy father*, אחִי *his brother*, חמִי *her father-in-law*, אבֵּנוּ *our father*, etc. Now בַּעְלִי is the only form in which this supposed plural of *Baal* is found.

We must now take up the case of *Adonim*, *Adoni*, and *Adonai*; and of *Elohim* and *Elohi*. The problem is, to account for their application to inferior beings with a singular reference. This, I

²⁴⁷ See in *Buxtorf's* or *Taylor's Concordance*, or in *Stockius, Simonis*, etc. נָבִיא, מַלְאָךְ, כֹּהֵן, קָצֵין, גִּנְיָר, נָרִיב, פָּדָח, שִׁי, מַלְאָךְ.

²⁴⁸ *Buxtorf. Thesaur. Gram. Ling. Sanct.* pp. 311, 385, 400.

²⁴⁹ Viz. that their primitive forms were אָבִי and אָחִי. See *Schultensii Inst. ad Fund. Ling. Hebr.* p. 235; or *Schræderi Inst. Hebr. Ulmæ*, 1792, p. 142. *Simonis, in Lex.* Gesenius reasonably objects to the method of their arguing; but the same conclusion follows from his own evidently just account of such words as these; for the termination הָ or י comes *vi naturæ* from an infant's lips. See his *Lehrgebäude*, p. 479.

think, is solved by regarding it as a case of the well-known fact in the formation of all languages, that particular terms are made general, or that derivative meanings are gradually deduced from the primary and proper one, by dropping the more specific parts of the original idea, and retaining those which are more general. Thus we may suppose these words to have been, in their primary acceptation, attached to the Supreme Being ; and that, the plural form having grown into established use, it came to be transferred to those secondary applications which in time arose, regarding *only* the ideas of sovereignty and supremacy, and dropping that of plurality. Hence *Adonim* became an appellative for an earthly lord, and *Elohim* for a false deity, or any other application of it to which the principles which modify language might lead : though, with respect to *Elohim*, we shall find that the instances of its application to a singular object of this class are extremely few. It is surely more reasonable to derive the rare and inconsiderable instances of an anomaly, from the *capital example* which stands out in every page of the Old Testament, than to consider IT as subordinate to them.

But the fact which principally requires our attention, is the constant use of *Elohim* to designate the One and Only God : and this in the language of the patriarchs and prophets, who “spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.” It is not a little remarkable that such a circumstance should exist in the sacred books of a people who were separated from all other nations for this express object, that they should bear a public and continual protest against polytheism ; a people whose whole system of religious, political, and domestic usages was calculated, with consummate prudence and wisdom, to be a perpetual preservative from polytheistic notions ; a people who were charged by the Eternal God to destroy every statue, structure, and grove that might recall the memory of idolatrous rites, and to extirpate every thing that could be extirpated, which had been associated with idolatry, or might be converted into an instrument of its revival or of its slightest palliation ; who were enjoined to abolish every name of city, village, or other place, which was compounded with the name of a heathen deity, and to substitute new appellations ; who were not even to pronounce those abhorred names unless necessity compelled ;²⁵⁰—it is not, we may well say, a little remarkable that, in the sacred books of such a people,

²⁵⁰ See Deut. xii. xiii. Ex. xxiii. 13.

books whose very words, in many cases at least, were selected and dictated by the inspiration of Jehovah, *the ordinary name and style* of the Only Living and True GOD should be in a PLURAL form?—Did some strange and insuperable necessity lie in the way? Was the language so poor, that it could furnish no other term? Or if so, could not the wisdom of Inspiration have suggested a new appellative, and have for ever abolished the hazardous word?—None of these reasons existed. The language was rich and copious.²⁵¹ The names of the Deity in general and constant use were more numerous than in either of the beautiful languages of classical antiquity, or in the most cultivated tongues of modern Europe. Besides “that glorious and fearful name, JEHOVAH,” the appropriated and unique style of the True God, and besides other unexceptionable names, there was (as we have before said) the *singular* form, ELOAH, *of the very word* in question. There was no shadow of necessity, difficulty, or even inducement, for the adoption of a phraseology which, *on Unitarian principles*, every candid mind must confess, can with difficulty, if at all, be defended from the charge of pernicious example and very dangerous tendency.

But, it is said, “the connexion between words and ideas is perfectly arbitrary;”²⁵² the Hebrew was originally the language of polytheists, to whose opinions the word *Elohim* was perfectly conformable: and, when the Deity was pleased to make that language the vehicle of his revealed will, it was not worth while to innovate on its established forms; it was sufficient that true ideas were conveyed, though under the old terms.²⁵³

If we admit the premises assumed in this argument, precarious as they are, the conclusion by no means follows. It is strongly opposed by the facts above adverted to in the constitutions of the Israelitish nation; which indicate so extreme a sensibility, such an all-pervading vigilance for the abolition of every action and every word that might imply or lead to a favourable association with the polytheism and idolatry which either then prevailed or had in prior times existed.

²⁵¹ Judging of it, not from the remains of the proper Hebrew alone, of which we have only the Old Testament, but from its cognate dialects, especially the Arabic.

²⁵² *Calm Inq.* p. 5.

²⁵³ This solution was proposed by Professor Eichhorn. “In my opinion this plural is a proof that the Hebrew language was formed when Polytheism was the prevailing religion; on the destruction of which, this form sank into the expression of majesty and dignity.” *Simonis Lex.* p. 120.

If it be proposed to remove the difficulty by referring to the rule of the Hebrew idiom before mentioned, these objections will lie against the admission of this as an adequate solution :—

1. The existence of such a rule we have shown to be at least questionable.

2. If it be received, there seems to be no reason for the attachment of this note of dignity and majesty to *Eloah* and *Adon*, while it is not given to other names of the Deity, which, being appellatives, stand in at least equal need of some mark of distinction and eminence.

3. Admitting, however, that there existed some reason, to us undiscoverable, for thus signalizing these particular words, the Hebrew language possesses the more direct method of making the distinction, by appropriate epithets; a method constantly in use by the writers of the Old Testament, and liable to no misinterpretation; whereas there were the most cogent reasons, as we have seen, for avoiding the particular mode under consideration, even were it much more indubitably an idiom of the language than can be pretended.

It is further observable that the Rabbinical writers, even while supporting their alleged rule, recognise a designed plurality in the name *Elohim*, and say that it is expressive of the manifold faculties or operations of the Deity. "*Elohim*: its explanation is *Possessor of all Powers*: and for this reason he [Moses] does not say *El*, nor *Eloah*, but *Elohim* in the plural number. So also, *He is the Holy God* [*Elohim kedoshim*, Josh. xxiv. 19], because he perfectly comprises all holinesses."²⁵⁴

This is, I trust, a correct statement of the facts in relation to this topic. The question arising from them is, Whether from this peculiarity of the phraseology of the Hebrew Scriptures, any allusion, presumption, or implication can be justly inferred, in favour of the doctrine of a plurality of intelligent subsistences united in the one divine essence?

The negative is maintained by many of the most learned Trinitarians, among whom are Calvin, Mercer, Pareus, Drusius, the two Buxtorfs, Frederic Spanheim, G. J. Vossius, Leusden, Marekuis, J. D. Michaelis, and Stuart: and among the supporters of the affirmative are found Junius, Polyander, Piscator, James Alting, Danzius, Hoornbeek, Leidekker, Cocceius, Van Mastricht, Buddeus, and others. But the principal objections

²⁵⁴ Rabbi Bechai on Gen. i. 1. ap. *Buxtorf. Thesaur.* p. 397.

of the former class are precluded by the positions, that this circumstance is regarded merely as an allusive testimony, and not as a direct and independent argument; and that it is supposed to imply only the general notion of plurality, and not a specification of *Three* Divine subsistences. Those authors also seem to have overlooked a material part of the case, the apposition of plural attributives with the noun *Elohim*.

The affirmative opinion is censured by Mr Belsham as “a trifling argument;”²⁵⁵ and the following are his reasons:—

1. “In all languages it is a common anomaly for words of a plural form to have a singular signification.” He has not produced any instance, and I apprehend that it would not be easy to find one that would prove unexceptionable. There are, indeed, in most languages (perhaps as he affirms “in *all*”), words which, for some evident reason, never had a singular; or whose singular has gone into disuse; and therefore whose plural form stands in the common Lexicons, and is rendered by a singular term in Latin or English: but I am greatly mistaken if, in every such instance, the rational philologist cannot trace an original and designed plurality.²⁵⁶

2. “The word *Elohim* is almost uniformly used in apposition with singular verbs.” This is a part of the very case to be accounted for. It is not so with the “words of a plural form” in other languages, which the author says “have a singular signification:” they are always put in apposition with plural attributives.²⁵⁷ But, if we content ourselves with regarding the apposition of *Elohim* with singular verbs, adjectives, and pro-

²⁵⁵ “The word *Elohim*, which is commonly translated ‘God,’ in the original is in a plural form, and is thought by some to imply a plurality of persons in the divine essence.—*Answer*. This is a trifling argument. In all languages it is a common anomaly for words of a plural form to have a singular signification. The word *Elohim* is almost uniformly used in apposition with singular verbs. It is not limited, like Jehovah, to express the Supreme Being alone: and though in a plural form, it commonly expresses one object only. It stands for one Angel, Judges xiii. 22;—for one golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 31;—for one idol, Judges xvi. 17 [23, 24];—for Moses, Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1;—and for Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 13.” *Calm Inq.* pp. 304, 305.

²⁵⁶ Proofs may be found in *Schultensii Inst. Hebr.* p. 178. *Schroederi Inst. Hebr.* p. 129. *G. J. Vossii Etymologicon Ling. Lat.* under *Tenebræ* and similar words. *Johnson’s Grammat. Commentaries*, pp. 184–214. And the same foundation of reason exists in those words possessing only a plural form, which are found in the most polished modern languages.

²⁵⁷ We may say, ten pounds is a proper price; but the ellipsis of *a sum* is made, and no one would say that the plural word does not refer to multitude in the objects.

nouns, as a Hebrew idiom of which no other account can be given than that so we find it; what can we say upon the other part of the case, the construction with PLURAL attributives? It is *this* which forms the great peculiarity of our question: it is *this*, upon which the chief stress of the argument is laid for an allusion or implication in favour of the doctrine of a Divine plurality:—but upon *this* the writer was silent! It is manifest, that whatever validity can be supposed to belong to his reasoning against that notion, from the use of *singular* attributives, must fall with equal weight on the other side of the scale when applied to the instances in which the apposition is made regularly with *plural* attributives. All that he could contrive to diminish the difficulty on the one side, goes to increase its pressure on the other.

3. “It is not limited, like *Jehovah*, to express the Supreme Being alone.” For that very reason, then, it became the more necessary to guard against possible and probable abuse. As the word was in ordinary use to designate the numerous false deities of the nations, it was *the more* likely, and even unavoidable, that the Hebrews would understand its perpetual occurrence in the plural form, as the designation of their own God, to be an express intimation that *plurality* in some sense belonged to HIM; while, from other infallible testimonies, they were absolutely certain of His Essential *Unity*. Combined with this consideration, the often-cited passage cannot but appear a *very observable* one to the really impartial inquirer; “Hear, O Israel; Jehovah our Elohim, One Jehovah!”²⁵⁸ This sentence was proclaimed as a kind of oracular *effatum*, a solemn and authoritative principle, to the Israelites; and it certainly requires to be most attentively pondered. Had it been the intention to assert such a unity in the Divine nature as is absolutely solitary and exclusive of any modification of plurality, I submit to the critical reader whether the expression would not of necessity have been this;—“Hear, O Israel; Jehovah our Elohim, one Eloah!” But, as the words actually stand, they appear to be in the most definite and expressive manner designed to convey the idea that, *notwithstanding* a real plurality intimated in the form Elohim, Jehovah is still ONE.

4. “Though in a plural form, it commonly expresses one object only:—” etc. Let us examine the instances adduced.

²⁵⁸ Deut. vi. 4.

"It stands for one angel, Judges xiii. 22." Manoah said, "We shall surely die, for we have seen *Elohim*." It is evident, from the apprehension here expressed, that Manoah regarded the Angel of Jehovah, who had appeared to him, as God. Of course, he would make use of the ordinary appellation.

"—for one golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 4, 31." It is probable that there was something in the figure of the statue which gave it a multiform appearance, for in this verse both the pronoun and the verb are plural: "*These* (אֱלֹהִים) are thy *Elohim*, O Israel, 'who brought thee up (הֵעִלְךָ) te *adduxerunt*) out of the land of 'Egypt." Besides, it is evident that, however blameable was Aaron's conduct on this occasion, his intention was to make the statue a symbol of the True God: he proclaimed, for the morrow, "a festival to Jehovah." Ver. 5.

"—for one idol, Judges xvi. 23, 24," to which add 1 Sam. v. 7. It is certain that, in these instances, Dagon is called by the Philistines, "Our *Elohim*:" but there are two reasons to bar the conclusion that therefore *Elohim* is used in a sense strictly and properly singular. (1.) It is probable that some notion of plurality was expressed by the figure of the image, as we have supposed in the case of the golden calf. It is generally admitted that the statue of Dagon was a compound of the human and the fish-like form;²⁵⁹ and it probably was, in its original intention, a symbol of Noah and his family preserved in the ark. (2.) It is agreeable to the gradation which obtains in all languages, as before observed, that words become extended, by figurative applications and by usage, to secondary and less proper acceptations; and thus *Elohim* would require an application to singular objects, which I readily admit that it has, though the examples are of infrequent occurrence;²⁶⁰ but our question is about the proper, primary, and direct signification of the word.

"—for Moses, Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1." It is scarcely credible that Mr B. had given himself the trouble of looking at these references, when he copied them, with the very error of the figures, from Schlictingius.²⁶¹ It is evident that the application

²⁵⁹ *Lucian*. (seu auct. incert.) *de Deâ Syriâ*, ed. Helmstadt, 1725, p. 8. *Selden de Diis Syris*, Syntagm. ii. cap. 3.

²⁶⁰ To the collection of Schlictingius and Mr B. I can only add 1 Sam. v. 7, mentioned above; 1 Kings xi. 33, and 2 Kings i. 2, 3. Amos v. 26, may also be adduced; though the translation "the star of your gods," would be equally strict, and would equally suit the connexion.

²⁶¹ *Schlicting. adv. Meisner*. p. 169, from whom all these examples are taken,

of the word *Elohim* to Moses, proves nothing with regard to the meaning of that word. Indeed it can hardly be said to be applied to Moses at all; as the sense is so palpably limited to his acting, on the occasion, as the immediate messenger and representative of the Most High. "Thou shalt be to him" (לְאֱלֹהִים) *for, as, or instead of Elohim.*" In chap. vii. 1, the prefix indeed is not added, but the meaning is equally impossible to be mistaken: "And Jehovah said to Moses, Observe, I have appointed thee *Elohim* to Pharaoh; and Aaron thy brother shall be thine interpreter: thou shalt speak the whole that I shall command thee, and Aaron thy brother shall speak to Pharaoh."

"— and for Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 13." Whatever the impostress saw, or pretended to see, her words undeniably affirm a plurality of objects: "I see *gods ascending* (אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים *Elohim olim*, the participle being plural to agree with the noun; *deos ascendentes; des dieux montans*) out of the earth." The figure of Samuel could, therefore, have been only one form out of several: so that to regard *Elohim* as here an appellation given to Samuel, is both begging the question, and a violation of the plain grammar of the passage.

Thus, of the five examples which the *Calm Inquirer* brings to support his assertion, all are irrelevant except the first, and that equally fails to answer his purpose. He might have adduced a more plausible objection. If *Elohim* be a name of Deity formed upon the implication of a Trinity of subsistences in the Divine Unity, how can it be said "*unto the SON, Thy throne, O Elohim,* is for ever and ever?"

This difficulty, I humbly conceive, is fairly and sufficiently removed by the consideration lately adduced; the occasional application of the term to objects strictly singular, by a secondary usage derived from the proper signification.

We have thus endeavoured to present a faithful view of the whole evidence on both sides of this celebrated question. After the closest attention that I can give to all the parts of the case, the impression on my mind is favourable to the opinion that this peculiarity of idiom *originated* in a design to *intimate* a plurality in the nature of the One God; and that thus, in connexion with other circumstances calculated to suggest the same conception,

except that of Samuel. In my citations from the *Calm Inq.* I have rectified the references.

it was intended to excite and prepare the minds of men for the more full declaration of this unsearchable mystery, which should in proper time be granted. This supposition implies, of course, a divine direction in the origin, or in the application, of the term; and the intention, which we suppose was merely to *intimate*,²⁶² not to give an absolute declaration. Now we know that the earlier dispensations of revealed knowledge were constructed upon the plan of a course of *intimations* (as it were *involutura*), with regard to a variety of truths, the clear manifestation of which was reserved for the brightness of the gospel-day. Under such a system, it would be a necessary consequence that the design would be perceived, and the interior meaning apprehended, in various degrees, according to the piety, intelligence, and attention of different persons; and, in all probability, the careless majority would pay no attention at all to such subjects. Even the prophets themselves, by whom the Spirit of Christ testified, did not fully comprehend the meaning of their own declarations: of course they could not be acquainted with the full comprehension and the precise bearings of the terms and expressions which they were directed to use. This will account for the degree of difficulty which hangs upon the question, and for the resistance opposed to any Trinitarian argument from it by the modern Jews. To Mr Belsham's arguments I have added, as is my duty, the statement of whatever stronger objections I could discover; but I still think that the less difficulty and the weightier evidence lie on the other side.²⁶³

²⁶² Though "the school of the Buxtorfs has been reproached, notwithstanding its acknowledged learning, with too great predilection for the Rabbinical doctrines" (*Dr Rees's Cyclopædia*, article *Buxtorf*), and though, in his disquisition on this subject, the younger Buxtorf takes great pains to support the negative opinion with Calvin and others, yet, at the close, he acknowledges nearly, if not altogether, the opinion here supported. "Not that I think that this argument should be altogether rejected among Christians; for, upon the same principle on which not a few of the Jews, as we have seen, refer this emphatical application of the plural number to a plurality of powers, or of influences, or of operations, that is, *ad extra*; why may not we refer it *ad intra*, to a plurality of persons and to personal works? Yea, who certainly knows what that was which the ancient Jews understood by this plurality of powers and faculties?" *Buxtorf. fil. Dissert. Philolog. Theolog.* Diss. v. § 44.

Also, this supposition of an obscure intimation precludes the chief objection of the late J. D. Michaelis, that "if *Elohim* conveyed a knowledge of the Holy Trinity, it would imply that that doctrine was more generally and familiarly known under the Old Testament, than it is under the New" (*Suppl. ad Lexica Hebr.* vol. i. p. 88); an objection evidently inconsiderate and hasty.

²⁶³ The readiness and satisfaction with which a new reading was caught at, in

It was observed that the intimation which we have supposed, is to be taken in connexion with *other circumstances* calculated to suggest the same conception. These circumstances are of two classes.

The first consists of two or three instances of the use of the first person plural in reference to the Divine Being. Gen. i. 26. "And Elohim said, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness.*" Chap. iii. 22. "And Jehovah Elohim said, 'Behold the man is become as *one of us.*'" Chap. xi. 7. "Come; *we will go down, and there we will confound their language.*" Is. vi. 8. "And I heard the voice of the Lord (Adonai), saying, Whom shall I send, and who shall go *for us?*"

The Inquiry notices two of these passages, and decides upon them in its accustomed peremptory manner.²⁶⁴ But we want evidence, not summary assertion.

We need not to be told that the "dramatic way of writing" by dialogue and direct speeches, characterises the style of the Hebrew Scriptures, and of the most ancient examples which we possess of profane narratives. But how can the Inquirer affirm, "This is *nothing more?*" Would it not have been equally dramatic, had the inspired author written, *I will make, I will go down, I will confound?* That which these speeches possess "*more than the dramatic*" form, is *the whole* of the subject to be considered. A more gross instance of the *non causa pro causâ* it would be difficult to find.—Neither do we suppose that the

order to set aside one text which has been looked upon as belonging to the class under consideration, seems to betray a latent feeling that the argument from the same form of expression is, in itself, not "trifling." The respect professed for Dr Kennicott's critical judgment, will, I trust, not be forgotten by the reader, on other occasions in which we have referred to that learned and indefatigable person's Biblical labours. "In Eccles. xii. 1, the received text reads, 'Remember thy Creators;' and from this plural form a plurality of persons has been inferred. But Dr Kennicott has shown that the best manuscripts have the singular number." *Calm Inq.* p. 306.

²⁶⁴ "The plural number is sometimes used when God is introduced as speaking. Gen. i. 26; xi. 7.—*Answer.* This is nothing more than the author's dramatic way of writing. We are not to suppose that God actually said to the waters, 'Bring forth abundantly,' or to the birds and fishes, 'Be fruitful and multiply.' Perhaps the expression, 'Let there be,' may denote energy; and 'Let us make,' may denote forethought; and upon this occasion such language might be employed by the writer to intimate that man is the noblest work of God, the most distinguished production of divine power and wisdom in this world. Dr Geddes says that the Jews understood these words to have been addressed to the surrounding angels: but there is no need to have recourse to this supposition." Pp. 305, 306.

Deity actually made use of vocal speech in the exercises of his creative energy, or on the other occasions referred to. This style was undoubtedly adopted as the most conformable with the fresh and lively sensibility of mankind in the first periods of literary composition; and it partakes of the *anthropopathia* which the Spirit of inspiration condescended so largely to employ in the Old Testament writings.²⁶⁵—The language and manner was doubtless the best adapted for conveying to the men of the earliest ages, the simple truth, that the Deity brought into existence the first human being and ancestor of all human kind, in a state of holiness and happiness, by the immediate exertion of almighty power. But this is foreign to the question, which is plainly and only, Why is the *plural* pronoun used, when the singular was required by the subject, and would have been not only equally “dramatic,” but indeed more terse and vigorous and striking? The Inquirer does not even attempt a reply to the question, except by some vague and gratuitous conjectures: for he would scarcely deign to accept of the fancy of a council held with the angels, which he cites from Geddes and the Rabbinical interpreters.²⁶⁶

Various other solutions have been proposed by those who are unwilling to allow of a Trinitarian *implication*: such as that this is the style of dignity in the Speaker, or an expression of importance in the purpose, or a moral lesson of deliberation, or a rhetorical *anacænosis* embracing inferior beings in a kind of condescending collocation, or simply that such is the manner of speech and that no further inquiry is necessary.²⁶⁷ The solution adopted by Dr Priestley is that of “the writer ascribing to the

²⁶⁵ At the same time I must profess that it appears to me a very rational and probable reason for the frequent and copious attribution to the Deity of human affections and actions, which is modestly proposed by Dr Owen; “That the whole Old Testament, wherein God perpetually treats with men by an assumption of human affections unto himself,—proceeded from *the person of the Son*, in a preparation for and prospect of his future incarnation.” *On the Person of Christ*: chap. vii.

²⁶⁶ “Philo also maintained this notion, and it was congenial with the character of his system. But let it be observed how strongly he affirms that a *plurality* is indubitably signified by the terms. Τοῦ ΠΟΙΗΣΩΜΕΝ πληθος ἰμφαίνοντος—τὸ ὄντως ἔΙΣ ἡΜΩΝ οὐκ ἓς ἑνός, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πλείονων, τίθεται. “The expression *Let us make* manifests a plurality;—the expression *as one of us* is put to signify, not one, but many.” *Philo*, ed. Mangey, tom. i. pp. 430, 431.

²⁶⁷ The ingenious and critically versatile George Enjedin, Superintendent of the Socinian Churches in Transylvania, who died in 1597, “and was regarded as one of the best writers in what is called the Socinian cause” (*Rees’s Cyclopæd.*

Divine Being the style of a sovereign prince.”²⁶⁸ This had been proposed by Aben Ezra and other Jews, and probably a more plausible one has not been invented.²⁶⁹ But we have no reason to think that this style had been brought into use in the days of Moses; nor till many ages afterwards, when the simplicity of earlier times gave way to the degeneracy and arrogance of princes.

The second class of passages in the Old Testament, which, when *taken in connexion* with all the other circumstances that have been brought forwards, are supposed to excite the conception of a plurality in the One Divine Nature, and to prepare for the more full revelation of that doctrine,—are those which seem to mention, allude to, or imply more than One Divine subsistence or person. These we shall enumerate.

Num. vi. 22–27. “And Jehovah spoke to Moses, saying, ‘Speak to Aaron and to his sons, saying, Thus ye shall bless the children of Israel, by saying to them, Jehovah bless thee, and keep thee! Jehovah spread the light of his presence upon thee, and be gracious to thee!—Jehovah manifest his presence to thee, and grant thee peace! So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.’”

The exact triplicity of this divinely-prescribed formula, and the correspondence in the significancy of the very terms with the apostolic benediction (2 Cor. xii. 14), may be considered as an allusion to a Trinity of subsistences in the Divine Being. The first member of the Mosaic formula expresses the benevolent and efficient “love of God,” the Father of mercies and Fountain of all good; the second well comports with the redeeming and reconciling “grace of our Lord Jesus Christ;” and the last is

art. *Enjedin*), after detailing most of these, and some other conjectures, concludes with exhibiting his talent at versifying!

“Sed homini non curioso satis debet esse τὸ ὄν.
Videmus pluralia sæpe pro singularibus poni.
Id fit, quia usui et hominibus ita placuit,
Quos penes arbitros jus est et norma loquendi.”

Explic. Locorum, p. 19.

²⁶⁸ *Notes on SS.* vol. i. p. 6.

²⁶⁹ *Buxtorf. Thesaur.* pp. 398, 399. The perplexity felt by the Jews of the middle ages appears by their inventing this childish story. “Rabbi Samuel bar Nachman said that Moses, when in writing the law he was come to the place where he was by divine dictation to write, *Let us make man*, paused, and replied to God, *Lord of the world, why dost thou afford an occasion for error, with respect to thy most simple unity?* But that the Lord answered, *Moses, write thou so; and he that desires to err, let him err.*” *Bereshith Rabba*, ap. *Manassis Ben Israelis Conciliatorem; in Gen.* qu. vi.

appropriate to the purity, consolation, and joy which are received from "the communion of the Holy Spirit." It is also worthy of being observed, that this is called, PUTTING THE NAME of God upon his people; a phrase remarkably conformable to that of the initiatory institution of the Christian religion, *baptizing into the name* of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. There is no room for the objection that this argument would imply three Jehovahs; because the Trinitarian doctrine is that all the names and attributes of Deity are applicable to that adorable Nature, both absolutely, and in relation to each of the modifications of subsistence under which we believe that it is by revelation exhibited to us.

Isaiah vi. 1-5, 9. We have before seen what strong grounds there are for regarding this passage as a testimony to the Divine Person of the Messiah. It is also observable that the Apostle Paul prefaces a citation from it by saying, "Justly did the "HOLY SPIRIT speak to our fathers by Isaiah the prophet;"²⁷⁰ and this could be only one case of the general principle, that "prophecy came not at any time by the will of man; but holy "men of God spoke, being influenced by the Holy Spirit."²⁷¹ Those who contend that the term HOLY SPIRIT expresses merely the operative energy of God, will perhaps pay little regard to this observation; but I presume to think that truly impartial and equitable inquirers after truth will find reason for a different opinion. Yet, if we waive these references to the authority of the New Testament, we find on the surface of this passage circumstances calculated to strike the attention of the original hearer or reader, and to excite, at least, a remote conception of a plurality of some kind in the Infinite Essence. The threefold term of adoration, and the plural pronoun which follows, seem to me calculated to produce this impression: "Holy, Holy, "Holy, Jehovah of hosts!—Whom shall I send, and who shall "go for us?"—

Isaiah xlviii. 16. "Draw near to me, hearken ye to this: "from the beginning I have not spoken in concealment; from "the time of its being, I [was] there: and now the Lord "[*Adonai*] Jehovah hath sent ME and HIS SPIRIT."

Some contend that this passage is uttered by the prophet in his own person, declaring that, from the commencement of his ministry, he had delivered the divine messages, not in the enig-

²⁷⁰ Acts xxviii. 25.

²⁷¹ 2 Pet. i. 21.

matical and artful manner of heathen pretenders, but plainly and openly: that he had been always ready to be brought to the test of the event of any prophecy that he had delivered; and that he now was sent with an express divine commission. But against this interpretation, the evident continuity of the discourse, and the violent abruptness which such a change of person requires, appear to be very strong objections. Nor is it only the flow of the context that requires us to understand the whole as spoken without interruption, by one Person, even the Creator of heaven and earth (v. 13); but the phraseology of the passage binds us to the same conclusion. The demand of attention is a repetition of the very form used before in v. 1, 12, and 14. The next clause, "I have not spoken in concealment," is repeated from chap. xlv. 19, where it is incontrovertibly uttered in the immediate person of Jehovah. The following clause, "from the time of its being [היותה,] I there," presents a difficulty from the gender of "it" suffixed to the substantive verb. To what does this feminine pronoun refer? I submit to the judgment of the candid critic, that the reference is to the feminine noun ראשית understood by inference from ראש in the preceding clause. This figure in construction occurs not only in the Hebrew Scriptures, but in Greek and Latin authors.²⁷² Thus the sense will be, "from the time that the beginning was, there I was;" exactly answering to the language of the Evangelist, "In the beginning was the Word:—the same was in the beginning with God." That the whole context is in the person of the Messiah, and that it has an ultimate respect to the conversion of the Jews, has been shown by able interpreters.²⁷³ The last word ויהוה:

²⁷² "Nomen genere discrepans ad intellectum referatur, aut ex textu ipso explicetur ratione antecedentis sententiæ." *Buxtorf. Thesaur.* pp. 323–325.—"An adjective often agrees with the signification, and not with the termination, of a noun; or with a more general term." *Jones's Lat. Gramm.* p. 98; his *Greek Gramm.* p. 179.

²⁷³ Authors cited by Poole in his *Synopsis*, Calovius, Glassius in his *Philol. Sacra*, Lib. III. Tr. ii. Can. 13. Prebendary Lowth, Vitringa, etc. Some of the most rational and judicious of the Christian fathers have maintained this interpretation; and that, in the third century, the passage was held to be a prophecy of the Messiah, we have the evidence of Origen. "That the Saviour and the Holy Spirit were sent by the Father for the salvation of men, is manifest by the passage of Isaiah speaking in the person of the Saviour; *And now the Lord hath sent me and his Spirit*. It must, however, be observed that the expression is ambiguous; whether it should be understood, *God sent, and the Holy Spirit also sent, the Saviour*; or, as we take it, *The Father sent both the Saviour and the Holy Spirit*." *Orig. Comment. in Matth.* cap. xiii. ap. *Opera, ed. Delarue*, tom. iii. p. 595. The Chaldee Targum applies only the last clause to the prophet: "Draw near to my

“and his Spirit,” is from its position properly and naturally the accusative.

Thus, the more closely we examine this text, the more we are led to perceive it to be the declaration of Him whose “hand” “founded the earth, and his right hand expanded the heavens,” and who is “from the beginning ;—but whom the Father set “apart, and sent into the world.”²⁷⁴ The mutual illustration of this passage, and many in the New Testament, cannot but rise to the recollection of the serious reader. In prophecy the Messiah declares, “the Lord Jehovah hath sent Me and his Spirit ;” and, when actually sojourning with men,—“I came forth from “the Father, and I have come into the world ;—the Comforter “whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth “who proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify concerning “me.”²⁷⁵

Dan. ix. 4. “And I prayed to Jehovah my God, and I confessed, and I said, I beseech thee, O Lord [Adonai], the Great “and Awful God—etc. 17. And now, hear, O our God, the “prayer of thy servant and his supplications, and cause thy face “to shine upon thy sanctuary which is desolate, for the Lord’s “[Adonai] sake.—19. O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord “[Adonai, in each instance], hearken and do ; defer not, for “thine own sake, O my God.—”

There appears to be no just or probable reason that can be given for the clause in v. 17, which introduces Adonai in the terms of personal distinction from the Adonai who is immediately addressed ; unless we admit that a conception of such distinction, however imperfect and obscure, was produced in the prophet’s mind by the Author of inspiration.

To these passages all those have an undoubted claim to be added, which mention an Angel of Jehovah, to whom they attribute characteristics of divinity ; and which have already been considered.

It now remains for the serious and intelligent inquirer to

Word [*Memra*], hear this ; from the beginning I have not spoken in secret ; from the time that the nations were dispersed from the fear of me, there I brought near Abraham your father to my worship. The prophet said, And now the Lord God hath sent me and his Word [*Memra*].” Calvin has adopted this forced and unnatural parenthesis. J. D. Michaelis is undecided which interpretation to prefer. Seiler and Gesenius adopt the abrupt change of persons, against which the reasons advanced above appear to me to have a decisive weight.

²⁷⁴ John x. 36.

²⁷⁵ John xvi. 28 ; xv. 26.

review the matter advanced in this Section, and to consider whether, from the frequent and remarkable use of plural names and attributives in application to the Deity, in the diversity of forms and coincidences which the instances have presented, there does not arise a *presumption*, to say the least, that these peculiarities in the structure of the Old Testament were intended to communicate and to confirm the notion that a real Plurality, though mysterious and thus revealed in *distant glimpses*,²⁷⁶ does exist in the undoubted but *not less mysterious*²⁷⁷ Unity of the Divine Essence.

²⁷⁶ “—Nor would I contend that” [this class of passages] “is to be numbered among the decisive proofs of the doctrine. Still” [such passages] “supply us with arguments strongly *corroborative* of it; and, at the same time, the clear revelation of the doctrine in the New Testament not only throws light upon many texts of the Hebrew Scriptures, but such sort of light as to vindicate them from the charge, to which they would otherwise be liable, of extreme darkness and confusion.”—*Stonard on Zechariah*, p. 19.

²⁷⁷ Whoever has considered the Simplicity and Spirituality, the Eternity and the Ubiquity, of Deity, and has duly thought upon the questions involved in those doctrines, will not think this intimation improper.

CHAP. V.

RECAPITULATION OF THE PRECEDING CHARACTERS OF THE MESSIAH.

By a careful and impartial analysis, we have endeavoured to obtain the separate result of each leading part of the Prophetic Testimony to the Person and Character of the then future MESSIAH. Those results must now be placed in a connected review.

A series of prophecies, reaching from the commencement to the close of the ancient dispensations, has exhibited to us a GREAT DELIVERER from evil, originally and repeatedly promised by God,¹ and perpetually the object of the desire, expectation, and hope of the best and most enlightened men, and of those whom the Deity signalized by miraculous communications of his will, to be by them published as the oracles of his righteousness and grace. In the process of those declarations, this great Personage came to be designated by a pre-eminent appropriation of the term MESSIAH, to express his excellent qualities and important offices.

From those sources we have learned, that the Messiah was to be a real and proper human being;² the descendant of Adam, Abraham, and David;³ in some peculiar sense, the offspring of the woman;⁴ the perfectly faithful and devoted servant of

¹ Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18, etc. etc.

² Gen. iii. 15, etc. etc.

³ Gen xxii. 18. 2 Sam. vii. 19, etc.

⁴ Gen. iii. 15. I have not insisted on Jer. xxxi. 22, though I think such interpretation to be far more probable than the denial of it. If the remoteness from probability of an interpretation, devised as the best in order to escape another, may be considered as adding somewhat to the evidence of that other, this advantage belongs to the interpretation here referred to. J. D. Michaelis translates it,—"Jehovah createth what is new in the land, the woman [or wife, *Frau*] woos the man [or husband, *Mann*].—" and he explains it of the repentance and returning of the backsliding Jewish Church, to the Lord, her rightful husband; according to the frequently used figure in this and other prophets. His very learned father, Christian Benedict (who wrote the Annotations in the Hallish Heb. Bible, 1720, on Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, and Zechariah), a man of no common judgment, decidedly understands the passage as a prediction of the miraculous conception of Jesus. Gataker and

God;⁵ the messenger, supreme in rank above all others, of divine authority and grace;⁶ a heavenly teacher, inspired with the fulness of divine gifts and qualifications;⁷ the great and universal lawgiver, who should be the author and promulgator of a new, holy, and happy government over the moral principles, characters, and actions of men;⁸ a high priest, after a new and most exalted model;⁹ the adviser of the wisest counsels;¹⁰ the pacificator and reconciler of rebellious man to God, and of men among themselves;¹¹ the kind and powerful Saviour from all moral and natural evil.¹²

The divine oracles have also informed us that, in the execution of these benevolent purposes, he should undergo the severest sufferings from the malice of the original tempter, from the ingratitude and disobedience of men, and from the especial circumstance of his devoting himself a voluntary sacrifice to procure the highest benefits to those of mankind who should concur in his plan of mercy and holiness.¹³

They have assured us that, from his deep distresses, he should emerge to glory, victory, and triumph; that he should possess power, authority, and dominion, terrible to his determined adversaries, but full of blessing and happiness to his obedient followers; that he should gradually extend those benefits to all nations; and that his beneficent reign should be holy and spiritual in its nature, and in its duration everlasting.¹⁴

The testimony of heaven likewise describes him as entitled to the appellation of *Wonderful*;¹⁵ since he should be in a sense peculiar to himself, the Son of God;¹⁶ as existing and acting

other eminent biblicists understand it of the Church of God, either as being reconciled to him, or as overcoming its mighty enemies. Dr Collinges, in continuation of *Poole's English Annotations*, has on this clause an ample note, candidly stating the arguments on both sides. I humbly think that an impartial examiner will be at least strongly inclined to the interpretation which many, both ancient and modern, scripture scholars maintain; the application to Mary and Jesus. Calovius, Hackspan, Pfeiffer, Dietelmair (in the *Leipzig Variorum Bible*), are decided in favour of this interpretation.

⁵ Isa. xlii. 1; lii. 13.

⁶ Sect. xxxi. on the title *Angel of Jehovah*. Isa. xlviii. 16.

⁷ Isa. xi. 2.

⁸ Deut. xviii. 18, 19. Isa. ix. 7.

⁹ Ps. cx. 4.

¹⁰ Isa. ix. 6.

¹¹ Ib.

¹² 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7. Job xix. 23-27. Isa. xl. 10; xlv. 21.

¹³ Gen. iii. 15. Ps. xxii. lxix. Isa. lii. liii. Zech. xii. 10.

¹⁴ Gen. xlix. 10. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7. Psalm ii. xlv. lxxii. cx. Isa. xi. 5. Dan. vii. 13, 14.

¹⁵ Isa. ix. 5.

¹⁶ Ps. ii. 7. Isa. ix. 6.

during the patriarchal and the Jewish ages, and even from eternity;¹⁷ as the all-sufficient guardian and protector of his people;¹⁸ as the proper object of the various affections of piety, of devotional confidence for obtaining the most important blessings, and of religious homage from angels and men.¹⁹

That testimony, finally, declares him to be the Eternal and Immutable Being,²⁰ the Creator,²¹ God,²² the Mighty God,²³ Adonai,²⁴ Elohim,²⁵ Jehovah.²⁶

These attributions are made to the Messiah, in a remarkable variety of modes, and are connected with numerous and diversified relations, bringing into view the perfections, purposes, and acts of the Supreme Being, particularly with respect to the salvation of fallen mankind;—so as to afford much mutual elucidation, and to be a luminous and safe guide for obtaining the sense.

It may be asked, why this evidence is scattered irregularly through the Old Testament Scriptures; and is found, for the most part, in the form of implications and obscure intimations, rather than of direct assertion. To this question I reply, that the records of revelation are like the fields of nature; the greatest truths must be elicited by exploring, combining, and arranging:—that a large portion of the evidence is very plain, asserting the Divine Names, Attributes, and Functions of the Messiah, in terms which (I humbly conceive), to men of serious and unprejudiced minds, cannot appear ambiguous:—that the degree of obscurity which remains is no more than what belongs to the very constitution and character of prophecy: some darkness must lie upon it till the promised events occur, and then the comparison of those events with the predictions brings full evidence that both have proceeded from the Infinite Mind:—and finally, that there was a special reason for this mode of implied, and, as it were, recondite manifestation, in the design of the Mosaic institution. The great danger of the Israelites was that of being seduced into the polytheism of the nations around them. The first lesson, therefore, to be given to them, was the Unity

¹⁷ Ps. xl. 7–9. Mic. v. 2, and the Section on the title *Angel of Jehovah*.

¹⁸ Isa. xl. 9–11, and in association with many other passages.

¹⁹ Ps. ii. 12; xevii. 7. Isa. xlv. 21–25.

²⁰ Ps. cii. 25–28.

²¹ Ps. cii. 25.

²², ²³, and ²⁴, Ps. xlv. 6. Isa. ix. 6; xlv. 21.

²⁵ Isa. vi. 1. Mal. iii. 1.

²⁶ 2 Sam. xxiii. 4. Isa. vi. 5; viii. 13; xl. 3, 10; xlv. 21–25. Zech. ii. iii. vi.

of God: and, when this was duly confirmed in the habit of belief, which it was not till the severe discipline of the captivity, the second great truth, the Trinity in Unity, was established by the more ample disclosures of the Christian revelation. But those previous hints, and incomplete intimations, were well suited to the genius of a preparatory dispensation. They were adapted to awaken attention, to excite the idea of hidden truth to be disclosed in God's good time, and to encourage an humble devotional desire of that superior light, which was promised as a chief blessing of the Messiah's reign. One may conceive a pious Jew, in the days of Nehemiah, saying, "JEHOVAH, most assuredly, is God alone. But how must I account for those expressions of plurality of which He is occasionally the subject? How must I understand the great Deliverer from sin and misery, a servant and messenger of Jehovah, yet spoken of as possessing his attributes, and claiming his honours?—Something remains undisclosed; and that undisclosed something cannot but be of the first importance, for it relates to Jehovah's loving-kindnesses and his tender mercies to the sons of men. I cannot rise to this theme. It is higher than the heavens: what can I know?—When the Messiah comes will he unveil the mystery?"

To this anxious hope, Christianity answers, "No one hath seen God at any time: the Only-Begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, HE hath declared HIM."

CHAP. VI.

INVESTIGATION OF THE GENERAL RESULT OF THIS INDUCTION.

SUCH is the picture of the MESSIAH, drawn by the pencil of prophecy, while his coming was yet the object of hope and expectation. It combines *opposite*, and *apparently incompatible*, properties; those distinctive of the Uncreated and Unchangeable God; and those of a created and dependent mortal, ascending through sorrow and death to immortal life, glory, and happiness!—Is such a combination admissible?

There are only three ways in which this question can be treated by those who acknowledge the authority of revelation.

I. The premises may be denied. It may be maintained that the prophetic scriptures do not attribute the superior class of characters to the Messiah; and, of course, that in each instance of such deductions, we have been interpreting the Scriptures fallaciously.

I am well aware of the influence of preconceived sentiments, and that, “where there is neither ignorance, nor negligence, nor studied misstatement imputable to the translator” or interpreter, yet it is possible that “prejudices in favour of certain theories and doctrines seduce him unconsciously into a misrepresentation of his author.”¹ I can only say, therefore, that I have placed a jealous guard against this avenue to error: and that, in all the preceding disquisitions on the particular texts which are the basis of our conclusions, I have endeavoured to observe the strictest rules of criticism and interpretation, and, with sedulous care, to lay the reason and evidence of each deduction before the serious reader. It may, also, be perceived that, in the Recapitulation, no stress has been laid upon the more dubious passages, even many which are very satisfactory to my own mind. I have rested upon what I conscientiously believe to be the true signification intended by each portion of the testimony of God, as elicited by the most cautious construction. I can go

¹ Crombie's *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 75.

no farther. The appeal is solemnly made to the attention and understanding, the critical skill, the serious reflection, and the Christian integrity of every impartial inquirer.

II. The general fairness of our criticisms, and the validity of the principles on which they rest, may, perhaps, be admitted; while the conclusion is denied, upon the ground that the exalted language of the descriptions referred to, is to be understood *improperly* and *figuratively*. The word *god*, it may be said, is in the Scriptures applied to Moses as a divine messenger, to angels, to the false deities of the heathen, and to magistrates, even when they were wicked men:² that word, therefore, with many of the attributives which the common ideas and language of men associate with it, may, with great propriety, be applied to the Messiah, who is confessedly entitled to higher honours than any other human being.

On this hypothesis we make two remarks.

1. In all the places where the term *Elohim* is used in the inferior sense mentioned, it is so surrounded by circumstances of modification and explanation, that it is rendered impossible to be misunderstood; and in general the reason of the application is sufficiently intimated. On comparison of those places with the passages which ascribe the same appellative, or equivalent ones, to the Messiah, the contrast will appear most striking.

² "An idol was only called a god, as we call a picture by the name of what it represents." (*Julius Bate's Reply to Sharp*, p. 58.) The following are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, all the instances of the other applications of this word. A bare inspection of them will verify the observation made in the first remark on this hypothesis.

אֱלֹהִים applied to Moses; *Exod. iv. 16*; *vii. 1*.—To angels; *Ps. viii. 5*; *cxvii. 7*.—To magistrates; *Exod. xxi. 6*; *xxii. 8, 9*. (In those three passages rendered *Judges*) *xxii. 28*; *Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6*; *cxxxviii. 1*. But these were the magistrates of the Hebrew polity, which, being a peculiar and miraculous Theocracy, would with propriety admit of this application. The civil and ecclesiastical officers of the Israelitic state were expressly the vicegerents of Jehovah. *Abra-benel* (ap. *Buxtorf, de Nominibus Dei*, § 40) argues that, in the passages cited for this signification, there is no sufficient foundation for the application assumed; but that they are to be understood in the same manner as, according to the usage of all civilized countries, the supreme magistrate is considered by the law as present in courts of national judicature. In our English courts of record, "the king is not said to appear by his attorney, as other men do; for he always appears, in contemplation of law, in his own proper person." (*Blackstone*, b. i. ch. vii. § 3.) So when it is said, "His master shall bring him to God," the meaning is, to the court or tribunal of God; as, in *Deut. xix. 17*, it is expressed, "the men between whom the controversy is, shall stand before JEHOVAH," which is immediately explained by the clause, "before the priests and the judges." See also what has been advanced in *Sect. XXXIV. of Chapter IV.*

2. The solution is not sufficient, for it does not meet all the facts of the case. The Messiah is not barely termed *God*, in the prophetic descriptions; but a copiousness of epithet and attribute, a profusion of diversified and lofty description, is employed in connexion with the names of divinity. These adjuncts do not permit us to understand the names referred to, in any lower or accommodated sense; but they incontrovertibly ascribe to the subject on which they terminate the most peculiar and exalted characters of Supreme Deity.

III. The remaining solution is that which, admitting, without suppression or evasion, all the declarations in Scripture which form the phenomena of the case, goes the full length of their conclusion; and thus ascribes to the promised Messiah the actual possession of TWO NATURES, the *human* with all its essential properties, and the *DIVINE* with all its inseparable perfections.

The only objection, not already anticipated, to this inference is, that *no* evidence *can* make it credible, because it is *impossible*: we must, therefore, either believe that the language of the Jewish prophets was not that of sober truth, but was the exaggeration of nationalism, the visions of a heated imagination, the colouring of poetry;³ or at last suppose that, with all our caution and scrupulosity, we have totally failed to understand that language, and must relinquish our faith for the gloom of hopeless unbelief.

But upon what grounds is this allegation of impossibility made?

Will it be held *impossible* that OMNIPOTENCE should form a human creature, with the express design of constituting a union or conjunction of the Divine Nature in the Son of God, with that human creature; so that, by it as an instrument, the Deity should act towards men: and that such a union or conjunction should be perpetual, while yet the distinctive properties of each nature are preserved without confusion?⁴—He who affirms this

³ It is in this way that the continental Neologists dispose of the testimony of the holy prophets, and (must we not add the awful charge?) do despite to the Spirit of grace.—It is extremely painful to observe the bold dogmatism of those assertions, which, for any thing that appears, the readers of the *Calm Inquiry* are expected to admit without question: such, for example, as this; “No conclusion can be drawn from the obscure and figurative language of prophecy.” P. 312.

⁴ “—— No impossible, no inconceivable thing. It is absurd, and very irreligious presumption, to say, This cannot be. If a worm were so far capable of thought, as to determine this or that concerning *our* nature; and that suc^h a

to be impossible, is surely bound first to prove to us that he has "found out the Almighty unto perfection."

Or will it be maintained that, though Omnipotence could effect this, yet no circumstances could possibly occur in which it would be *becoming* the WISDOM of God to produce such a union?—No man of reason, modesty, or piety, will venture on this assertion: but every such man will admit that THE INFINITE BEING is *alone* competent to know, whether such a proceeding would be worthy of Himself in *any* circumstances; and, if ever proper, *what* circumstances would render it so.

The pretence of impossibility is absurd, arrogant, and blasphemous. The question is a question of fact, and can be decided only by the proper evidence of facts, *competent testimony*; the testimony of the Scriptures, the declaration of His word who cannot be mistaken and who cannot deceive.

That testimony we have endeavoured fairly and impartially to ascertain: and if we have not *been* altogether unsuccessful in our attempts to avoid fallacy in argument, we might here close our pleadings. Jesus of Nazareth, all who are called Christians acknowledge to be the long-promised and expected Messiah: therefore, ALL the properties and characters by which the records of divine prophecy have described the Messiah, *MUST* belong to him, in their strictest and most entire signification. Did the Christian Scriptures do no more than afford satisfactory evidence of the simple proposition, *Jesus is the Messiah*;—we should be obliged, by necessary inference from the prophetic descriptions, and by all the rules of honest criticism and interpretation, to conclude that his person comprised the unique and mysterious *union* of humanity and DEITY.

But the Christian Scriptures are not thus bare and scanty in their information. It must appear previously probable, and it will turn out to be true in fact, that the writings of the inspired apostles confirm and amplify the descriptions of prophecy, by more full and clear statements of the truth respecting the Person, as well as the works and offices of HIM to whom they bear witness. The careful investigation of those writings, with a view to elicit their genuine and unaltered sense on this subject, will be our endeavour in the sequel of this Inquiry.

thing were impossible to belong to it, which we find to be in it;—we should trample upon it. More admirable DIVINE patience spares us!" *Howe's Calm and Sober Inquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead*, § 16.

CHAP. VII.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF OPINION AND EXPECTATION WITH RESPECT TO THE MESSIAH, EXISTING AMONG THE JEWS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE CLOSING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THEIR NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT.

It is a natural and proper inquiry, whether we have any information of the manner in which the Jews understood the prophecies concerning the Messiah, in the interval between the closing of the Old Testament and the general diffusion of Christianity. Such information, though it would not possess determining authority, could not fail to be interesting; it might reasonably be expected to contain some fragments of genuine interpretation of the inspired writings, as diamonds are found in mud and sand; and, since the acceptation of terms in ancient languages is a matter of testimony, it would furnish a valuable addition to our means of ascertaining the sense of the prophecies referred to.

But the period in question was not the most advantageous for the preservation and increase of accurate religious knowledge. Its earlier part was chiefly filled up with political commotions, the contentions of ambitious parties, and an incessant and sanguinary series of struggles for national independence:¹ its close was marked with the traditionary usurpations and the superstitions of one class of the community, the courtly libertinism of another, and the ferocious exasperation of the third. On the moral state of the former portion of this time, we know with certainty very little: but in regard to the latter, we have sufficient evidence that the doctrines of religion were corrupted even to the first principles, and that its profession and practice had lost almost every character of a reasonable service. Indeed,

¹ "Idolatry was not introduced into the second temple; but then no prophets, no zealous reformers, arose, to restore the worship of God when it had gone into neglect. The Asmonæans designed to satisfy their ambition, rather than to reform the church. Those heroes, so much admired as they are and esteemed as saints, can never be justified for depriving of the crown and sovereignty the house of David, whose posterity languished in disgraceful poverty. They usurped the priesthood, which belonged to the family of Eleazar; as they had done the kingdom, which belonged to that of David." *Basnage's Hist. of the Jews*, b. i. ch. 1.

the most favourable estimate of the whole period will not prepare us to expect the evidences of much skill or accuracy in the interpretation of the sacred oracles, and in the statement of the sentiments which they were designed to convey.

It is, then, no subject of surprise, that our materials are few and small for the conduct of this inquiry. The number of Jewish writers, during this period, is not great: but the parts of their writings which bear on the present, or any other, theological question, are in proportion still more scanty. The works which fall under this description are the Ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, the Greek Version commonly called that of the *Septuagint* or the Seventy Translators, the Chaldee Targums or Paraphrases, the writings of certain Alexandrian and other Jews usually called the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the works of Philo and Josephus, and any fragments of information which may be found in the Rabbinical writings.

SECTION I.—ON THE SYRIAC AND SEPTUAGINT VERSIONS.

THE Syriac Version of the Old Testament is considered by critics as of an antiquity prior to the Christian era,² as having been made directly from the Hebrew text, and as bearing the marks of superior ability and faithfulness. What peculiar readings it has presented in the preceding analysis of passages, have been carefully noted. It is a strict version; and it is remarkably clear and strong in those passages which attribute characters of Deity to the Messiah.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Septuagint Translation was made at different times, by different persons, and with very various degrees of merit.³ Its unsupported testimony is

² The arguments prefixed to the Psalms indicate a Christian composer, and were probably added long after the version was made.

³ "The books of Moses are more consonant to the Hebrew than the other books are." *Hieronym. Proem. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. in Op.* tom. i. p. 378, ed. Colon. 1616. "The churches of Christ do not read the prophet Daniel according to the LXX. but use the version of Theodotion. What was the reason I know not: this only I can affirm, that it widely departs from the truth, and was set aside on good grounds." *Ejusd. in Dan. Præf.* "The translation of Ezekiel closely adheres to the Hebrew. Whence it appears to me unaccountable, supposing the same persons to have translated all the books, that some parts of their work should have been so extremely different from others." *Ejusd. in Ezech. Præf.* "Isaiah has had the hard fate to meet with a translator altogether unworthy of him, there being hardly any book of the Old Testament so ill ren-

not of much weight, in any instance of doubtful criticism : and its character is particularly low in relation to those parts of Scripture which have been the principal objects of our attention. In all those cases, however, where its variations are of the smallest importance, they have been carefully noted. As far as I can form a general opinion from so imperfect materials, it is this ; that those translators had faint ideas of the doctrine and promise of a Messiah. The Alexandrine Jews, living out of Palestine, having disused the Hebrew language, being immersed in worldly pursuits, and daily associating with their heathen neighbours, were more likely than the Jews of Judea to become indifferent to “the hope of Israel.”

dered in that version as this of Isaiah. Add to this, that the version of Isaiah, as well as other parts of the Greek version, is come down to us in a bad condition, incorrect, and with frequent omissions and interpolations.” *Bishop Lowth's Prelim. Diss. to Isaiah*, p. 66.

The very learned Hugh Broughton conceived that he had discovered, in the longer books of the LXX., internal marks of a change in the translator at the close of portions averaging each about fourteen chapters of the present division. —“They were not all,” he says, “equally competent. The translators of the Pentateuch have shown much ability ; though he who rendered the words of God to Cain (Gen. iv. 7), either intentionally concealed their meaning, or was a mere child in Hebrew. The translators of the Historical Books were very able ; as also those of the Proverbs and Psalms. The translator of Job was a reader of the Greek poets, and was more careful to employ classical idioms than to produce an uniformly exact version. The translator of Ecclesiastes understood Greek better than Hebrew. The translator of Amos was the best of all : of Ezekiel, very learned.—They often abridge rather than translate ; as in Esther, and in many places of the Prophets.”—*Letter to the Nobility, etc. of England*.

“The respective translators were of very unequal ability, and therefore the use of the several books of Scripture in this version, for the elucidation of the New Testament, is exceedingly different. The Pentateuch, and in the next degree the Proverbs, met with the most able translators, well acquainted with the subjects, and clothing them with suitable expression. The translator of the Proverbs shows talent and ingenuity in his very errors. But in some of the other books, the Hebrew words are, as it were, dealt out by tale and number, rather than their signification given ; as, for instance, in Ecclesiastes, the translator has shown the insipid minuteness of Aquila. In others, a gross unacquaintedness with the force and propriety of the Hebrew language reigns throughout, with carelessness in the selection of words to express the sentiments in Greek : this is the case with Isaiah and the major part of the other prophets ; among whom Amos had the best translator, and Ezekiel a very learned one. Few of these translators could attain to the purity of a good Greek style, or to any poetical elegance ; though he who undertook the book of Job, has certainly shown some poetical taste and talent, formed by the reading of the Greek poets ; but his knowledge of Hebrew was very slender. In the Psalms, the majesty and fire of the Hebrew poets are often totally extinguished, and their strength and beauty converted into languidness, through the incompetency of the translator. But the worst of all is the version of Daniel.” *Eichstadt, Additam. ad Mori Acroases Hermeneut.* vol. ii. p. 61.

SECTION II.—ON THE CHALDEE TARGUMS, AND THEIR USE OF THE PHRASE, “THE WORD OF JAH.”

ABOUT seventy passages in the Old Testament are applied by the writers of the ancient Chaldee Paraphrases to the Messiah, in the most express manner. Every instance that appeared of sufficient importance in relation to the texts brought under consideration, has been presented in the preceding pages. Though the number of such is not great, they have sufficiently shown that the writers did not refrain from ascribing to the Messiah the titles and attributes of the Supreme God.

It has been often remarked that, in instances innumerable, those writers translate the Hebrew JEHOVAH by the expression, *The Word of the LORD*.⁴ On this circumstance much argument has been built. Some have maintained, that it supplies an indubitable ascription of personal existence to the *Word*, in some sense distinct from the personal existence of the Supreme Father; that this *Word* is the *Logos*⁵ of the New Testament; and consequently that the phrase is a proof of a belief among the ancient Jews in the pre-existence, the personal operations, and the deity, of the Messiah, “the Word, who became flesh, and fixed his tabernacle among us.” Others have thought that the phrase is an idiom, merely denoting the person’s *self* to whom it is attributed, and therefore equivalent to nothing more than an emphatical pronoun. On this question, as on most points of controversy, a general answer cannot be given. We must examine and distinguish.

I. The date of the earliest and most valuable Targums may be safely assumed as not much exceeding, nor much below, the first century of the Christian era.⁶ All acknowledge that, during that period, the theology and religion of the Jews had become extremely corrupt. But, as in an advancing state of society there will always be some who outstrip their contemporaries,

⁴ מִיְיָהּ דְּיָהּ “*The Memra of Jeja*,” an abbreviation of *Jehovah*; but as its appearance and sound are uncouth, I venture to use, instead of it, the Hebrew abbreviation, *Jah*, to which we are accustomed in the authorized version of the Bible.

⁵ John i. 1.

⁶ See page 146 of this volume.

so, in a degenerating state, there are found individuals whose knowledge bears the character of the departed, more than of the existing, age. The summits of the mountains catch the last feeble rays of the sun, when all below is covered with shade. The sentiments and phraseology of a Boethius, for example, are not to be judged of by the common style of thinking and speaking among the Romans of his own age. Thus, amidst the general decline, there must have been some in the Jewish church and nation whose minds retained and appreciated, more than others, the lingering beams of truth and holiness. This, which we might have inferred from the known laws of human nature, we know to have been the fact from unquestionable history. There were, "in Jerusalem, righteous and pious persons, waiting for redemption,—for the consolation of Israel."⁷ Of this class, it is surely not unreasonable to conclude that some, at least, of the authors and collectors of the Targums were: so that we might expect to find in their works some remains of the doctrines and the language of better times.

It is also to be observed that, in all instances of popular corruption of original truth, the mass of such popular opinion is very heterogeneous. Portions of truth, though inconsistent, and ill adhering to the rest of the compound, are found mixed with errors and absurdities. This was the case in the ancient systems of polytheism, compared with the patriarchal religion; and it is a distinguishing feature of the intellectual and religious character of the populace in Roman Catholic countries. This principle could not but operate upon the Jewish people, in the latter periods of their national existence; and it furnishes a solution, evidently just and natural, of the fact which might be otherwise unaccountable, the *coexistence of inconsistent and opposite opinions* on the person and operations of their expected Deliverer. That such inconsistent opinions did exist among them, the gospel history in the New Testament contains intimations. It might, of course, be expected, that the earlier Rabbinical writings would partake of the same character.

From these two considerations, we should expect to find in the Targums the vestiges of purer knowledge and more correct interpretation, combined with other matter of an inferior kind. It ought not, therefore, to excite our surprise, if we should discover in those compositions doctrines concerning the Messiah,

⁷ Luke ii. 25, 38.

which the general state of sentiment, at the particular period, would not have led us to expect. The writers *may* have intended to designate the Messiah, under the appellations of THE WORD and THE SHECHINAH; while their notions laboured under much obscurity, and their application of those terms was often improper and inconsistent.

II. It is an idiom of the Chaldee language, to use the noun *Memra* as a substitute for an emphatic pronoun, in apposition with the noun or pronoun of a person *speaking*, or in any other way *uttering* a command, promise, assent, or declaration. Some examples will illustrate this rule.

*Targum*⁸ on *Eccl.* i. 2. “Solomon—said by *his word* [בְּמִמְרֵיהּ] Vanity of vanities is this world.”—*Targum of Onkelos on Gen.* ix. 12, 13. “And Jah said, This is the sign of the covenant which I have given between *my word* and you,—it shall be for a sign of the covenant between *my word* and the earth.”—The same phrase is repeated in vv. 15, 17. בֵּין מִמְרֵי וּבֵינֵינוּ—v. 16.—“between the *word* of Jah and every living animal;” בֵּין מִמְרֵא : בֵּין מִמְרֵא וּבֵין כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה—*Id.* on *Exod.* xxxi. 13–17. “It is a sign between *my word* and you:—between *my word* and the children of Israel.”—*Jerusalem Targum on Exod.* xix. 9. “The *word* of Jah said to Moses, Behold *my word* shall be revealed to thee in the thick cloud.”—*Onkelos on Deut.* i. 26. “Ye were rebellious against the *word* of Jah your God.” v. 32. “In this matter [בְּתִנְמָה] ye were not faithful to the *word* of Jah your God.”—*Jonathan on Jer.* xiv. 19. “Hast thou utterly rejected the house of Judah, and hath *thy word* removed far away the inhabitants of Zion?” xvii. 7. “Blessed is the man who trusteth in the *word* of Jah, and the *word* of Jah is his confidence.”

These instances, to which, were it necessary, many others might be added, are sufficient to prove and to illustrate the use of the phrase, as serving the purpose of an emphatical pronoun of the person speaking, or otherwise declaring his will;—*myself*, *the Lord himself*, etc. The phrase is most frequently used where the ideas are strongly expressed of *command*, *prohibition*, *help*, *deliverance*, *judgment*, or *punishment*.

III. It appears that, pursuing the common course of language, the word came to be used in the secondary sense,

⁸ This paraphrase is of little authority, being attributed to so late a period as the sixth century. See *Waltoni Proleg.* c. xii. § 15.

dropping the primary idea of speaking or any way uttering; that is, to denote a person's *self* simply.

Jonathan on Ruth iii. 8. "As Paltiel the son of Laish did, the righteous man who fixed a sword between *his word* and Michal the daughter of Saul;" בֵּין מִמְּרִי וּבֵין מִיכָל—*Onkelos on Lev.* xxvi. 46. "These are the covenants, and the judgments, and the laws, which Jah gave between *his word* and the sons of Israel."—*Id. on Exod.* vi. 8. "The land, of which I have sworn by *my word* to give it to Abraham," etc.—*Targum on Amos* vi. 8. "The Lord God hath sworn by *his word*." This expression is of frequent occurrence in the prophets.—*Anonymous Targum on Job* i. 21. "The *word* of Jah gave, and the *word* of Jah and the house of his judgment hath taken away."—*Jonath. on Is.* i. 16. "Take away the wickedness of your doings from before *my word*.—19, 20. If ye be compliant and obey *my word*, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and obey not *my word*, ye shall be slain with the sword of the enemy; for the *word* of Jah hath determined so." vi. 8. "I heard the voice of the *word* of Jah, saying, Whom shall I send?" viii. 14. "If ye will not obey, *his word* shall be among you for vengeance; and for a stone of smiting and a rock of falling." xii. 2. "Behold, on the *word* of God my salvation I trust:—Jah has spoken by his *word*, and he is my salvation." xxi. 10. "The prophet said, That which I have heard, the voice of the *word* of Jah of hosts, the God of Israel, I declare to you." xlviii. 11. "Because of my name and because of *my word*, I will work that it be not made void.—12. Obey *my word*.—13. Even by *my word* I have founded the earth.—15. I *by my word* made a covenant with Abraham your father;" (and see page 327 of this volume.) xlix. 16. "*My word* will not reject thee." *Jer.* xxix. 23. "Before me it is unveiled, and *my word* is witness, saith Jah." xxxi. 9. "For *my word* is to Israel as a father, and Ephraim is beloved before me." 37. "Even *my word* shall not reject all the seed of Israel, on account of all that they have done before me, saith Jah." xxxii. 40. "*My word* shall not turn away from following them, to do them good:—and *my word* shall rejoice over them, to do them good." *Ezek.* xx. 12. "I gave them my Sabbath-days, to be for a sign between *my word* and them, that they may know that I am Jah who sanctify them."

IV. It is well known that, from a period of very remote antiquity, and probably before the Christian era, the Jews have

held it unlawful to utter the *tetragrammaton*⁹ יהוה the proper and most peculiar name of Deity, which Christians commonly pronounce JEHOVAH. In reading the Old Testament, the Jews substitute for the ineffable word, in some places *Elohim*, in others *Adonai*. The Rabbinical authors use either שם *The Name*, or the abbreviation קבה¹⁰ *The Holy and Blessed Being*.

Now the Targumists never transfer this distinguished word into their paraphrases. They generally use for it the term Jah. But, from the examination of many passages, it is evident that they also used, for the same purpose of periphrasis, the terms *The word*, and *The word of Jah*. It is also observable that the three expressions are used interchangeably, as synonyms, by the different Targumists.

Onkelos on Gen. iv. 26. "Then, in his days, the sons of men profanely ceased from praying in the name of Jah."—*Jonath.* "That was the generation in whose days they began to apostatize, and made to themselves falsehoods [or idols], and named their falsehoods by the name of the *word* of Jah."—*Onkelos on Exod. vi. 2, 3.* "I am Jah: and I revealed [myself] to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by El-Shaddai [*the God of omnipotence*]; but my name Jah I did not make known to them."—*Jon.* "I am Jah: and I revealed [myself] to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by El-Shaddai; but yet my name Jah, in the displays of my glory [*or, the presence of my Shechinah*], I did not make known to them."—*Targ. Jerusalem.* "And Jah was revealed by *his word* to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the God of heaven; but the name of the *word* of Jah I did not make known to them."

V. I have not been able to find a single instance in which the appellation is indubitably given to the Messiah;¹¹ but in

⁹ So denominated by Christians, as being composed of *four letters*. The Jews call it שם המפורד *the separated name*.

¹⁰ The words at length are קיבשה בריך דהא.

¹¹ Instances which have been alleged are the following: but I cannot discover satisfactory evidence of their having this application. Exod. iii. 8. "Through *my word* I will deliver them from Egypt." Ps. cx. 1. "Jah said, by *his word*, that he would place me as a ruler—" etc. Isa. xliii. 2. "—In ancient time, when ye passed through the Red Sea, *my word* was for your help." xlv. 17. "Israel shall be delivered by *the word of Jah*, with an everlasting deliverance." v. 22. Look to *my word* and be ye delivered. v. 23. By *my word* I have sworn. v. 24. Truly by the *word* of Jah unto me he hath spoken, in order to bring forth righteousness and strength;—by *his word* they shall show forth praise. v. 25. By the *word* of Jah shall all the seed of Israel be declared righteous, and shall glory." lxi. 10. "I will exceedingly rejoice in the *word* of Jah;

one passage such an application is, by the terms, clearly impossible. At the same time, there are many instances, in which such a reference would appear natural and just. Yet, as a testimony of the hazard of making that application, and as further examples of the readiness with which the phrase was applied, I cite the two following; in the former of which it is plainly used for *myself*,¹² and in the other to denote, as it does in very numerous instances, the exerted energy of Jehovah.

Targum of Jonathan on Isa. xlii. 1. "Behold my servant the Messiah, I will draw near to him; my chosen, in whom *my word* hath delight." xlix. 5. "I shall be glorified in the presence of Jah, and the *word* of my God is my help."

VI. A few passages of the Old Testament have been adduced, as the original authority for this expression.¹³ But, as I cannot discover unequivocal evidence that those passages employ the term *word* in any sense different from its proper meaning, *declaration, command*, etc. I do not perceive it necessary to offer any remarks upon them.

VII. The following appear to be the results of impartially examining this question:—

1. That the primary import of the Chaldee expression is *that*, whatever it may be, which is the MEDIUM of communicating the mind and intentions of one person to another.

"my soul shall exult in the salvation of my God." lxiii. 8. "My people are they, sons who will not deal falsely: and *his word* was their Redeemer." 10. "But they rebelled, and provoked *the word* of the prophets of his holiness: and *his word* was turned against them to be their enemy." 13, 14. "He led them through the deep:—the *word* of Jah led them." Jer. vi. 8. "Be admonished, O Jerusalem; lest *my word* cast thee off." Hosea ix. 10. "As a vine planted by the fountains of waters, so in the wilderness *my word* met Israel." xiv. 5. "*My word* shall be as dew to Israel." 9. "I, by *my word*, will accept the prayer of Israel." Zech. iv. 6, 7. "Not by force nor by power: but by *my word*, saith Jah of hosts. Why dost thou think the kingdom weak before Zerubabel? Is it not as a low plain? And he will reveal the Messiah, whose name is spoken from eternity; and he shall reign over all kingdoms." Hos. i. 7. "And upon the house of Judah I will have mercy, and I will deliver them by the *word* of Jah their God." To these may be added the passages selected by Bishop Walton, in a Note at the end of this Section.

¹² Hebr. נַפְשִׁי *my soul*; an idiom for *myself*, in a strong and affectionate manner.

¹³ Ps. xxxiii. 6. Haggai ii. 4, 5. 1 Sam. iii. 21. 1 Kings xiii. 1, 5, 9, 17, 18, 20, 26, 32; xvii. 2, 8; xviii. 1; xix. 9, etc. It is certainly remarkable that the expression, "the word of the Lord came," should occur with such a peculiar frequency in this part of the Hebrew history. But an attentive perusal will show that it is a character of the writer's style, and that it appears to be used in the same sense as *voice of the Lord*, and *mouth of the Lord*: see xiii. 21; xx. 36; 1 Sam. xv. 19, 20, 22.

2. That it hence assumed the sense of a reciprocal pronoun.

3. That when used in the latter sense, its most usual application is to the Divine Being; denoting, if we may use the expression, GOD, *his very self*; *Deus ipsissimus*; and is the synonym and substitute of the most exclusive of all the appellatives of Deity, the name JEHOVAH.

4. That there is no certain proof of its being distinctly applied to the Messiah, in any of the Targums now extant; while, in very numerous places, it is so plainly used, with *personal* attributives, yet in distinction from the name of God, that an application to the Messiah cannot be held improbable.

5. That solely from the use of the phrase, *The Memra of Jah*, or *The Word of the Lord*, in those Paraphrases, no absolute information can be deduced, concerning the doctrine of the Jews, in the interval between the Old Testament and the New, upon the person of their expected Messiah.¹⁴ I have said, *solely* from the use of this phrase; but, if we combine this fact with others, derived from the study of the Old Testament, it will, I conceive, appear a very rational conjecture, that the Rabbinical authors of the age referred to, had vague ideas of the *Word* as an intelligent agent, the medium of the divine operations and communications to mankind. I cannot, however, make this opinion a ground of independent argument, as has been done by some writers,¹⁵ who have probably taken it from each other in succession, without much severity of examination. This cannot, however, be surmised of the late Leonhard Bertholdt, of Erlangen, whose prejudices unhappily lay in opposition to the essential doctrines of revelation. He affirms that “the Hebrews, before the captivity in Babylon, regarded the Messiah as one who would be merely a man, in no respect possessed of a nature superior to that of the rest of Adam’s posterity, though by far the most excellent of all men. But afterwards, some of the sacred writers from the time of the captivity” [he particularly instances Jeremiah, Malachi, and the author of the book under the name of Daniel], “having become imbued with opinions drawn from foreign quarters, took quite another course in describing the person of the Messiah, and raised him to the pos-

¹⁴ Note A.

¹⁵ Particularly by *Dr Peter Allix*, in his *Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church*; a work not remarkable for accurate statement or judicious reasoning.

session of natural properties superior to those of other men.”¹⁶ In passing, the reader will not fail to notice that Professor Bertholdt’s own doctrine of the mere humanity of the Messiah was formed out of purely deistical materials, and that he treated with open contempt the declarations of the Hebrew sacred writers; as, in other parts of the same work, he does the doctrinal authority of the New Testament. That kind of faith is not such as is “built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets;” and consequently it gives us no surprise that “Jesus Christ himself” is *not* its “chief corner-stone.”

This sentiment is strengthened by the reasons which we have to conclude, that the Jews of the same age employed the term WORD with a personal reference, and that reference to the Messiah. The use of this term by Philo and by the Christian Evangelist John appears unaccountable, except on the supposition that it had grown up to the acceptation supposed, at least among the Jews who used the Greek language. Such an extension of meaning and reference, agreeably to the ordinary progress of language, would flow from the primary signification, a MEDIUM of rational communication; and thus it would be a natural designation of a MEDIATOR between God and man; one who should *speak* to man on the things of infinite moment, in the name and by the authority of the Most High.¹⁷ We have also another evidence which is entitled to the greater weight, as it comes from a quarter the most hostile to the Christian religion. Celsus, whose words are cited by Origen, reproaches the Christians with absurdity and folly, for imagining that such a mean and contemned person as Jesus could be the PURE and HOLY WORD, the SON OF GOD; and personating a Jew, which is his manner in the construction of his work, he declares their belief that *the Word was the Son of God*, though they rejected the claims of Jesus to that honour. Origen, indeed, replies that, though he had conversed with many of the most learned Jews, he had not met with any who made use of that phrase. But it is very conceivable that Celsus might have derived his information from some class of Jews with which Origen, notwithstanding his learning and industry, was unac-

¹⁶ *Christologia Judæorum, Jesu Apostolorumque ætate*; Erlangen, 1811, p. 94. Dr B. died in 1822, aged 48.

¹⁷ In exact conformity with which, the Lord Jesus made the repeated declarations recorded in various parts of the Gospel of John, who introduces Him as the WORD: *e. g.* ch. vii. 16, 17; viii. 26, 47; xiv. 24.

quainted. No reason can be imagined why the malignant and inveterate Celsus should have invented the statement; or that it could have come into his mind, if it were not true. It was not likely to answer his purpose of decrying Christianity. On the contrary, its tendency is favourable to the claims of Christianity.¹⁸

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. II.

Note A, page 347.

Some learned and able writers have, however, entertained a different opinion. I therefore present the following extracts. I have reason to believe that the late excellent Dr Ryland, of Bristol, to whose pre-eminence, both as a Hebrew scholar and a theologian, I think it an honour to do homage, entertained the same sentiments as Walton and Owen.

“There are many passages of the Chaldee Paraphrasts, which could have been derived only from the remains of the expositions and doctrines delivered by the prophets. They have many things concerning the *Word of God*, by whom the universe was created, etc., and which admirably confirm the declarations of St John upon the Logos, and prove that, in so designating the Messiah, or Son of God, the evangelist employed a name already in familiar use among the Jews, as received from their ancestors, though not perfectly understood by all among them. To this word the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. i. 27, attributes *creation*: ‘The word of the Lord created man.’ In the same Targum, on Gen. iii. 22, in a single verse, *creation*, *speaking*, and *being the Only-Begotten*, are attributed to the Word: ‘And the Word of the Lord (Adonai) said, Behold, Adam whom I have created is the Only-begotten in the world, as I am the Only-begotten in the heavens on high.’ Jonathan, on Deut. xxxii. 39, says, ‘When will the Word of the Lord be manifested, to redeem his people?’ The same Targum on Gen. xix. 24, ascribes to the Word of the Lord the sending down of sulphur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah: ‘Sulphur and fire were sent down upon it, from the Word of the Lord out of heaven.’ So likewise Onkelos, ‘And the Word of the Lord returned.’ And on Gen. v. 24, ‘Enoch was taken away, by the Word, before the Lord.’ So the Jerusalem. Deut. xviii. 19, ‘My Word will take vengeance upon him.’ So Onkelos and Jonathan. The passages are innumerable in which actions and properties are attributed to the Word of God, as a distinct person.” *Waltoni Prolegom. in BB. Polygl.* p. 86.

“The Chaldee Paraphrast, observing that some especial presence of God is expressed in the words, Gen. iii. 8, renders them, ‘And they heard the voice of the Word of the Lord God walking in the garden.’ So all the Targums. And that of Jerusalem begins the next verse accordingly; ‘And the Word of the Lord God called unto Adam.’ And this expression they afterwards make use of in places innumerable; and that in such a way as plainly to denote a *distinct* Person in the Deity. That this was their intention in it, is hence manifest; because about the time of the writing of the first of those Targums, which gave (*normam loquendi*) the rule of speaking unto them that followed, it was usual amongst them to express their conceptions of the Son of God by the name of the *Logos*, or *Word of God*. So doth Philo express their sense,” etc. *Owen on Ep. Hebr.* vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1668.

“At this time, there was nothing more common among the Hebrews, than to denote the Second Subsistence of the Deity by the name of the *Word of God*.

¹⁸ Note B.

They were now divided into two great parts; first, the inhabitants of Canaan, with the regions adjoining, and many old remnants in the east; who used the Syro-Chaldean language, being but one dialect of the Hebrew: and secondly, the dispersions under the Greek empire, who are commonly called Hellenists, and who used the Greek tongue. And both these sorts did usually, in their several languages, describe the Second Person in the Trinity by the name of the *Word of God*. For the former sort, or those who used the Syro-Chaldean dialect, we have an eminent proof of it in the translation of the Scripture, which, at least some part of it, was made about this time amongst them, commonly called the *Chaldee Paraphrase*: in the whole whereof, the Second Person is mentioned under the name of *Memra dejeja*, or the *Word of God*. Hereunto are all personal properties and all divine works, in that translation, assigned; with an illustrious testimony to the faith of the old church concerning the distinct subsistence of a plurality of Persons in the Divine Nature. And for the Hellenists, who wrote and expressed themselves in the Greek tongue, they used the name of ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, the *Word of God*, to the same purpose; as I have elsewhere manifested out of the writings of Philo, who lived about this time, between the death of our Saviour and the destruction of Jerusalem." *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 273.

"Upon the whole, then, how are we to determine the sense of this singular phrase in the Targumim? Although we consider it neither as a reciprocal, nor as intended to designate the Second Person in the Trinity, who becoming incarnate lived and died for us (of which perhaps the Targumists themselves might have had at best but indistinct, or even incorrect ideas), yet may we most probably regard it in its general use, as indicative of a divine Person. That it properly means the *Word of the Lord*, or his will declared by a verbal communication, and that it is sometimes literally so taken, cannot be denied. But it seems impossible to consult the numerous passages, wherein personal characteristics are attributed to it, and to conceive that it does not usually point out a real person. Whether the Targumists contemplated this hypostatical word, as a true subsistence in the Divine nature, or as a distinct emanation of Deity, it may be useless to inquire, because we are deficient in data adequate to a complete decision of the question. If we suppose that the doctrine of a Trinity was originally known to the Jews, and ever after religiously preserved among them, we shall be inclined to adopt the former opinion; but if, on the other hand, in the absence of direct proof, we think such a supposition improbable, we must embrace the latter. And in this case perhaps we may be disposed to identify the theology of the Targumists with that of Philo the Alexandrian; and regard both as influenced by what is conceived to have been at the time the favourite philosophy of the East. *Philo*, like them, frequently alludes to the *Word of God*, λόγος Θεοῦ; and we know that he everywhere ascribes to this *Word* personal powers and operations, and denominates him the *second God*, δεύτερος Θεός." *Archbishop Lawrence's Dissert. on the Logos*, pp. 13, 14.

This subject will be further considered in the Chapter on the *Knowledge of the Apostles*, Book III. Chap. v. ; and on the Gospel of John, Book IV. Chap. ii.

Note B, page 349.

Χριστιανοῖς ἑγκαλεῖ ὡς σοφίζομένοις ἐν τῷ λέγειν τὸν Τίον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι Αὐτολόγον. καὶ οἵται γε κρατύνειν τὸ ἑγκλημα, ἐπεὶ, Λόγον ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Τίον εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀποδείκνυμεν οὐ Λόγον καθαρὸν καὶ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπον ἀτιμότατον, ἀπαχθέντα καὶ ἀποτυμπανισθέντα.—Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πολλοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ σοφοῖς γε ἐπαγγελλομένοις εἶναι συμβαλὼν, οἷδενός ἀνήκουα ἐπαινοῦντος τὸ, Λόγον εἶναι τὸν Τίον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ὁ Κέλσος εἶρηκε· καὶ τοῦτο περιόπτων τῷ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου προσώπῳ λέγοντος, ὡς εἶγε ὁ Λόγος ἐστὶν ὑμῖν Τίς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαινοῦμεν. "He charges the Christians with being deceivers when they say that the Son of God is the Word Himself; and He con-

ceives that he establishes his accusation in that, when we have announced the Word to be the Son of God, we exhibit, not a pure and holy Word, but a man in the lowest degree of meanness, dragged to punishment, and tortured to death.—I have had intercourse with many Jews, and those such as professed to be men of learning, but I have never heard of any one who admitted that the Son of God is the Word, as Celsus has affirmed; and this he attaches to the person of a Jew whom he represents as saying, *If your doctrine be that the Word is the Son of God, this we also admit.*—ORIGENIS *Opera*; ed. de la Rue, Par. 1733–1759. Tom. i. p. 413.

Celsus, the first and ablest literary opponent of the Christian religion, flourished within seventy or eighty years of the last surviving apostles. The profound and very learned searcher into literary antiquity, *James Brucker*, says, that, while the extracts made by Origen prove Celsus to have been an inveterate enemy of Christianity, they show that he was not destitute of learning and ability: [—“*Origenes—planum fecit, hominem eruditionis quidem et lectionis copiâ non destitutum—*” *Hist. Critica Philos.* tom. ii. p. 608.] We have reason to believe that Origen, in his reply, has preserved nearly the whole of the work, in the adversary’s own words.

SECTION III.—ON THE WRITINGS OF THE ALEXANDRINE JEWS, COMMONLY CALLED THE APOCRYPHA.

MANY Jews were forcibly carried into Egypt, and others were induced to settle in that country, by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. They were chiefly settled at Alexandria, where the Macedonian Greek, with a large infusion of Hebrew and Chaldaic idioms, became their vernacular language, and was transferred to their religious services. To these Jews and their descendants we owe, not only the Version of the Old Testament called the Septuagint, but those various writings, moral, historical, and mythic, the collection of which is called the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. All of those books are curious, and some of them extremely valuable.¹⁹ The earlier of them seem to have been compiled or translated from materials written within a century after the last of the inspired prophets;²⁰ and the latter of them, interpolations excepted, were probably composed some years before the birth of Christ.²¹

¹⁹ It is to be regretted that the just rejection of these books from the Scriptural Canon by the Reformed Churches, has occasioned the opposite extreme of an entire disregard to them in many serious and studious Christians. As a collection of the most ancient Jewish works next to the inspired books, as documents of history, as lessons of prudence and often of piety, and as elucidating the phraseology of the New Testament, the Greek Apocrypha well deserves the frequent perusal of scholars, and especially of theological students.

²⁰ See the prologues of Jesus the son of Sirach.

²¹ The book called the 2d of Esdras in our English Apocrypha (in the Roman Catholic enumeration the 4th), is not included in this opinion. It is extant,

In reading these productions of the Alexandrine Jews, one cannot but remark the decline of religious intelligence, and the low point to which the knowledge and hope of a Messiah had sunk.²² They countenance incantations and other heathen superstitions: they speak of angels as intercessors with God for men; prayers and sacrifices for the souls of those who died in sin, they extol as "holy and pious;" and, so miserably lax had the current notions of morality become, that suicide and assassination are the subjects of encomium.²³ The term *Messiah*, or its translation *Christ*, does not even once occur, as a designation of the promised Saviour. The passages which have been adduced as intimations of belief or expectation with regard to him, contain but few and faint traces of any such reference. A personification of sacred wisdom occurs,²⁴ which some have been willing to accept as a description of "Christ, the Wisdom of God:" but if the far more strong and beautiful picture of the same kind, in the genuine Book of Proverbs,²⁵ cannot be satisfactorily proved to be a designed description of the Saviour's person, much less can such an interpretation be established on the apocryphal imitation. In two or three places, the *word* of God is mentioned, in a way on which stress has been laid;²⁶ but I cannot discover evidence that it signifies any thing more than, either the divine command, or God himself according to the Chaldaic usage before stated. The appearances and revelations which the earlier records of the Old Testament attribute to the

not in a Greek or Aramaic original, but in a Latin Version in the Vulgate of Jerome (but not admitted as canonical by the Rom. Cath. Church), and in two other Versions, Æthiopic and Arabic. Of the Æthiopic, Archbishop Laurence also conferred upon the learned world the benefit of Latin and English Translations. Its probable origin lies very near to the commencement of Christianity. The two apocryphal books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasseh, are rejected from the canon by the church of Rome.

²² Note A.

²³ Tob. iii. 8; vi. 16; xii. 15; 2 Macc. xii. 40-46; xiv. 41, 42; Judith ix. 2-4.

²⁴ Wisd. Sol. ch. vii.-xi.

²⁵ Ch. viii. ix.

²⁶ Wisd. Sol. ix. 1; xvi. 12, 26; xviii. 15. The last passage has the most of a personal appearance. "When still silence embraced all things, and night in its own speed had reached its midway, thine all-powerful word, from heaven out of royal thrones, leaped, a fierce warrior into the midst of the land of destruction, bearing a sharp sword, thine undissembled commandment; and standing up it filled all things with death; and whilst it touched heaven, it stalked upon earth." This laboured bombast appears to be an injudicious imitation of passages in the Greek Poets. (Not improbably a passage in *Callimachus's Hymn to Ceres*, v. 30-59, which the scholiast says was written for the Eleusinian festival instituted at Alexandria by Ptolemy Philadelphus.) But surely none will attribute to the Messiah to have been the agent of destruction in the land of Egypt.

Angel of Jehovah, are thus referred to ; “ God—appeared upon earth, and was conversant with men : ”²⁷ and in their present calamities, the Jews are assured as from God, “ Mine Angel is with you, even himself seeking out your souls.”²⁸ In the same book “ the Eternal Saviour ”²⁹ is represented as the object of prayer and trust, under the sufferings which the Jews endured in the Babylonish captivity. Simon Maccabæus was confirmed in the pontificate, “ until a faithful prophet should arise ; ”³⁰ not improbably referring to the great Prophet foretold by Moses. In the prayer which concludes the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, there is a passage, which, if the reading be genuine, it seems impossible not to admit as a recognition of the Messiah as the Son of God : “ I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord.”³¹ Another prayer of the same author supplicates for the fulfilment of the prophecies, by which the name of the True God should be glorified among all the nations of the world, as well as in the restored prosperity and religious happiness of Israel : but he does not seem to have been aware, that those predictions were to be accomplished only under the reign of the great and spiritual Deliverer.³²

There are some other ancient writings, partly founded on tradition and partly imitative, but unauthentic, spurious, or apocryphal, having a relation to the Old Testament. Of these, the most celebrated, and possessing the highest interest, is called *The Book of Enoch the Prophet*. The Epistle of Jude recites a declaration of the divine justice upon the wicked, expressly as made by “ Enoch, the seventh from Adam.” A book is mentioned by Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and others of the christian fathers, as the prophecy of Enoch, extant in their times, apparently in a Greek translation from a Hebrew original ; but none of them appear to have regarded it as having divine

²⁷ Bar. iii. 35–37.

²⁸ Bar. vi. 7, apparently alluding to Ezek. xxxiv. 11, 12.

²⁹ Bar. iv. 20–24.

³⁰ 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Bef. C. 143.

³¹ Wisd. of Jes. li. 14 ; and so reads the Vulg. ; but the Syr. and Arab. Versions have, “ I called upon my Father from on high (*Arab.* from heaven).”

³² Ib. xxxvi. 15–17. “ Give a testimony to those who, from the beginning, have been thy possession : and fulfil the prophecies which have been uttered in thy name. Give a reward to those that wait for thee ; and let confidence be reposed in thy prophets. Hear, O Lord, the entreaty of thy supplicants, according to the blessing of Aaron upon thy people ; and all that are upon the earth shall know that thou art the Lord, the Eternal God.”

authority, except Tertullian, who considered it as both authentic and genuine. Pretty long portions of it were quoted by George Syncellus, a monk of Constantinople,³³ in a Greek historical work which he wrote towards the close of the eighth century, and which was printed in 1652. From this time it remained unknown; and no doubt the Greek copy, subsisting in very few transcripts, was lost in the wreck of literature during the middle ages. After the revival of letters, much interest was felt by learned men on this subject; but the ransacking of libraries was fruitless. The opinion became very prevalent that the book was a forgery after the apostolic age, written by some man who had taken the hint from the Epistle of Jude, and of course worked that passage into his composition. In the seventeenth century, the conjecture was advanced that the work might still subsist in Ethiopia, the modern Abyssinia, and most probably in an Ethiopic translation. The distinguished patron of learning, De Peiresc,³⁴ spared neither pains nor cost to obtain the desired object. A Capuchin monk imposed upon him an Ethiopic manuscript of no material value; and the fraud remained undiscovered till, many years after, the manuscript was submitted to the great Ethiopic scholar, Job Ludolf. After the lapse of almost two centuries longer, the Scottish traveller, James Bruce, brought out of Abyssinia three manuscripts of the lost long-desired Book of Enoch. One of these he presented to the Bodleian Library, another to the Royal Library at Paris, and the third he reserved for himself. Much more recently, another copy has been discovered by the diligence of the Abbate Maio, among the Ethiopic manuscripts of the Vatican. It was long, however, before any steps were taken for opening this treasure to the scholars of Europe. In the year 1801, the Baron Silvestre de Sacy published an account of the Paris manuscript, in a periodical journal, and accompanied it with a Latin translation of a few chapters. Beyond this laudable contribution, nothing effective was done to meet the just expectations of the students of sacred literature; and the hope deferred sunk apparently into indifference.

But, at last, this interesting monument of antiquity found an

³³ An account of him and his *Chronographia* is given by Sir John Marsham, in his *Canon Chronicus*, pp. 1, 6, 7.

³⁴ A gentleman of Provence, who died in 1637, having employed his life and fortune in the most munificent manner, to the advancement of learning and science.

English scholar richly qualified, and as happily disposed, to translate and illustrate it,—Dr Richard Laurence, at that time (1821) Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel.³⁵ In his admirable Preliminary Dissertation, he has given a most satisfactory account of the work and the circumstances connected with it. He published a second and improved edition in 1833; and, the same year, it was also republished at Jena, in a German translation (much aided by Dr Laurence's English, which is fully acknowledged), by Dr Andrew Gottlieb Hoffman, Prof. Theol. at Jena, with his own Introduction and Notes, in addition to those translated from the Archbishop's.³⁶ It is pleasing to see the respectful approbation of this foreign orientalist towards the English dignitary, and his decisive confirmation of the arguments by which our learned countryman has established both the date and nearly the place of the original work. Those arguments have proved that it was written (undoubtedly by a Jew) in the earlier part of the reign of Herod the Great, consequently about thirty years before the birth of Christ, and most probably in the country which had been the northern part of the ancient Assyrian empire.³⁷

Thus, in this extraordinary work so remarkably brought to our use and enjoyment, we have an undeniable witness to the religious opinions and expectations which were entertained by at least some of the Jewish nation, before the beginning of Christianity: and the probability is, that the author was descended from those numerous families who had settled in many parts of the Assyrian and Persian territories, and who did not or could not embrace the opportunity afforded by the edict of Cyrus, of returning to the land of their fathers. Hence the stream of traditionary doctrine was less likely to be corrupted than in Egypt, by a mingled philosophy, or in Palestine, by Pharisaism and Sadduceism.

Does this work, then, supply any addition to our information

³⁵ He died in 1838.

³⁶ Extending not entirely to the half of the Book; as it is intended to be the first volume of a complete edition and illustration of all the Apocryphal writings, both Jewish and Christian.

³⁷ In this estimation of date, the concurrence of Gesenius (who died in Oct. 1842) is important, especially considering his unhappy hostility to divine revelation. He says,—“The Apocryphal book of Enoch, written about the time of Christ's birth, but before the death of Herod the Great.” *Lex. ed. Robinson*, 1844.

upon the belief and expectations of the Jews before the Christian era, concerning the MESSIAH?—It does; and in a manner very remarkable. I shall translate the principal passage from Dr Hoffman, as closely as I can, subjoining his notes; and then annex a portion of Archbishop Laurence's observations.

“ Chap. xlv. § 1. Then I beheld the Chief of Days, whose head was white as wool; and with him another, whose countenance was like that of man. His countenance was full of pleasantness, like one of the holy angels. Then I asked one of the angels, who was with me, and who showed me this mystery with respect to this Son of Man; who he was, whence he was, and why he accompanied the Chief of Days.

“ 2. He answered and said unto me, This is the Son of Man to whom righteousness belongeth, with whom righteousness hath dwelt, and who will reveal all the treasures of that which is hidden; for the Lord of spirits hath chosen him, and his portion hath surpassed the universe, before the Lord of spirits in everlasting rectitude.”

§§ 3, 4, 5, 6, describe the idolatrous and tyrannical potentates of the earth as engaged in malignant strife against God and his kingdom of righteousness; while his faithful servants patiently suffer. Chap. xlvii. §§ 1 and 2 describe the sufferings and martyrdom of the righteous, and their prayers for deliverance and for a right adjudication of their cause: the same sentiment essentially as in Rev. vi. 9, 10, 11.

“ 3. At this time, I beheld the Chief of Days, while he sat upon the throne of his glory. The book of life was opened in his presence, and all the potentates that were under heaven stood around and before him.

“ 4. Then were the hearts of the righteous full of joy, because the perfection of righteousness was come, the prayer of the holy heard, and the blood of the righteous held precious by the Lord of spirits.

“ Chap. xlviii. § 1. In this place I beheld a stream of righteousness, which never had failed, surrounded by many fountains of wisdom. Of this all that were thirsty drank, and were filled with wisdom, and had their dwelling with the righteous, the chosen, and the holy.

“ 2. In that hour was this Son of Man called upon, with the Lord of spirits, and his name in the presence of the Chief of Days.

“ 3. Before the sun and the signs [of the heavens] were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, was his name called upon in the presence of the Lord of the spirits. He will be a support to the righteous and holy, on which they may lean without falling; and he will be the light of nations.

“ 4. He will be the hope of those whose hearts are in distress. All who dwell upon earth will fall down and worship before him, will laud and glorify him, and will sing songs of praise to the Lord of spirits.

“ 5. On this account was the Chosen One and the Hidden One in his presence, before the world was created, and for ever

“ 6. in his presence, and the wisdom of the Lord of spirits hath unveiled the Holy One and the Righteous One; for he hath preserved the lot of the righteous, since they have hated and rejected this world of unrighteousness, and have abhorred all its works and ways, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

“ 7. For in his name shall they be preserved, and his will shall be their life. In those days, the kings of the earth and the mighty men, who have won the world by the work of their hands, shall become low in comparison [of him].

“ 8. For, in the day of their anguish and distress their souls shall not be delivered; and they shall be in the hands of those whom I have chosen.

“ 9. I will cast them like hay into the fire, and like lead into the water. So shall they burn in the presence of the righteous, and sink in the presence of the holy; and not a tenth part of them shall be found.

“ 10. But in the day of their distress, peace will be upon earth.

“ 11. In his presence they shall fall, and not again upraise themselves, and there will be none that can deliver them out of his hands and restore them; for they have denied the Lord of spirits and his Messiah. The name of the Lord of spirits be praised!”³⁸

³⁸ Note B.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. III.

Note A, page 352.

An author of learning and talent, but much inclined, to say the least, to the antisupranaturalist unbelief, has given the following just views on this feature of the Jewish national character during the latter period of their restored state.

"It is indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the history of the human mind,³⁹ that this people, under all their tempests of desolating misery, preserved their hopes; and that, to the present day, notwithstanding their total annihilation as a nation, they have never wavered in their expectation of the Messiah. Their circumstances, in and after the captivity, gave a new direction to their expectations of the Messiah. They returned with penitence and in good earnest to the faith of their fathers; and they observed the Mosaic religious institutions with a rigorous strictness which formed a perfect contrast to the light-minded negligence of their ancestors. Thus, according to the notions of these Jews of the lower period, there was nothing for the Messiah to do for the advancement of religion; for what could he have done more than to restore the Mosaic religion, in its purity? But this was already done: and consequently nothing was wanting to the happiness of the nation, but to give again to their political relations the brilliance of David's times. Thus became fixed the expectation of a political Messiah, a great and victorious king, who should completely subdue the heathen nations, the adversaries and contemners of Jehovah, and subject them to the Jews. And so the consoling hope of the Messiah, as the Purifier who should refine to the utmost the institutions for the honour and true worship of God, and as the Restorer of peace and happiness, was infected with the spirit of a refractory people, and turned into a selfish, ambitious, infuriated fanaticism,—the idea of a conqueror who, to avenge and to exalt the petty nation of the Jews, would immolate by his sword many millions of the greatest and most polished people of the earth." *Bretschneider's Darstellung der Dogmatik der Apocryph. Schr. d. A. T.* [*Systematical Arrangement of the Doctrinal Theology of the Apocryphal Books of the O. T.*] P. 33, Leipzig, 1805.

Note B, page 357.

SELECTIONS FROM HOFFMAN'S NOTES.

"xlvi. 1. From hence Enoch speaks and informs us of the visions which he beheld. A particular notice of the change of persons speaking, is not given. Dr Laurence translates, here and in the parallel places, *the Ancient of Days*, referring evidently to the expression in Dan. vii. 9, עֶלְיֹן יוֹשֵׁי־יְמֵי which the Greek version of Theodotion (in the printed editions of the LXX.) and the LXX. itself (as published from the Chisian MS. of the Tetrapla of Origen, Rome, 1772) translate Παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν. As the Ethiopic version of the Book of Daniel has never been printed, I am unable to say whether the Greek" [from which that version is believed to be taken] "is rendered by the words that are here used in the Book of Enoch, and which, as Dr. L. in a note observes, signify *the Chief or Head of Days*. This would be put in a clear light, if we were sure that, in this appellation of the Deity, there was an express reference to the Book of Daniel. But it scarcely admits of a doubt, that the two phrases are not absolutely of the same import. The Ethiopic words may indeed be so translated as to express nearly the same ideas as in the Chaldee of Daniel and the Greek versions, *the Head over days*, i.e. he who, with respect to his days, stands at the highest point, yielding to none: nearly the same idea as *the Eternal*. But it would be quite in

³⁹ If this author truly believed the divine inspiration of the prophets, and honestly attended to their declarations, he would not think the phenomenon so difficult to be accounted for.

accordance with the idiom of the language, to translate the expression, *the Lord of Days*, or *the Lord of Time*, in this sense, the Almighty Ruler over time and all that can occur in time, over the duration of life and all possible circumstances; for the word" [second of the two] "is directly used to signify *time*, as Ludolf shows in his *Lex. Æthiop.* 2d ed. p. 429. As the succeeding parts of the representation in Dan. vii. incontestibly served as a model for our author, it may be not unreasonably presumed that this appellation of God was also derived from the Ethiopic version of that Book.

"*White as wool* is derived from Dan. vii. 9, and denotes God as the most perfectly pure and holy Being; but some suppose it to be drawn from the white hair of an aged man" [to denote the venerable character of experience and wisdom]. "In a former part of this book, is a similar picturesque representation, equally imitating the passage in Daniel: 'A Great One sat thereon in glory, whose robe was brighter than the sun and whiter than snow.'

"The person who accompanies the Supreme Being, called the Chosen One and the Son of Man, has a human appearance (Dan. vii. 13), but his countenance is comparable to that of an Angel. Dr L. inserts *that of*, to explain the clause; but there is no pronoun in the Ethiopic text. Such comparisons of the human figure, knowledge, etc. with corresponding properties in angels, occur also in the Bible; as 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20; Apoc. Esth. iv. 11; Acts vi. 15; Gal. iv. 14.

"— Illustration is afforded to the circumstances which accompany the appearance of the Son of Man, and the consequences which it will have for the benefit of mankind. The names, *Son of Man* and *the Chosen One*, are used promiscuously. The object especially signified is the perfect *righteousness* of the Son of Man; certainly the most important quality of one to whom judgment is committed. In ver. 2 this is brought prominently forward, and his superiority in this respect over all others is the ground of his being thus *chosen*. In the same way, in Heb. i. 9, the *love* of the Son to *righteousness* is the reason of his being distinguished by God above others—*anointed above his fellows*, referring to Ps. xlv. 7. The hidden treasures, which the Son of Man will bring to light, are the riches of divine grace, and the blessedness which through him will be extended to mankind; or that more pure knowledge of God and his righteous government which brings life and salvation to the pious servants of the Most High. In the Bible, *that which is hidden*, is a term often employed to denote a doctrine which had been previously unknown, Is. xlviii. 6; Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21; Eph. iii. 9. If the writer of the book had been a Christian, this language might well be understood as referring to the doctrines of the gospel.

"Ver. 3. It is further to be expected of the Son of Man, at his appearing, that he will use the power committed to him, to humble pride, violence, and opposition to God. This idea often recurs in the descriptions of the Messiah contained in this book; with which comp. the Scripture passages, Is. xli. 15; Luke i. 52; Col. ii. 16.

"xlviii. § 3. As this passage casts important light upon the sentiments entertained by the Jews, before the coming of Christ, upon an important point of doctrine, I here give it in the Ethiopic original." [Which follows, in the German work.] "And the following is a literal Latin translation. (2.) Et in illa hora invocatus est hic Filius hominis apud Dominum spirituum, et nomen ejus coram Antiquo dierum. (3.) Et antequam creabatur sol et signa, antequam siebant stellæ cœli, nomen ejus invocatum est coram Domino spirituum. Ille erit baculus justorum et sanctorum, ut in eo innitantur neque cadant; et ille [erit] Lux gentium.

"The term *signs* is to be understood of the heavenly bodies; comp. Jer. x. 2.—*Staff of the righteous*, Leader and Protector; Ps. xxiii. 4.—*Light of the nations* is also a Bible expression for the Messiah; Isa. xlii. 6; xlix. 6; Luke ii. 32; John viii. 12; Acts xiii. 47.—The pious put their confidence in this Son of Man.

"This section is particularly to be observed, as asserting the *Pre-existence of the Messiah before the creation*; see also ch. lxi. 10. Even before the creation of the stars, *his name was called upon*, which denotes adoration. How much more will the righteous exalt him, when they behold him on the throne of his glory!

"§ 5. [The Ethiopic text is given.] *Lat. vers.* Igitur fuit (*aut factus est*) Electus et Occultus coram eo, antequam creabatur mundus, et usque ad secula seculorum.—

"5 and 6. *In his presence*, is repeated, partly to serve the connection, and partly for the sake of impression: so in John i. 1, 2, the sentiment is repeated, that the Word was *with God*.

"7. The possessive pronoun may refer either to the *Lord of spirits* or to the *Chosen One*: both constructions give an equally good sense. *His will is life*; comp. Prov. iv. 13, 22.

"11.—The cause of their ruin lies in their denying God and his Messiah."—

I lament that this first volume of Dr Hoffman's work contains only 55 chapters, out of 105; consequently I cannot give his translation and notes upon ch. lxi. But this defect will be supplied by the following extract from the Archbishop's *Preliminary Dissertation*,—one of the finest specimens of historical criticism. The importance of the subject, and the sound judgment with which it is there treated, will be my apology for citing so large a portion.

"The fate of apocryphal writings in general has been singular. On one side, from the influence of theological opinion or theological caprice, they have been sometimes injudiciously admitted into the Canon of Scripture; while, on the other side, from an over anxiety to preserve that Canon inviolate, they have been not simply rejected, but loaded with every epithet of contempt and obloquy. The feelings perhaps of both parties have on such occasions run away with their judgment. For writings of this description, whatsoever may or may not be their claim to inspiration, at least are of considerable utility, where they indicate the theological opinions of the periods at which they were composed. This I apprehend to be peculiarly the case with the Book of Enoch; which, as having been manifestly written before the doctrines of Christianity were promulgated to the world, must afford us, when it refers to the nature and character of the Messiah, as it repeatedly does so refer, credible proof of what were the Jewish opinions upon those points before the birth of Christ; and consequently before the possible predominance of the Christian creed.

"In this book clear and distinct allusions are made to a Being, highly exalted with the Lord of spirits, under the appellations of the Son of man,⁴⁰ the Elect one,⁴¹ the Messiah,⁴² and the Son of God.⁴³ Disputes have arisen respecting the nature of the Son of man described in the vision of Daniel; and Unitarians contend, that his existence commenced at the birth of Jesus Christ; affirming, without fear of contradiction, that no Jew of any age ever held the opinion of his pre-existence; much less ever regarded him as an object of divine worship. But that the Jewish doctrine before Christ upon this point was totally different from that which the Unitarians assert it to have been, I have shown in my remarks on the first book of Ezra.⁴⁴ The present publication, however, affords fuller and more decisive testimony upon the same subject.

"The apocryphal Enoch evidently copies after Daniel; so much so, indeed, that his more minute delineation of the Prophet's vision may be regarded as explanatory of its meaning, according to the received doctrine of the Jews in his own day. In this point of view, at least, his sentiments are of considerable importance; because necessarily uninfluenced by Christian prepossessions. Alluding to the Son of man, he says; '*Before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were formed, his name was invoked in the presence*

⁴⁰ Chap. xlv. 1, 2; xlviii. 2, etc.

⁴² Chap. xlviii. 11; li. 4.

⁴⁴ P. 320, 321. 8vo, Oxford, 1820.

⁴¹ Chap. xlviii. *2, etc.

⁴³ Chap. civ. *2.

‘of the Lord of spirits. . . . All, who dwell on earth, shall fall down and worship before him; shall bless and glorify him, and sing praises to him in the name of the Lord of spirits. Therefore the Elect and the Concealed one existed in his presence before the world was created, and for ever.’⁴⁵ Again, when speaking of the terror which shall afflict the great rulers of the earth in the day of judgment, he expresses himself in the following manner; ‘They shall be astonished, and shall humble their countenance; and trouble shall seize them, when they shall behold the Son of woman sitting upon the throne of his glory. Then shall the kings, the princes, and all who possess the earth, glorify him who has dominion over all things, him who was concealed; for from the beginning the Son of man existed in secret, whom the Most High preserved in the presence of his power, and revealed to the elect. . . . All the kings, the princes, the exalted, and those who rule over the earth, shall fall down on their faces before him, and shall worship him. They shall fix their hopes on this Son of man, and shall pray to him, and petition him for mercy.’⁴⁶

“In both these passages the pre-existence of the Messiah is asserted in language which admits not the slightest shade of ambiguity. Nor is it such a pre-existence as the philosophical Cabbalists attributed to him, who believed the souls of all men, and consequently that of the Messiah, to have been originally created together, when the world itself was formed; but an existence antecedent to all creation; an existence previous to the formation of the luminaries of heaven; an existence prior to all things visible and invisible, ‘before every thing concealed.’ It should likewise be remarked, that the pre-existence ascribed to him is a *divine* pre-existence; for before all things ‘his name was invoked in the presence of the Lord of spirits—the Elect and the Concealed one existed in his presence—who has dominion over all things, for from the beginning the Son of man existed in secret, whom the Most High preserved in the presence of his power.’ Hence, therefore, is it explicitly affirmed, that all the kings of the earth ‘shall fall down and worship before him, shall bless and glorify him,’ as a true object of adoration.

“Neither is allusion thus only made to the Elect one or the Messiah; but also to another divine Person or Power; both of whom, under the joint denomination of *the Lords*, are stated to have been over the water, that is, as I conceive, over the fluid mass of unformed matter, at the period of creation. ‘He [the Elect one],’ it is stated, ‘shall call to every power of the heavens, to all the holy above, and to the power of God. The Cherubim, the Seraphim, and the Ophanim, all the angels of power, and all the angels of the Lords, namely, of the Elect one, and of the other power, who was upon earth over the water on that day, shall raise their united voice, etc.’⁴⁷ In this passage an obvious reference, I conceive, occurs to the first verse of Genesis, in which it is said, that ‘the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters.’ As, therefore, the more full description of the Son of man, here given, may be considered as the Jewish comment of the day upon the vision of Daniel; so also, I apprehend, must the last-quoted allusion to the Book of Genesis be considered as a comment of the same nature upon that account of Moses, which describes the commencement of creation. Here then we have not merely the declaration of a *Plurality*, but that of a precise and distinct *Trinity*, of persons, under the supreme appellation of *God and Lords*: the *Lords* are denominated the *Elect one* and the *other* [divine] *Power*, who is represented as engaged in the formation of the world, on that day, that is, on the day of creation. And it should be added, that upon these a particular class of angels is mentioned as appropriately attendant.

“This argument, in proof that the Jews before the birth of Christ believed the doctrine of a Trinity, appears to me much more important and conclusive

⁴⁵ Chap. xlviii. 3, 4, 5.⁴⁶ Chap. lxi. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.⁴⁷ Chap. lx. 13, 14.

than that which has been indeed frequently, but to my mind, I confess, not satisfactorily, deduced from the philosophical principles of the ancient Cabbala. Cabbalistical theology, I well know, has its *aziluth* or *emanations of Deity*; but these, I am convinced, notwithstanding the persuasions of many Christians upon the subject, were at no period ever contemplated by the Jews themselves as *distinct persons*, but merely as *distinct energies*, in the Godhead. Indeed, if the argument has any force at all, it is calculated to prove more than its advocates wish; for it goes to demonstrate that the Jews believed in *ten*, not in *three*, personal emanations of Deity; for such is the number of the Sephiroth. Imagination is always ready to discover resemblances, where none in reality exist; but sober reasoning can never surely approve the indiscreet attempt of representing Christian truth as arrayed in the meretricious garb of the Jewish Cabbala. That singular, and to those perhaps who penetrate its exterior surface, fascinating system of allegorical subtleties, has no doubt its brighter as well as its darker parts, its true as well as its false allusions; but instead of reducing its wild combinations of opinion to the standard of Scripture, we shall, I am persuaded, be less likely to err, if we refer them to the ancient and predominant philosophy of the east; from which they seem to have originally sprung, and from which they are as inseparable, as the shadow is from its substance.

"The passage, however, under consideration is liable to no objection of this kind. Here there is nothing Cabbalistical; here there is no allegory; but a plain and clear, although slight allusion to a doctrine, which, had it not formed a part of the popular creed at the time, would scarcely have been intelligible. Three Lords are enumerated; the Lord of Spirits, the Lord the Elect one, and the Lord the other Power; an enumeration which evidently implies the acknowledgment of three distinct Persons participating in the name and in the power of the Godhead. Such, therefore, from the evidence before us, appears to have been the doctrine of the Jews respecting the divine nature, antecedently to the rise and promulgation of Christianity.

"Upon the whole, then, if this singular book be censured, as abounding in some parts with fable and fiction, still should we recollect, that fable and fiction may occasionally prove both amusing and instructive; and can then only be deemed injurious when pressed into the service of vice and infidelity. Nor should we forget that much, perhaps most, of what we censure was grounded upon a national tradition, the antiquity of which alone, independent of other considerations, had rendered it respectable. That the author was uninspired, will be scarcely now questioned: but, although his production was apocryphal, it ought not therefore to be stigmatized as necessarily replete with error; although it be on that account incapable of becoming a rule of faith, it may, nevertheless, contain much moral as well as religious truth; and may be justly regarded as a correct standard of the doctrine of the times in which it was composed. *Non omnia esse concedenda antiquitati*, is, it is true, a maxim founded upon reason and experience; but, in perusing the present relic of a remote age and country, should the reader discover much to condemn, still, unless he be too fastidious, he will find more to approve; if he sometimes frown, he may oftener smile; nor seldom will he be disposed to admire the vivid imagination of a writer, who transports him far beyond the flaming boundaries of the world,

' ————— extra
Processit longe flammantia mœnia mundi;'

displaying to him every secret of Creation; the splendours of heaven, and the terrors of hell; the mansions of departed souls; and the myriads of the celestial hosts, the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophanim, which surround the blazing throne, and magnify the holy name, of the great Lord of spirits, the Almighty Father of men and of angels."—Pp. xxxix.—xlvi.

There are also other apocryphal writings which have, within the last twenty years, been restored to the attention of biblicists and antiquaries, and which were written before and in the apostolic age. One of these is the *Ascension of Isaiah*,⁴⁸ a work shown, by a surprising abundance of internal evidences, to have been written by a Jewish Christian, at a date which is fixed with an undeniable precision as immediately succeeding the death of Nero, which took place in A.D. 68. In it are found the most ample declarations of the Messiah, the Beloved ; often called by divine titles and attributives, assuming human flesh in a spotless virgin, her protection from the alarming suspicions of Joseph, the satisfaction afforded to him ; and these, with the subsequent details of the life, teaching, authority, miracles, death, and glorification of the Christ, are detailed with a fulness and exactness which proves a perfect acquaintance with the contents of our first three Gospels. The decisive clearness of these narratives, as susceptible of no other interpretation, and the genuineness of the work which supplies them, are put out of any rational doubt by the first-rate scholars and critics of our day.

SECTION IV.—ON THE DOCTRINES OF PHILO, CONCERNING THE LOGOS.

PHILO was a Jew of Alexandria, of a sacerdotal family, eminent above his contemporaries for talents, eloquence, and wisdom ; and whose learning it is not probable that any of his nation, in any subsequent period, if we except Josephus, have exceeded, or even approached. From the most probable estimation, he was about sixty years old at the time of the death of Jesus Christ ; and he lived for some years afterwards. But we have no reason to think that he ever visited Judea, or that he was acquainted with the important events which were there taking place. The gospel was not extensively and openly communicated out of Judea till ten years after our Lord's crucifixion. It cannot, then, be reasonably supposed that this distinguished person was a convert to Christianity : at least, it is next to impossible to conceive that a Christian of such character, dignity, and authority as he would have been, and who, on the suppo-

⁴⁸ Referred to and sufficiently designated as existing in Greek, by the Apostolical Constitutions in the third century, and by Origen, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Jerome : supposed to be utterly lost, yet a Latin translation is catalogued in the Royal Lib. Paris, and said by Sixtus of Sienna (a converted Jew, d. 1569) to have been printed ; and a copy has been discovered at Munich, and one at Copenhagen. But happily Archbishop Laurence found an Ethiopic translation of this work, and in 1819 published it, with a Latin and an English Version. Further information, with interesting extracts, will reward the reader, in Gesenius's *Jesaia*, vol. i. pp. 46-56 ; and, above all, with ampler extracts and admirable criticism, Prof. M. Stuart's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. i. pp. 40-50. In the same work also is a Disquisition of much interest, upon the *Fourth Book of Esdras* (called in our English Apocrypha, the Second) ; apparently a Jewish production, with Judeo-Christian interpolations, and whose composition, though of such various character, belongs to a period not far from the commencement of the Christian era. It repeatedly recognises the expectation of a Christ, the Son of God, a Deliverer and Protector of the Israelites, possessed of great power, and who, with all the human race, should die after a period of four hundred years ; but, in seven days, a return to life takes place, and the Son of God is again active as the Deliverer and Benefactor of the Ten Tribes. The sequel is wrapped up in obscurity.

sition of his being a Christian, must have been perfectly known and highly esteemed by some, at least, of the New Testament writers, should not be in any manner mentioned or alluded to by those writers. The coincidences of sentiment, and more frequently of phraseology, which occur in the writings of Philo, with the language of Paul and of John in the New Testament, must be accounted for on some other principles. Yet it would be contrary to all the philosophy of human nature, not to ascribe these different but similar streams to one primary source. That source, I venture to propose, is not so much to be sought in the writings of Plato, or in the ethical lectures of the learned Jews of Alexandria, or in the sole speculations and invented diction of Philo himself;—as in the SACRED WRITINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, transfused into the Alexandrian idiom, paraphrased and amplified in the terms and phrases which were vernacular to the Grecian Jews, and mixed in a very arbitrary manner with the speculations of both the Persian and the Greek philosophers. Since the New Testament was written in this idiom, and since the component parts of the Christian dispensation were not so much new ideas as the fuller explication, and the more interesting impression, of truths and promises previously revealed;⁴⁹ the conformity of which we are treating appears less an object of just surprise than its absence would have been.

But no part of the writings of Philo has excited so much attention and admiration, as his frequent expressions on the subject of the *LOGOS* or *Word*. He has been thought to ascribe to this mysterious object, Personality, Divine Perfections, a gracious commission from heaven, the bestowment of the highest blessings on mankind; in fine, that under the title of the *Word*, the attributes of the Messiah were designedly portrayed. Hence some have taken up the opinion that Philo was a Christian;⁵⁰ and others, that, being only a Jew, he furnishes the most authentic statement of the belief and the expectations entertained by the most pious and the best informed of his nation with regard to the hope and redemption of Israel.

To ascertain satisfactorily what was the doctrine of Philo concerning the *Word*, it appears necessary to collect the prin-

⁴⁹ "Saying nothing beyond the things which the prophets and Moses spoke of as what should come to pass." Acts xxvi. 22. "The righteousness [*δικαιοσύνη*, method of justification] of God is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." Rom. iii. 21.

⁵⁰ Note A.

principal passages⁵¹ which his extant writings furnish on the subject.

“Behold the man whose name is the Branch (or the Rising Light). [Zech. iii. 8.] Truly a very unusual appellation, if you regard it as referring to a being consisting of a body and soul; but if it be admitted to refer to that incorporeal person who shares the divine image, you will acknowledge that the name of the *Rising Light* is most apposite to him. For him the Father of the universe hath caused to spring up as his Eldest Son, whom he also names the First-begotten, and who, when begotten, imitating the proceedings of his Father, formed species of being, looking at the Father’s archetypal models.”⁵²

“God, as a Shepherd and King, according to equity and law, directs his agency, as upon a flock, on earth and water, air and fire, and all things contained therein, both vegetable and animal, both mortal and divine; and also the constitution of the heavens, the periods of the sun and moon, and the revolutions and harmonious movements of the other stars; placing over them his own perfect WORD, his First-begotten Son, who, as the deputy of a mighty sovereign, receives the charge of presiding over this sacred company. For it is said, *Behold, I AM: I will send mine angel before thy face to keep thee in the way.*”⁵³

⁵¹ Though in translating the following extracts I have endeavoured to convey the closest representation of the meaning and spirit, and as much as possible of the very words, of the author, it is due to the satisfaction of a numerous and happily increasing class of readers, to annex the original passages. To one who can read them, it will be manifest that no translation can convey a just idea of the remarkable phraseology of Philo, or of the frequent and extraordinary coincidence of his language with that of the New Testament. Had the passages been merely referred to, very few could have enjoyed this pleasure and advantage; on account of the scarcity of the only eligible editions of Philo, that of *Mangey*, 2 vols. folio, *Lond.* 1742, and that by the late *Aug. Fred. Pfeiffer*, 5 vols. 8vo. *Erlangen*, 1785.

⁵² Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀνατολή. Καινοτάτη γε πρόσρρησις, ἐὰν μὲν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσης· ἐὰν δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἐκείνον, θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνας, ὁμολογήσεις ὅτι εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη τῷ Ἀνατολῆς αὐτῷ. Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον Ἰῖδὸν ὁ τῶν ὄντων ἀνέτειλε Πατὴρ, ὃν ἐτίρωθι Πρωτόγονον ἀνόμασε, καὶ ὁ γιννηθεὶς μέντοι μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἰδούς, πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέ-
-τυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων ἐμῶρφου εἶδεν. *Opera*, ed. *Mangeii*, tom. i. p. 414.

⁵³ Καθάπερ γάρ τινα σπέρμηνι, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τούτοις φυτὰ τε αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ, τὰ δὲ θεία· ἔτι δὲ οὐρανοῦ φύσιν, καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τροπὰς τε αὐτὸ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους, ὡς ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προστησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ Λόγον, πρωτόγονον Ἰῖδὸν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱεράς ταύτης ἀγγελίας, οἷά τις μεγάλου βασιλείως ὑπαρχος διαδέχεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται σου. Ἰδοὺ ἰγὼ εἰμι· ἀποστείλω ἄγγελόν μου εἰς πρόσωπόν σου, τοῦ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. *Tom. i. p. 308.*

“It is proper for persons who form themselves into a society for the advancement of knowledge, to long to behold the Supreme Being; and, since that is impossible, his *Image*, the most sacred WORD; and, next to him, the most perfect work of objects of sense, this universe.”⁵⁴

“Though a mortal may not as yet be deemed worthy to be styled a son of God, yet let him labour to copy the excellencies of his First-begotten Word, the eldest Angel, who exists as the Archangel of many titles; for he is styled the Beginning, the Name of God, the WORD, he who is in likeness a man, and the Inspector of Israel.—If we are not yet deemed adequate to be reckoned children of God, yet we may be of his Eternal Image, the most sacred WORD; for that eldest WORD is the Image of God.”⁵⁵

“Be not surprised that the faculty of speech in man is called the habitation of the mind; for God the Supreme Mind hath his own WORD for his habitation.”⁵⁶

“—The WORD, elder than any thing that has been brought into existence, by which as a rudder the Ruler of the universe directs all things; and, when he formed the world, used it as an instrument for the perfect composition of his finished works.”⁵⁷

“The shadow of God is his WORD, which as an instrument he has made use of in the formation of the world: and this shadow, and, as it were, copied image is the archetype of other things:—so that, the image having been copied from God, human nature was copied from the image empowered to be the model.”⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Ἐμπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἱταίριαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις, ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ΟΝ ἰδεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱεράτατον Λόγον, μετ’ ὃν καὶ τὸ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον. Tom. i. p. 419.

⁵⁵ Κἂν μηδὲπω μέντοι τυγχάνη τις ἀξιοχρεῖας ὧν υἱὸς Θεοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ Λόγον, τὸν ἄγγελον πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἀρχάγγελον πολυάνωμον ὑπάρχοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχή, καὶ ὄνομα Θεοῦ, καὶ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ὁρῶν Ἰσραὴλ, προσαγορεύεται.—Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ἱκανοὶ Θεοῦ παῖδες νομιζέσθαι γιγνώσκωμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς ἀϊδίου εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ, Λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου· Θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν Λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. Tom. i. p. 427.

⁵⁶ Μὴ θαυμάσης δι’ εἰ νοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κέκληκεν οἶκον· καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν ὅλων νοῦν τὸν Θεόν, οἶκον ἔχειν φησὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Λόγον. Tom. i. p. 437.

⁵⁷ — ὁ Λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν γένεσιν εἰληφότων, οὗ καθάπερ οἶκος ἐνεληγμένος ὁ τῶν ὅλων κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεὶ τὰ σύμπαντα. καὶ, ὅτε ἰκοσμοπλάστει, χρησάμενος ὀργάνῳ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον τῶν ἀποτελουμένων σύστασιν. Tom. i. p. 437.

⁵⁸ Σκιά Θεοῦ δι’ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὄργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἰκοσμοποιεῖ· αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκιά καὶ τὸ ἀσάνει ἀπεικόνισμα, ἑτέραν ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον.—ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος. Ib. p. 106.

“——God, the Fountain of the Eldest Word.”⁵⁹

“Do not pass over the expression [Gen. xxxi. 13, according to the Septuagint; *I am the God who appeared to thee in the place of God*], but examine accurately whether there are in fact two gods: for the words are, *I am the God who appeared to thee*, not *in mine own place*, but *in the place of God*, as if of another. What then must we say? He who is God in reality is *one*; but those who may be so called in an inferior sense, are many. Wherefore also the sacred word in this passage designates him who is God in reality by the article, saying, *I am THE God* (ὁ Θεός): but him who is so denominated by the inferior application, it designates without the article; saying, *who appeared to thee in the place of God*, not τοῦ Θεοῦ, but only Θεοῦ. But now he calls his Eldest WORD, *the God* [τὸν Θεόν, with the article], not being superstitiously anxious about the imposition of names, but proposing the sole end of declaring the thing as it really is.”⁶⁰

“Moreover, why should we be surprised that God assumes the likeness of angels, since he has assumed that of men, for the succour of those that pray to him? So that, when he says, *I am the God who have appeared to thee, in the place of God*, it is to be understood that he took the place of an angel, transforming himself so far as appearances went, for the help of one who could not yet behold the real God. For as men who cannot behold the sun itself, look at its reflected brightness, as the sun; and the changes of the moon, as the moon itself; so likewise they consider the Image of God, his Angel, the WORD, as himself.—He saith, *I am the Lord thy God*, whose Image thou didst before behold as myself, and didst set up a pillar, engraving upon it a most holy inscription. That inscription signified, ‘I alone am unchangeable, and gave its stability to universal nature; out of disorder and deformity bringing regularity and beauty; and supporting the universe, that it may be firmly established, by the mighty WORD which ruleth under me.’”⁶¹

⁵⁹ — ὁ Θεός, ἡ τοῦ πρῆσβυτάτου Λόγου πηγὴ. Tom. i. p. 207.

⁶⁰ Μὴ παρέλθῃς δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἀλλ’ ἀκριβῶς ἐξέτασον, εἰ τῷ ὄντι δύο εἰσὶ θεοί. λέγεται γὰρ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεός ὁ ὁφθεῖς σοι, οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τόπῳ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἐτέρου. Τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; Ὁ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ Θεὸς εἰς ἵστιν· οἱ δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμενοι, πλείους. Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὸν μὲν ἀληθείᾳ, διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνηκεν, εἰπὼν Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεός, τὸν δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς ἄρθρου φάσκων, Ὁ ὁφθεῖς σοι ἐν τόπῳ, οὐ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον, Θεοῦ. Καλεῖ δὲ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν πρῆσβυτάτου αὐτοῦ νυνὶ Λόγον, οὐ δεισιδαιμονῶν περὶ τὴν ἔσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλος προσθεβούμενος πραγματολογῆσαι. Tom. i. p. 655. See Note B.

⁶¹ Τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἀγγέλοις, ὁπότε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν δειομένων πει-

“—— Much more observance is due to the immortal soul, which, the scriptures say, was moulded according to the image of the Infinite Being. But the Image of God is the WORD, through whom the universe was created.”⁶²

“The illustrious Moses has compared the form of the rational soul to no created being, but has said that it is the genuine impression of that Divine and Pure Spirit, stamped and moulded by the seal of God, of which the Eternal WORD is the Express Image.”⁶³

“To the production of any object many things must concur; the by what, the of what, the through what, the for what. The *by what* is the cause; the *of what*, the matter; the *through what*, the tool; the *for what*, the reason.—Behold—this universe! You will find its Cause, God, by whom it has come into existence; its matter, the four elements, of which it is composed; its Instrument, the WORD of God, through whom it was arranged; and the reason of the arrangement, the goodness of the Creator.”⁶⁴

Allegorizing the six cities of refuge, as he does all the history of the Hebrews, and every part of the Mosaic institutes, Philo assigns a moral signification to each city.—“Is not the eldest, and strongest, and best, not city merely, but metropolis, the Divine WORD, to which, as the chief, it is most profitable to flee for refuge? And the other five, as cities peopled from it, are

κουρίας ἀπεικάζεται; “Ὡς τε ὅταν φῇ, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὁρθεῖς σοι ἐν τόπῳ Θεοῦ· τοῦτ' ἐννοητέον, ὅτι τὸν ἀγγέλου τόπον ἐπέσχει, ὅσα τῶ δοκεῖν οὐ [conj.] ἑαυτὸν, lapsu orto compendio ἔον] μεταβαλὼν, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μήπω δυναμένου τὸν ἀληθῆ Θεὸν ἰδεῖν, ὠφέλειαν. Καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθήλιον αὐλὴν, ὡς ἥλιον, οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, ὁρῶσι, καὶ τὰς περὶ σελήνην ἀλλοιώσεις, ὡς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην· οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰκόνα τὸν ἀγγέλον αὐτοῦ Λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν, κατανοοῦσι.—Αὐτὸς φησὶν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ Θεός, οὗ τὴν εἰκόνα ὡς ἐμὴ πρότερον ἐθεάσω, καὶ στήλην ἐπίγραμμα ἐγκολάψας ἱερώτατον ἀνέθηκε· τὸ δ' ἐπίγραμμα ἐμήνυεν, ὅτι μόνος ἔστηκε ἐγὼ, καὶ τὴν πάντων φύσιν ἰδρυσάμεν, τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀκοσμίαν εἰς τάξιν καὶ κόσμον ἀγαγών, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὑπερῆσας, ἵνα στηριχθῇ βεβαίως τῷ κραταίῳ καὶ ὑπάρχῳ μου Λόγῳ. Tom. i. p. 656.

⁶² — Ἐπισκεπτέον—πολὺ πλὴν ψυχῇ τὴν ἀθάνατον, ἣν φασὶ τυπωθῆναι κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ὁντος· Λόγος δὲ ἔστιν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο. Tom. ii. p. 225.

⁶³ Ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγας Μαυσῆς οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενομένων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος ἀμοίωσεν· ἀλλ' ἔπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀκράτου πνεύματος ἐκείνου δοκιμὸν εἶναι νόμισμα, σημειωθὲν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγίδι Θεοῦ, ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστιν ὁ αἰδὶς Λόγος. Ib. p. 606; ex emendatione Mangeii.

⁶⁴ Πρὸς τὴν τινος γένεσιν πολλὰ δεῖ συνέλθεῖν· τὸ ὑφ' οὔ, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, τὸ δι' οὗ, τὸ δι' ὅ. Καὶ ἔστι μὲν τὸ ὑφ' οὗ, τὸ αἷτιον· ἐξ οὗ δὲ, ἡ ὕλη· δι' οὔ δὲ, τὸ ἐργαλεῖον· δι' ὅ δὲ, ἡ αἰτία. — Ἰδε τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· εὐρήσεις γὰρ αἷτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ, τὸν Θεόν, ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν· ὕλην δὲ, τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη· ὄργανον δὲ, Λόγον Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη· τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς αἰτίαν, τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ. Tom. i. p. 162.

the powers of Him that speaketh: of these the principal is the Creative Power, according to which the Creator made the world by a word.—The image of a Propitiatory Power, is the covering of the ark; and he calls it the Propitiatory: the images of the Creative and Royal Powers, are the Cherubim, winged and placed over the ark. But he who is over these, the Divine WORD, comes not into a visible form, nor is capable of being brought among things known by sense; but exists as the Image of God, the eldest of all possible objects of knowledge, fixed the nearest, there being no intervening existence, to the Only One who is Self-Existent.—Three cities were beyond the river:—What are they? The Word of the Sovereign, and his Creative and Royal Power.”⁶⁵

This extraordinary writer not only invents a moral allegory for the plainest historical facts, but he occasionally intimates a disbelief of them as matters of fact. Speaking of the Levitical high-priest, he says, “I consider the high-priest to be not a man, but the Divine WORD, who is perfectly free from sin involuntary as well as voluntary. Moses further says, that *he is not to defile himself for his father*, the mind, *nor for his mother* [Lev. xxi. 11], the sensitive faculty: for this reason, I conceive that it is his prerogative to have parents incorruptible and perfectly pure; his father, God, who is the father of all; his mother, Wisdom, through which all things came into existence.—This eldest WORD of the Supreme Essence clothes himself with the universe, as with a garment.—This WORD of the Supreme Essence is the bond of the universe, which contains and clasps together all its component parts.”⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Μήποσ' οὖν ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὀχυρωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη μητρόπολις, οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον πόλις, ὁ Θεὸς ἐστὶ Λόγος, ἐφ' ᾧ πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὠφελιμώτατον; Αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πέντε, ὡς ἂν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ Λέγοντος, ὧν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητικὴ, καθ' ἣν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κοσμον ἰδημιούργησε.—Τῆς δ' ἴλεω δυνάμεως, τὸ ἐπίθεμα τῆς κιβωτοῦ· καλεῖ δ' αὐτὸ ἰλασστήριον· ποιητικῆς δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς, τὰ ὑπόπτερα καὶ ἐφιδρυμένα Χερουβίμ· ὁ δ' ὑπεράνω τούτων Λόγος θεὸς εἰς ὁρατὴν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδεῖν, ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἐμφερῆς ᾧ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ, τῶν νοητῶν ἀπαξασπάντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐγγυτάτω, μηδενὸς ὄντος μεθόριον διαστήματος, τοῦ μόνου ὁ ἐστὶν ἀψευδῶς, ἀφιδρυμένος.—Τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι πόλιν.—τίνες αὗται; ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Λόγος, καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ. Tom. i. p. 560, 561.

⁶⁶ Λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα οὐκ ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ Λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐχ ἐκουσίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίαν ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. Οὕτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρὶ, τῷ νῷ, οὔτε ἐπὶ μητρὶ, τῇ αἰσθήσει, φησὶν αὐτὸν Μωϋσῆς δύνασθαι μωαίνεσθαι· διότι, οἶμαι, γονεῖν ἀφάρταν καὶ καθαρωτάτων ἑλαχεν, πατὴρ μὲν Θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ πατὴρ, μητὴρ δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν.—Ἐνδύεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος Λόγος, ὡς ἐσθῆτα, τὸν κόσμον.—Ὅ τε γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος Λόγος, δέσμος ὧν τῶν ἀπάντων, —καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει. Tom. i. p. 562.

“Why, as of some other God, does he say, *In the image of God he made man*; and not, *in his own image*? Here appears the consummate wisdom of inspiration. For no mortal thing could be made after the likeness of HIM who is Supreme and Father of all, but only after that of the Second God, who is His Word. For it was necessary that the rational faculty in the human soul should be stamped by the impression of the Divine WORD; since God, who is before the WORD, is superior to all [other] rational nature, and it would have been utterly unlawful for any begotten being to be made like to HIM who is above the WORD, and who occupies the form of existence which is the noblest, and distinct from any other.”⁶⁷

Enumerating several particulars in which the manna in the desert is conceived to be figurative of the *Logos*, Philo says: “Thus also the Divine WORD, is most piercing of sight, so as to be adequate to the beholding of all things.—What can be brighter or more extensively shining than the Divine WORD, according to their participation of which all other things which long to partake of the light of the soul, banish their mist and darkness?—Manna is the most productive of any [material] thing: and the WORD of God is superior to the whole world, and is the eldest and most productive of all things that exist.”⁶⁸

But, in another place, the same expression and the same figure are used to denote, as it appears, merely a divine doctrine

⁶⁷ Διὰ τί, ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου Θεοῦ, φησὶ τὸ, Ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ; Παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς ταυτὶ κεχρησμάθηται. Θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον Θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκείνου Λόγος. “Εἶδει γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ τύπον ὑπὸ θείου Λόγου χαραχθῆναι· ἐπειδὴ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Λόγου Θεὸς κρείσσω ἐστὶν ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Λόγον, ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ τινὶ ἐξαίρετῃ καθιστῶτι ἰδέα, οὐδὲν ἔμμεν ἢν γεννητὸν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι. Tom. ii. p. 625. *Fragm. adserv. ap. Eusebii Præp. Evang. Lib. vii. cap. 13.*

⁶⁸ Οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεῖος Λόγος ἐξυδερκίστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾶν εἶναι ἱκανός.—Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θείου Λόγου, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺν καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει, φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικῷ γλιχρόμενα;—Τὸ γὰρ μάννα τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ γενικώτατον τῶν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ Λόγος δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπεράνω πάντος ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ περιβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὅσα γέγονε. Tom. i. p. 121. With some hesitation I have translated *γενικός* by the term *productive*. It is used by Greek writers to signify that which is *generic*,—*universal*,—*the head and most comprehensive of a class*,—*the author or producer of inferior orders*,—*the possessive case in grammar as denoting origination*. Another passage may assist to ascertain Philo's sense in his use of this word: τὸ δὲ γενικώτατόν ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Θεοῦ Λόγος. “The most generic [*or productive, or etc.*] being is God, and the Word of God is second.” Tom. i. p. 82. Paulus of Heidelberg considers καὶ δεύτερος as the attributive of ὁ Θεός, giving this sense, “—is God, even he who is the second, the Word of God.” See *H. E. G. Pauli Capita Selectiora Introd. N. Test.* p. 88.

or communication: "Seeking what that is which nourishes the soul (for, as Moses says, they knew not what it was), they have found it by learning that it is the *declaration* of God and his *divine word*, from which all instruction and wisdom ever-flowing stream. This is the heavenly nutriment."—⁶⁹

"—— Further: that heavenly food of the soul, which he calls manna, the Divine Word impartially distributes to those who will rightly use it, and he is eminently careful to do this with equality."⁷⁰

"—— Hagar fled away, from modest shame; as it is evinced by an angel's meeting her, the Divine WORD, to advise what she should do, and to conduct her back to her mistress's house."⁷¹

"The world is created; and certainly it is so from some First Cause. Now the WORD of the Creator is itself the seal from which each created being has received its form; and in relation to whom, its own complete species from the beginning constantly adheres to every creature, as being the impression and image of the Perfect WORD.—The quality of each remains the same, as having been impressed from the Divine WORD, which abideth and is in no respect altered."⁷²

"The WORD of God, when he visits our earthly world, defends and helps those who love and follow virtue, so as to provide for them a refuge and a complete salvation: but on the enemies [of virtue] he sends destruction and remediless ruin."⁷³

"So also the WORD of God waters the virtues, for it is the beginning and fountain of good works.—There are four cardinal

⁶⁹ Ζητήσαντες καὶ τί τὸ τρέφον ἐστὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· (οὐ γὰρ, ἥ φησι Μωσῆς, ἤδεισαν τί ἦν) εὗρον μαθόντες ῥῆμα Θεοῦ καὶ λόγον θεῖον, ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι παιδεῖαι καὶ σοφαίαι ῥέουσιν ἀέναντοι. "Ἡδ' ἐστὶν ἡ οὐράνιος τροφή. Ib. p. 566.

⁷⁰ "Ἐτι τοίνυν τὴν οὐράνιον τροφὴν ψυχῆς, ἣν καλεῖ μάννα, διανέμει πᾶσι τοῖς χρηστομένοις Λόγος θεῖος ἐξ Ἰησοῦ, πεφροντικῶς διαφερόντως ἐσότητος. Tom. i. p. 499.

⁷¹ "Ἡ δ' Ἀγὰρ ἀπαλλάττεται δι' αἰδῶν σημεῖον δι, τὸ ὑπαντᾶν αὐτῇ ἀγγελον, θεῖον Λόγον, ᾧ χρὴ παραινέσονται, καὶ ὑφηγησόμενον ἐπαγγελίᾳ τῆς εἰς τὸν δεσποίνης οἶκον. Ib. p. 547.

⁷² Γινόμεναι γὰρ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πάντας ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς γέγονεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ποιῦντος Λόγος αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ σφραγὶς, ἥ τῶν ὄντων ἑκαστον μεμόρφωται· παρ' ὃν καὶ τέλειον τοῖς γενομένοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακολουθεῖ τὸ εἶδος, ὥστε ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ εἰκὼν τελείου Λόγου.—Μένει ἡ αὐτὴ ποιότης, ἃτε ἀπὸ μένοντος ἐκμαχθεῖσα καὶ μηδαμῇ τρεπόμενου θείου Λόγου. Tom. i. p. 547.

⁷³ "Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἡμῶν σύστημα ἀφίκηται, τοῖς μὲν ἀρετῆς συγγενέσι καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποκλίνουσιν ἀρήγει καὶ βοηθεῖ, ὡς καταφυγὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς πορίζει παντελῆ· τοῖς δὲ ἀντιπάλοις ὀλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀνίατον ἐπιπέμπει. Ib. p. 633.

virtues,—prudence, fortitude, moderation, and justice.—These as from one root spring up from the Divine WORD, which he [Moses, referring to Gen. ii. 10] compares to a river, because of its ever-streaming and continual production of applicable principles and doctrines, with which it nourishes the souls that love God, and makes them grow.”⁷⁴

“The Divine WORD, which many call fortune, turns round [the revolutions of nations and empires].—The Divine WORD endeavours, by all means, to stop up the path of grovelling vice and of those who are infected by it.—The WORD is the Divine Angel, who guides our feet and removes the stumbling-blocks, that we may walk without falling in this highway.”⁷⁵

The high-priest’s breast-plate of gold and jewels is interpreted by Philo to be “the expression of the WORD who contains and directs the universe: for it was necessary that he who officiated as priest to the Father of the world should employ as his Intercessor the SON, most perfect in virtue, both for the pardon of sins, and for the supply of the most abundant blessings.”⁷⁶

“The eternal WORD of the everlasting God is the supremely strong and firm support of the universe. Extended from the midst to the extremities, and from the summit to the midst, he moves round the unwearied course of nature, holding together and clasping all its parts. For the Father, who begat him, hath made him the unfailing bond of the universe.”⁷⁷

“Concerning the nature of God none can attain to perfect knowledge; but it becomes us to be glad if we may be permitted to attain the knowledge of his Name, which indeed is

⁷⁴ Οὕτως μέντοι καὶ ὁ Θεοῦ Λόγος ποτίζει τὰς ἀρετάς· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ πηγὴ καλῶν πράξεων οὐτοσί.—Γενικαί μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἀρεταὶ τέσσαρες, φρόνησις, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη.—αὐταὶ δὲ καθάπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ῥίζης ἐκπεφύκασι τοῦ θείου Λόγου, ὃν εἰκάζει ποταμῷ διὰ τὴν ἀέναντον καὶ συνεχῆ φορὰν ποτίμων λόγων, καὶ δογμάτων, οἷς τὰς φιλοθέους τρέφει καὶ συναυξέει ψυχάς. Ib. p. 250.

⁷⁵ Χορεύει γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ Λόγος ὁ θεῖος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζουσι τύχην. —“Ὁ δὲ θεῖος Λόγος ἐν πᾶσιν [ἐπιφράττειν ἀξιοῖ] τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοζήλων.—Λόγος δ’ ἐστὶ θεῖος ἄγγελος ποδηγετὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀναστέλλων ἵνα ἁπταιστοὶ διὰ λεωφόρου βαίνωμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ib. pp. 298, 299.

⁷⁶ — τοῦ συνέχοντος καὶ διοικοῦντος Λόγου τὸ σύμπαν, τὸ λόγιον· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου Πατρὶ, παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν Υἱῷ, πρὸς τὴν ἀμνηστοίαν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν. Tom. ii. p. 155.

⁷⁷ Νόμος [lege Λόγος, e citatione Eusebii, *Præp. Ev.* vii. 13, et ex mente Mangeii] διὸ ὁ αἰδιος Θεοῦ αἰωνίου, τὸ ὀχυρώτατον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων ἐστίν. Οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ τέρατα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς μέσα, ταθεῖς, δολιχεύει, τὸν τῆς φύσεως δρόμον ἀήττητον, συνάγων πάντα τὰ μέρη καὶ σφίγγων. Δεισμὸν γὰρ ἄρρηκτον τοῦ παντός ὁ γεννήσας ποιεῖ Πατὴρ. Ib. p. 604.

that of the WORD his Interpreter. For the latter must be the God of us imperfect creatures: but the former, of those who are wise and perfect. And Moses, admiring the majesty of the Unbegotten, saith, *And thou shalt swear by his Name*, not by himself. It is sufficient for us to confirm our veracity by the Begotten, and to establish our testimony by the Divine WORD.⁷⁸

Having treated of the cloud which protected the Israelites, but scattered terror on the Egyptians (Exod. xiv. 19), Philo appears to consider this intervention as bearing a similitude to the mediatorial office of the LOGOS; and he thus proceeds: "To the Archangel and Eldest WORD the Father of the universe has granted this pre-eminent gift, to stand as a Mediator, and to determine between the creature and the Creator. He is at once the Suppliant, on behalf of perishing mortals, to the Unchangeable Being: and the ambassador of the Sovereign to his subjects. He exults in this gift, and glorying in it he proclaims, *I have stood between the Lord and you*; being neither Unbegotten as God, nor begotten as you, but in the midst of the extremes, pledging myself for both; to the Creator, that the whole race [of man] shall not fall into ruin and apostasy; preferring disorder to beauty; and to the creature, to maintain the glad hope that the merciful God will not overlook his own work. For I publish to the creation the message of peace, from God, who can purge away enmities, and who is the perpetual Preserver of peace."⁷⁹

"The temples of God, as it appears, are two: one, this universe, the High-Priest in which is his First-begotten Divine Word; and the other, the rational soul, whose high-priest is man himself."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Οὐδεὶς—περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγινῶναι δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ἐὰν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ ἐρμηνεύειν Λόγου. Οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπειλῶν ἂν εἴη Θεός, τῶν δὲ σοφῶν καὶ τελείων, ὁ πρῶτος. Καὶ Μωσῆς μίνοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, φησὶν, Καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν, οὐχὶ αὐτῷ· ἱκανὸν γὰρ τῷ γεννητῷ πιστοῦσθαι, καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι Λόγῳ θείῳ. Tom. i. p. 128.

⁷⁹ Τῷ δ' ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ Λόγῳ δωρὰν ἐξαίρετον ἔδωκεν ὁ τὰ ὅλα γεννήσας Πατήρ, ἵνα μεθόριος στὰς τὸ γενόμενον διακρίνῃ τοῦ πεποιηκότος. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἰκίτης μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ, κηραίνοντος αἰεὶ, πρὸς τὸ ἀφθαρτον, πρεσβευτὴς δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκουον. Ἀγάλλεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ, καὶ σεμνυνόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκδηγεῖται, φάσκων, Κἀγὼ εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον Κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν· οὕτε ἀγέννητος ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἂν, οὕτε γεννητὸς ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἁκρων, ἀμφοτέροις ὁμηρεύων· παρὰ μὲν τῷ φυτεῦσαντι, πρὸς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ σύμπαν ἀφανίσαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀποστῆναι τὸ γένος· ἀκοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον· παρὰ δὲ τῷ φύντι, πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν τοῦ μήποτε τὸν ἴλεον Θεὸν περιῖδειν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσομαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα γενέσει, παρὰ τοῦ καθαρῶν πολλέμους ἰγνώκετος, εἰρηνοφύλακος αἰεὶ Θεοῦ. Tom. i. p. 501.

⁸⁰ Δύο γὰρ, ὡς εἰπεν, ἱερά Θεοῦ· ἐν μὲν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος

“When a city is intended to be built,—a skilful architect, after surveying the agreeableness and advantages of the situation, first forms in his mind a conception of almost all the parts of the intended city; temples, places for athletic exercises, courts, markets, ports, docks, streets, the arrangement of the walls, the situations of the public buildings and of the other edifices. Having then received in his mind, as in wax, the shapes of the respective objects, he forms an ideal city, the images of which he revolves in his natural memory, and more and more impresses its characteristic forms; till, as a good workman who strictly regards his model, he begins to build the real city of stones and timber, making each of the material objects in conformity to the ideas of his mind. In some such way as this we may conceive concerning the Deity: that, having determined to build the great city [of the universe], he first conceived the model of it, from that model he composed an ideal world, and then completed the sensible world, using the former as a pattern. As, therefore, the city conceived in the mind of the architect has no external place, but is imprinted in the artist’s imagination; so also the world of ideal conceptions can have no other place than the Divine WORD which hath formed these arrangements.”⁸¹

“God, needing no adviser (for what other being was in existence?) but himself alone, thought fit to confer blessings, in unsparing and rich graces, upon the [human] nature which, without divine bestowment, was of itself incapable of obtaining any good. But he confers these blessings, not to the measure of the greatness of his graces; for they are indescribable and boundless; but in proportion to the capacities of the objects of his beneficence. For the capacity of a created nature to receive good, is not equal to the propensity of the divine nature to communicate it: since those divine powers are superlatively great, and the created nature is too weak to receive their greatness, but would faint under them, unless he dispensed them by properly adjusting the bestowment to each recipient. Now, to use

αὐτοῦ θεῖος Λόγος· ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ, ἥς ἱερεὺς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος. Tom. i. p. 653.

⁸¹ Ἐπεὶ δὲ πόλις τις κτίζεται, — κ. τ. λ. — τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ δάσκατον, ὃς ἄρα τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κτίζειν διανοηθεὶς, ἐνένοησε πρότερον τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν κόσμον νοητὸν συστήσάμενος, ἀπετέλει τὸν αἰσθητὸν, παραδείγματι χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ. Καθὰ περ οὖν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιατυπωθεῖσα πόλις, τὴν χώραν ἐκτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐνεσφράγιστο τῇ τοῦ τεχνίτου ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ’ ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἀν’ ἑχοι τόπον, ἢ τὸν θεῖον Λόγον τὸν ταῦτα διακοσμήσαντα. Tom. i. p. 4.

plainer terms, that ideal world is indeed no other than the WORD of the Creator God. For the ideal city [before described] is nothing but the conception of the architect who is devising to form the actual city by the ideal one. Moses, not I, is the author of this doctrine: since, in the sequel of his description of the creation of man, he expressly declares, that *he was formed according to the image of God*. Since also the part of an image is an image, it is manifest that this whole external form, namely, this sensible universe in all its parts, must be so; it being a greater resemblance of the image of God than the human image is. And further, it is manifest that the archetypal seal, which we affirm that the intellectual universe is, must itself be the archetypal model, the [first] form of all other forms [*or idea of ideas*], the WORD of God.”⁸²

In these extracts I think that the sum of the doctrines of Philo, concerning the WORD, may be found.

To this object he gives the epithets of the Son of God, the First-begotten Son, the Eldest Son, the Word, the Divine Word, the Eternal Word, the Eldest Word, the Most Sacred Word, the First-begotten Word, the offspring of God as a stream from the fountain, the Beginning, the Name of God, the Shadow of God, the Image (εἰκών) of God, the Eternal Image, the copied Image (ἀπεικόνισμα), the Express Image (χαρακτήρ) of the seal of God, the Branch or Rising Light (ἀνατολή), the Angel, the Eldest Angel, the Archangel of many titles, the Inspector of Israel, the Interpreter of God, a Representative God, a Second God, a God to those creatures whose capacities or attainments are not adequate to the contemplation of the Supreme Father.

This Word is described as presiding over all things; superior

⁸² Οὐδὲν δὲ παρακλήτω, τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος; μόνῳ δ' ἑαυτοῦ χρησάμενος ὁ Θεὸς, ἔγνω δὲ ἐνεργεῖν ἀταμιεύτοις καὶ πλουσίαις χάρισι τὴν ἄνεν ὠριᾶς θείας φύσιν ἐπιλαχέιν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ δυναμένην. Ἄλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ἐνεργεῖ τῶν αὐτοῦ χαρίτων ἀπερίγραφοι γὰρ αὐταί γε καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι· πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐνεργετουμένων δυνάμεις. Αὐτὸ γὰρ, ὡς πέφυκεν ὁ Θεὸς εὖ ποιεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ γινόμενον εὖ πάσχειν· ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν, οἱ δυνάμεις ὑπερβάλλουσι, τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον ὃν ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν, ἀπεῖπεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ διεμετρήσατο σταβησάμενος εὐαρμοστός τὸ ἐκάστω ἐπιβάλλον. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐβέλῃσις γυμνοτέρους χρῆσασθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον ἢ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιούντος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἕτερον τι ἔστιν ἢ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς, ἥδη τὴν αἰσθητὴν πόλιν τῇ νοητῇ κτίζειν διανοοῦμενον. Μωσῆς ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐμὸν. Τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν ἀναγράφων, ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα ὁμολογεῖ διαβρῆδν, ὡς ἄρα κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ διετυπώθη. Εἰ δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκὼν εἰκόνας, δηλονότι καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἶδος, ὁ σύμπας αἰσθητὸς οὗτος κόσμος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, μίμημα θείας εἰκόνας. Δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς, ὃν φάμεν εἶναι κόσμον νοητὸν, αὐτὸς ἀν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα, ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, ὁ Θεοῦ Λόγος. Tom. i. p. 5.

to the whole universe; the eldest of all objects that the mind can perceive, but not comparable to any object perceptible by sense, nor capable of being presented in a visible form; next to the Self-existent.

To this Word are ascribed intelligence, design, and active powers; he is declared to have been the Instrument of the Deity in the creation, disposition, and government of the universe, and in holding all its component parts in their proper order and functions, clothing himself with the universe as with a garment: he is the instrument and medium of divine communications, the High-Priest and Mediator for the honour of God and the benefit of man, the Messenger of the Father, perfectly sinless himself, the Beginning and Fountain of virtue to men, their Guide in the path of obedience, the Protector and Supporter of the virtuous, and the Punisher of the wicked.

Yet, the WORD is also represented as being the same to the Supreme Intellect, that speech is to the human; and as being the conception, idea, or purpose of the Creator, existing in the Divine mind previously to the actual formation of his works.

It is for us now to inquire, in what manner we are to combine and understand these particulars.

1. If the last paragraph of the preceding analysis were to be taken absolutely and without restriction as a key to the other parts, our inquiry would be answered; and it would be summarily decided that all those other attributives are nothing but personifications and allegories, thus variously and fancifully representing the single idea of the original and eternal PLAN or DESIGN of the Infinite Intelligence.

This hypothesis would involve the charge on the writer before us, of an extravagance and luxuriance of imagination and diction, which might challenge all parallel among authors having the smallest pretensions to sobriety of thought. Such a style would be equally a violation of soundness in conception and reasoning, and of taste in composition. But Philo was no such preposterous writer. Unjustifiable and of injurious tendency as is his favourite principle of interpretation, that principle may be traced to the ambition of moulding revealed theology according to his system of philosophy. It is, likewise, observable that his doctrine concerning the WORD is, in a great measure, conveyed in the form of *interpretations* of the supposed allegories of scripture: and those interpretations are *professedly* given as the

literal meaning of the allegories. But no sane writer could give interpretations of alleged enigmas in terms equally enigmatical with the things to be interpreted, or even more so.

2. Philo uses the term *Logos* with a great diversity of application; both in its proper and ordinary acceptations, and in other senses. He uses it to denote *reason, an idea, the relation of one object to another, speech, a discourse, a declaration, an account, a description, a written composition, the scriptures, an angelic being*, and the *Divine Word* which is the subject of our consideration. It is not, therefore, improbable that, under the manifold appellations and representations of that Divine Word, he might have an intended diversity; he might have the notion of both an ideal and a personal Word.

3. The doctrine of a Messiah, as all acknowledge, formed the high and ardent expectation of the Jewish people, the hope to which they turned on every occasion, the pillar of their national glory and their personal happiness, to which they clung with invincible tenacity in their dispersions and afflictions. This was especially the fact when Philo lived. The expectation that the Messiah was coming, and that speedily, had taken a firm hold on the mind and feelings of almost every Jew. It would appear scarcely credible that Philo should have been an exception to this prevailing state of sentiment; a writer of extraordinary talents, jealous of the honour of his nation, and well acquainted with their scriptures. Yet, unless he intended the Messiah under the name of the *Logos*, it must be admitted that he has made no mention of the Messiah at all.

The general strain of sentiment apparent in the works of this author, renders it antecedently probable that he would differ from the mass of his compatriots, with respect to the expectation of a bodily and actual appearance of the Messiah, and his being conversant as a man among men. It would be in the tenor of Philo's doctrines to regard the existence and attributes of the Messiah as *purely* spiritual, and capable of being manifested *only* to the intellect of men. Accordingly we find him asserting that "the Divine Word does not come into a visible form," or representation [*ἰδέα*]; and that it is "not to be reckoned among any of the objects known by sense."⁸³ Perhaps this circumstance

⁸³ Passages cited above. The same notion is included in the remark, "The most Ancient of beings is unspeakable, since his Word is not expressible to us by any proper name." Τὸ τῶν ὄντων πρεσβύτερον ἄρρητον, ὅπως ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ κυρίῳ ἐνὸματι οὐ ῥητὸς ἡμῖν. Tom. i. p. 580.

may furnish a solution to some of his discordant expressions. The spiritual idea was essential to the author's theory: it would therefore be uppermost in his mind, and would prove the occasion of his more copiously insisting on the particulars of his intellectual representations. It might even lead him, in zeal for his hypothesis, to the notion of the Logos being no other than the *conception* of the Eternal Mind; while other parts of his description, influenced, perhaps farther than he was aware of, by the prevailing opinion of the Jews in general, clearly recognise *personal* qualities. Such discordance is the probable, if not the certain, attendant of endeavours to unite truth with erroneous theory.

This opinion on the construction of Philo's system gains some confirmation from the circumstance of his being so extremely sparing in quotations from Isaiah and the other prophets; though on more than one occasion he strongly declares his belief in their divine inspiration. The doctrine of the future Messiah, taught in those prophetic books, would be ill susceptible of adaptation to the learned Alexandrian's hypothesis. The allegorizing of plain histories, and the inventive talents of the writer, could furnish more tractable materials.

4. It appears to me, therefore, that there is *real inconsistency* in the assertions and doctrines of Philo concerning the LOGOS; but such inconsistency, as though not excusable, is yet capable of being accounted for on the common principles of human infirmity.

That the Jews, in all the latter periods of their history, were anxiously looking for the Messiah promised to their fathers, is sufficiently known. That it was natural and probable that they should apply to him the appellation of the WORD, in the sense of *The Mediator*, we have seen reason to suppose from a former part of this investigation.⁸⁴ Of this link in the chain, we cannot, indeed, speak with absolute assurance: but, I think, it will appear, on impartial consideration, to be PROBABLE in a high degree. It seems even necessary, in order to join an antecedent fact and a consequent, of which each taken singly is indubitable; namely, the use of the term *The Word of the Lord*, by the Chaldee Paraphrasts; and its assumption in the New Testament as

⁸⁴ See also the article WORD, and the *Fragments* No. IX. in the recent edition of *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, amplified by the late Mr Charles Taylor. Lond. 1827.

a recognised appellative of the Messiah. Which is the more probable, that those two facts should have existed without any connexion; or, that such a connexion did exist, in the manner which we have supposed, and that the written monuments of it have perished by the injuries of time?—Not indeed altogether perished: for the positions and even the inconsistencies of Philo furnish a strong presumption of the existence and establishment of the sentiment among his Jewish brethren; and the incidental testimony of Celsus, adduced in a former Section of this Chapter, is no inconsiderable argument.⁸⁵

From all the circumstances, it seems to me the most reasonable conclusion, that the leading acceptance of the *Memra* or *Logos*, among the Jews of this middle age, was to designate an *intelligent intermediate agent*; that, in the sense of a Mediator between God and man, it became a recognised appellative of the Messiah; that the *personal* doctrine of the WORD was the one generally received; and that the *conceptual* notion, which Philo interweaves with the other, was purely his own invention, the result of his theological philosophy, and the filling up, as it were, and finishing of a favourite theory.⁸⁶

From Josephus we can gain no information: nor at this are we surprised. He lived when the claims of Jesus to the Messiahship were strenuously asserted and abundantly demonstrated. He witnessed the triumphant diffusion of Christianity: but he was unmoved by its authority and its evidence. To refute was out of his power: to be silent, therefore, was his most politic measure;⁸⁷ and his silence is equivalent to the strongest testimony. That the man who could suppress important facts in his long and elaborate history, when they did not tell for the honour of his nation;⁸⁸ who could adapt his statements to the palate of idolaters, and even hazard the claim of exclusive adoration to the Only God in order to pay court to the heathen;⁸⁹ who, to

⁸⁵ See page 348 of this volume.

⁸⁶ Note C.

⁸⁷ Note D.

⁸⁸ For example; the incest of Judah, and the history of the golden calf made by the Israelites in the wilderness.

⁸⁹ Such as the close of the 10th Book of his Antiquities, where he temporizes with impiety: and his affirming that his nation was forbidden by the law of Moses to ridicule or speak reproachfully of the gods of other countries. *Contra Apion*. Lib. ii. § 32.

secure himself from danger, did not scruple to apply the prophecies of the Messiah to Vespasian;⁹⁰—that such a man should maintain a studied reserve on the great Object of the faith and hope of his fathers, was perfectly in character.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. IV.

Note A, page 364.

I have endeavoured to give due attention to the arguments by which the late learned Dr John Jones, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches* and other publications, has laboured to establish that Philo and Josephus were Christians, and that a principal object of their writings was to vindicate and recommend Christianity. He has maintained his hypothesis with much ingenuity and eloquence; but he seems to have drawn more largely from his powers of imagination and his facility of improving slight resemblances, than from his erudition or his judgment. The following appear to me to be decisive objections to his hypothesis.

1. The coincidences, numerous and remarkable as they are, between the phraseology of Philo and that of the New Testament, may rationally be accounted for on other and well-known grounds. The idiom of the New Testament writers is universally admitted to be that of those Jews, profusely scattered through the Roman empire, whose vernacular language was Greek; and of them the Alexandrians were the most devoted to letters and theology. They all derived their phraseology from the Old Testament, with the comments and amplifications of their professional teachers. It is evident, as Lightfoot, Schœttgenius, and Wetstein have amply proved, that Jesus Christ himself drew much of the language and manner of his discourses from the current phrases and formularies of the synagogue. It could not, therefore, but follow that writers so circumstanced as were Philo and the apostles would have a frequent community of sentiment, and many resemblances and even identities of expression.

It should also be recollected that not a few, and those very remarkable, similarities of thought and expression to such as occur in the scriptures, may be selected from the writings of Plato, Seneca, and Marcus Antoninus; not to mention Epictetus, whom Dr Jones conceives to have picked up his best sentences out of the conversations of a Christian family. Many striking instances may be compendiously found in Müller's *Chrestomathia Platoniana*, Zurich, 1756, and in our Puritan countryman Gataker's admirable *Præloquium* to his *Antoninus*, 1652 or 1697.

2. If Philo were a Christian, he must have embraced the gospel in the very early part of the apostolic ministry; and even then he was an old man. It is difficult to suppose that he could have become so voluminous an author in the decline of life: yet this must be supposed on Dr Jones's hypothesis, for his numerous and very prolix works all bear the same character. But a greater difficulty is involved, namely, that a person of Philo's dignity, character, and

⁹⁰ *De Bello Jud.* Lib. iii. cap. vii. § 9. "It is very likely that he often thought of Joseph in Egypt, and of Daniel at Babylon; and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose it may be no disparagement to Josephus to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity." *Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testim.* vol. i. p. 35.

authority, all of which qualities he possessed in a very high degree, should have been one of the *early* believers in Christianity, and yet that no mention is made of him in the Acts or in any other part of the New Testament. Such an omission one might almost pronounce to be impossible. If Philo were a Christian at all, he was a *more* illustrious convert and a *more* ample and laborious writer on the religion of Jesus, than even the apostle Paul: and his writings, with those of Josephus (admitting the hypothesis), contain more splendid accounts of the propagation and triumphs of Christianity, than any which the New Testament furnishes. In the Book of Acts and in the Epistles many names occur of persons who were comparatively of little note: but here it is supposed, that a person of the *first eminence* in rank and talents, in eloquence, integrity, and influence, among the Grecian Jews, embraced the gospel before, or not long after, the conversion of Paul, his junior by five-and-twenty or thirty years;—and yet that neither Luke in his history, nor Paul in the numerous commemorations of believers at the conclusions of his Epistles, should have indicated the smallest knowledge of such a person!

3. Philo never names Jesus, nor recites or alludes to any of the great facts of his life, death, and resurrection. Dr Jones, indeed, maintains that “he speaks, and very frequently speaks, of the Blessed Jesus, though under those lofty titles which distinguish him as the minister of heaven;”—but, being “a deliberate, a circumspect, and a wise man, he has every where avoided to awaken the prejudices of those unbelievers to whom he addressed his works, by mentioning the personal name of Jesus Christ.” (*Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 123.) To this it is obvious to reply:

(1.) That those “lofty titles” (the Word, the Son of God, the High Priest, etc. etc.) cannot be assumed as descriptive of Jesus, without a *petitio principii*. The reader who has perused the large collection of passages adduced in this Section, must consider for himself whether it is probable that those passages were designed to describe Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah actually come, and his doctrine and authority, under bold and magnificent personifications. As to supposed allusions to the history of Jesus, those which the learned author alleges are extremely few; they are confessedly veiled in allegorical, or in very general and distant terms; not one of them could be attributed to the objects alleged, as their plain and necessary meaning; and such attribution could with any plausibility be made only on the assumption, which requires to have been proved by independent evidence, that Philo was a Christian writer.

(2.) The *circumspection* and *wisdom* to which is ascribed Philo’s suppression of the name and personal history of Jesus, were qualities very different from the spirit and conduct which were enjoined and exemplified by Jesus himself and his apostles. I fear it would have been by them considered as carnal and unworthy policy, as being ashamed of the cross of Christ, as not owning *him* before men. Paul, for instance, was a younger man, of less authority than Philo, and with much stronger motives to have adopted smooth and conciliatory measures: but did he clothe his evangelical message with a system of abstractions and allegories? Did not he, in the very place where *circumspection* and management might have seemed the most necessary, “speak boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus?” Acts ix. 20, 22, 29.

(3.) If the persons, whom Philo was so anxious not to offend, really comprehended the supposed tacit references; the suppression of our Lord’s personal name *Jesus*, and of his official title *the Christ*, was nugatory, and was even more likely to disgust than a manly and open avowal would have been. But, if they did not so comprehend; if they could have been led to embrace Philo’s system without knowing it to be Christianity; it must have been something very different from the Christianity of Matthew, John, and Paul; it must have been “another gospel,” which Christ and his apostles would have disowned.

(4.) Philo never mentions any of the apostles or the other primitive labourers

in the diffusion of Christianity, of whom the most honourable notices occur in the New Testament.

(5.) It is a part of Dr Jones's theory, that, under the appellations of Jews and Judaism, which Philo and Josephus represent as embraced by immense multitudes of converts from heathenism, those writers intended to signify Christians and Christianity. If this were admitted, it would surely be a kind of conduct very different from that of the New Testament disciples of Jesus: *they* were not ashamed or afraid to own "that worthy name by which they were called." Dr J. considers the conversion of such vast numbers of native heathens to pure Judaism as impossible; and therefore infers that the new religion which so powerfully attracted them, could be no other than Christianity, the fulfilment and perfection of the Hebrew revelation. But may there not have been, in the statements of those eloquent writers, a mixture of rhetorical exaggeration, when they describe the extent of proselytism?—In the comparatively enlightened period which closely preceded the propagation of the Gospel, it is credible, and it is evident from the writings of Cicero, Horace, and others, that numbers of cultivated and reflecting persons were dissatisfied with the popular mythology, and probably disgusted with the gross impostures of the priests and the practical immoralities of the whole system. Upon such minds, the rational doctrines and the holy precepts of genuine Judaism were likely to make a deep impression; and the knowledge of it was readily communicated by the numerous Jews, especially from Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, whom commerce and connexions had dispersed through the great cities of the empire. This was an admirable preparation of divine providence for the more ready and extensive reception of Christianity. Such proselytes are several times alluded to in the Acts of the Apostles (see chap. ii. 10; xiii. 16, 50; xvii. 4, 17). Many of them received the gospel, but others rejected it, and strenuously persecuted its messengers.

Note B, page 367.

At the beginning of the last period in this passage, καλεῖ δὲ τὸν Θεόν, the Medicean MS. at Florence, which is of very high antiquity and authority, and another in the Library of New College, Oxford, purporting to be transcribed from an ancient copy at Padua in 1533, omit the article: and this reading is preferred by Mangey and others. But it seems to me that the common reading, which is that of the majority of manuscripts, is entitled to the preference; (1.) because the sentence is evidently exceptive, and is introduced with a reason for the apparent deviation from the rule which the writer had just been laying down: and (2.) because it is his uniform doctrine, that *He who appeared* to the patriarchs was the Logos.

One cannot but remark the extreme futility of Philo's argument. He writes as if he were ignorant (which can scarcely be thought possible) that ὄνομα Θεοῦ is merely a translation of the proper name *Bethel*: and as to his doctrine on the insertion or the absence of the article, it is contradicted by numerous instances in the Version which he was constantly using. See, for example, Deut. iv. 24, 31, 33, 35, 39; v. 9; vii. 9, 21; x. 17, 21; xxvi. 17; xxix. 13; xxxii. 4, 17; Ps. lxi. [Heb. lxii.] 2, 6, etc. etc.

It is, however, worthy of observation that another Alexandrian, two centuries after Philo, made a similar application of the same supposed rule of idiom. Origen affirms that the Evangelist John "puts the article when the appellation Θεός denotes the Unbegotten Creator of the Universe, but withholds it when the Logos is named Θεός." (*Origen. Comment. in Johann. Sect. ii. ap. Opera, ed. Delarue, tom. iv. p. 50.*) Yet the absolute error of this assertion will be manifest to any one who will turn to John i. 18; viii. 54; xx. 17.

Those who have duly considered the amazing attainments which have been

made in Greek literature by such scholars as Casaubon and Salmasius, Gataker and Bentley, Hemsterhuis, Wytttenbach, Hermann, Porson, and Burney (and not a few other names might be added), will not deem the supposition extravagant that the niceties of that language are now better understood, from the sagacity and the labours of those illustrious men and others who have trod in their steps, than they were by many of the original Greek authors themselves. The etymologies of Plato, and the grammatical notions of Philo and Origen, may be considered as on a par. A late exquisite Grecian, the first Protestant Bishop of Calcutta, in the course of his observations on the pure and classical use of the article, has these words: "The only Greek prose writer, so far as I know, who without these or similar reasons appears to disregard the usage, is Philo Judæus. His style is, indeed, florid and oratorical; but, at the same time, by no means correct. Josephus, another Jew, and the contemporary of Philo, is not liable to the same censure." *Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 55.

Note C, page 379.

Since writing the above, I have found that the same opinion of a double signification of the *Logos*, a conceptual and a personal, had occurred to some of the German scripture-critics.

"In the phrase used by the Chaldee paraphrasts, most critics suppose that nothing is comprehended but a designation of the Deity: but it has been admirably demonstrated, chiefly from the Targums, by Dr Charles Aug. Theoph. Keil (in his *Essay de Doctoribus Vet. Eccl. culpâ corruptæ per Platonicas Sententias Theologiæ liberandis*), that the Jews, by their *Memra of Jah*, designed to convey the notion of a Divine Subsistence, which they held to be begotten of God, and to be in the highest sense near and like to God. The same learned writer shows that the doctrine of Philo contained the notion of a twofold *Logos*, the one comprehended in the divine intellect, the other begotten of God: just as the conception in one's mind is different from the word uttered in speech." *Rosenmüller in Joann.* i. 1.

The following abstract from the German *Commentaries of the Antisupernaturalist*, Dr H. E. G. Paulus, is given by Kuinöl in the *Prolegomena* to his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. "Paulus maintains that Philo was not the author of this doctrine of the *Logos* as a subsistence emanating from God, most like to God, and intimately united with him; but that it was generally received, by the Jews of Alexandria, in the time of Philo. He is of opinion that it was invented by the philosophizing Jews of that city, with a view to obviate the arguments of the Gentile philosophers, who defended their popular systems of a multitude of inferior deities by affirming that the care of the material world, a particular providence, and the government of the affairs of men, were objects too low for the majesty and purity of the Supreme Deity. He thinks that the Alexandrian Jews might the more readily adopt this opinion of the *Logos* being an intelligent nature, because of their own doctrine of angels and guardian spirits, and because the Jews of Palestine were in the habit of using, as expressions for the Divine Being, the phrases, *Memra of Jah*, *Word of God*, *Wisdom of God*; as also they personified the wisdom of God; Prov. viii. 22.—Therefore, as Paulus has observed, the form of expression *ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the *Word of God*, was used, in the age of the Evangelist John, in a twofold sense. The Jews of Palestine (as appears from the work of the Son of Sirach who was a Jew of Palestine, and from the Chaldee Targums), and also the author of the apocryphal book the *Wisdom of Solomon*, employed the expression merely as a periphrasis for the Deity, and very often as a personification of the power and wisdom of God. But, on the other hand, Philo, and with him many of the Alexandrian Jews, by *The Word* understood an intelligent subsistence, absolutely unique, an emanation from God, and next to the Supreme God. Pro-

fessor Paulus further remarks, that the Evangelist did not deliver his doctrine of *The Word* (as an intelligent nature, absolutely unique, emanating from God, and next to God, and that this intelligent nature had united itself with the man Jesus), because the Alexandrian Jews professed the same sentiments with respect to their *Word*; but because Christ had, in express terms, made almost the identical attributions of dignity and honour to himself, which those Alexandrians were accustomed to ascribe to their *Word of God*." *Kuinöl*, vol. iii. pp. 80, 82.

There is no necessity to have recourse to Paulus's hypothesis of the origination of the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos. The prophecies and descriptions of the Jewish scriptures were amply sufficient to furnish the materials: while it is not impossible that some expressions and applications of the doctrine might have been excited by the writings and disputations of philosophic Gentiles.

Long after the preceding observations were written, I have had the gratification of finding that the hypothesis which had occurred to me from the study of Philo's writings alone, had been maintained by an author in whose family sacred learning has eminently flourished for more than a century,—John Benedict Carpzovius: and, as he informs us, before him, by a divine of our own country. "For the right understanding of the doctrine of Philo on the Logos, it must be observed that he in fact makes two Logi, and mixes and confounds them together so as to produce great perplexity. The one, deduced from the doctrines of Plato on *Ideas* and the *Mind* [*Νοῦς*, ὁ πάντων ἀρχηγός. *Platon. Phædon*, § 46, ed. Forster, p. 260], merely denotes the *foreknowledge* of the Supreme Being about the creation of the world; a conception formed in the Divine mind, and then emanating as a model after which the world was to be framed. This Logos, being brought forth as a kind of emanation from the Deity partaking of his nature, is called a *son of God*, yet inferior in the order both of nature and of time to God himself; and is very often confounded by Philo with the soul of the world, and with the world itself. The other doctrine is of a more exalted character, being deduced from the Scriptures and the genuine principles of the Jewish religion: it represents the Logos as the first-born Son of God, the Only-begotten, the High-Priest of men, sinless, immortal, the Shepherd of the world, the Archangel, the Image of the Father.—On this double doctrine of Philo's Logos, some just views were entertained by Stephen Nye, an English clergyman; in a work *on the Trinity, in reply to Allix*, quoted with approbation by Samuel Crellius in his *Initium Evang. Johann. Restit.* p. 326.⁹¹—Vitranga also (*De Synag. Veteri*, p. 624) affirms that, though Philo drew many particulars from Plato, yet his doctrine of the personal Logos he had derived from confused Jewish traditions." *Carpzovii Philoniana*, lib. vii. cap. vi. Helmstadt, 1750.

A recent author, of singular learning, diligence, and accuracy, Dr Grossmann, has instituted a minute investigation into the character, origin, and modifying causes of the doctrines promulgated and so laboriously defended by Philo: and, in particular, of his views concerning the Logos: in Two Dissertations, on the Sources and original Derivation of the Theological Doctrines of Philo; and on the Logos in his writings.⁹² In them the author has shown eminent talents, both philological and metaphysical. After giving a digest of the theosophical and moral principles of Philo, he maintains that they were derived primarily and principally from the Jewish scriptures, interpreted by a large use of allegory and chains of protracted deduction, mingled with a profuse abundance of positions, physical and moral, gathered from the traditions and speculations of the

⁹¹ "In and with Philo we must distinguish between the Logos essential to God the Creator and not personally distinct from him, and the Logos of whom I have been treating, a person distinct from God, and created.—This Logos was no other than that created Angel, so often mentioned in the O. T. as appearing in the name, and as the representative and image of God; or another Angel equal to him, or of a superior order." *Sam. Crell. ib.*

⁹² *Questiones Philonæ; I. De Theologiæ Philonis Fontibus et Auctoritate; II. De Δόγμα Philonæ* Scripsit C. G. Grossmann. Leipzig, 1829.

ancient Egyptians, and of the oriental nations, Chaldean, Persian, Indian, and even Chinese; but of which a chief part he had immediately received through the channel of the Jewish Cabbalistical philosophy, with which therefore the speculations of Philo are deeply tinged. This Cabbalistic system had also taken up not a scanty infusion of the most celebrated forms of Grecian philosophy, principally the Platonic, and next to that the Stoic.

Mosheim and Brucker, whose authority stands so deservedly high in the department of metaphysical and theological antiquities, have expressed themselves strongly on the *obscurity* of Philo.⁹³ This censure Grossmann disapproves, and considers that it was occasioned by those learned men's not having entered into the abstruse and mystic spirit of Philo, and his copiousness of thought and expression. Yet he elsewhere admits that Philo intentionally used ambiguity of language and obscurity in his representations, to conceal his meaning from the profane and uninitiated.

"— Since, during the captivity, the Jews had begun to contract a taste for philosophical discussions, and those especially who had made some progress in such studies, were led into the opinion that the authority of the Mosaic Law was wearing away; it necessarily followed that the laws, observances, and public religious ceremonies of Moses must either be totally abrogated, or, *by the help of allegorical interpretation*, be rescued from the rust of antiquity, and be revived, confirmed, and restored with new brilliancy to their former estimation. Indeed, if we reflect that the rising philosophy of the Jews, united as it was with their attachment to the religion of their fathers, was equally careful that neither philosophy should turn aside from the ancient spirit of religion, nor religion by disregarding the dictates of reason be plunged into the darkness of any blind superstition; and that also the minds of many of the Jewish nation were thus nourished and excited to the pursuit of virtue and wisdom, and were consequently prepared and disposed to a more ready reception of the gospel itself; if, I say, we duly take these and similar considerations into our account, we shall check ourselves from despising allegory, or thinking lightly of it, or rashly condemning it; and we shall regard it as having arisen at this very period by a peculiar and beneficent direction of divine providence.—

"— The existing Being [*ὁ ὢν* or *τὸ ὄν*] of Philo, is the *En Soph* of the Cabbalists, the infinite Being, the sole Supreme. His Divine Word [*ὁ Θεῖος Λόγος*] is their *balance* or sovereign *standard* of measurement, the causal principle, both generative and productive, of the whole sensible world.—His *powers* are their *Sephiroth*, three, or seven, or ten.—" *Diss.* I. pp. 7, 59.

After a long and minute induction of passages, and a synthesis of the numerous senses in which Philo uses the term *Logos*, Dr Grossmann gives this summary:—

"From the whole of this investigation, we may now, I think, conclude what was the doctrine of Philo concerning the divine Word. That it is a spiritual nature, distinct from God, and inferior, though next to him; produced by God, and dependent upon him; holding the chief rank of all things that are subordinate to God, as it were *the soul of the world* occupying the middle place between God and the universe.—But, as Philo's theology was composed of different elements, so the representation which he makes of the divine Word assumes different colours according to the diversity of the authorities which he follows. Therefore, in accordance with the common opinion of the Jews concerning angels, as ministering spirits to God, the Word is the *Archangel*, the Prince of angels: in compliance with the Platonic doctrine, he is the *idea of ideas*, com-

⁹³ "Jam quid—senserit, quantum per obscuritatem licet hominis, enodabimus." Mosheim's large and admirable Note on Philo, in his Latin version of the *Intellectual System*, cap. iv. § 36 (ed. Leyden, 1773, vol. i. pp. 828–839). See also Brucker's *Hist. of Philos.* vol. ii. p. 806; or Enfield's translation.

prehending all other ideas in himself, and being the *model* and *seal* of all; to meet the notions of the Stoics, he is the *soul of the world*, the universal Word pervading all thing [κοινὸς Λόγος ὁ διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος] and finally, in adaptation to the dictates of the Cabbalistic Jews, he is the *Prince of the powers*, the *Sephiroth*, whether three, or seven, or ten, which were represented as emanating in an incessant flow from God, and being his agents in the creation and government of the universe." *Diss.* II. p. 69.

The result of Grossmann's laborious examination appears to confirm the opinion of Mosheim, in his Note on Cudworth before referred to; that Philo may be justly regarded as having, in one view of his variety of description, laid the foundations of Sabellianism; and in another, those of Arianism.

Note D, page 379.

To the intelligent reader it can be scarcely necessary to say, that the celebrated passage concerning Jesus (*Antiq. Jud.* lib. xviii. cap. iv. § 3) has little claim to be regarded as genuine. All doubts on this head, in my humble opinion, are removed by Dr Lardner (*Jewish and Heathen Testim.; Works*, vol. vii. pp. 120-129), and especially by the admirable remarks of the Abbé Bullet, in Dr Kippis's edition of *Lardner's Works*, vol. i. *App. X. to the Life*. And to this conviction I cannot but still adhere, notwithstanding the strenuous effort of the learned author before mentioned, Dr Jones, to restore the exploded opinion. The objections stated in a preceding note to the supposed Christianity of Philo, apply in a great measure to the case of Josephus. Dr Jones's whole hypothesis appears to me to stand solely on assumptions or on fallacious reasonings. He relies much on the multitudes of proselytes asserted by the Jewish historian: but, besides the grounds of demur to this argument hinted at before, I conceive it not impossible, nor improbable, that Josephus might take to the honour of his nation the credit of the numerous and extensive conversions to Christianity, which were effected through the ministry of the apostles: availing himself of the general prejudice of the Romans and Greeks, who, without examination, set down the Christians as a Jewish sect. As a specimen of the very slight grounds on which that late eminent scholar frequently built the most novel and surprising conclusions, we may refer to *Josephus against Apion*, lib. ii. § 30. Nothing can be plainer than that the writer is, in that passage, pursuing his topic of just commendation on the wisdom and benignity of the Mosaic laws. After adducing many instances from the Pentateuch, he passes on to the motive which had such a powerful effect in producing the inflexible attachment of the Jews to their law, and their readiness to endure every extremity rather than violate it: and this he declares to be a full belief, attended with the testimony of a good conscience, "the lawgiver having foretold, and God *having afforded the strong assurance* (τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν παρὰ σκεπτικόν), that to those who keep the laws, and, if necessary, cheerfully die for them, God has granted to be brought into existence again, and *in return* (ἐκ πεμπροσπῆς) to receive a better life." The unbiassed reader cannot but perceive that the lawgiver is Moses, and that the *πίστις ἰσχυρὰ* is the *strong faith* or *persuasion* in the mind of the individual, that God will, according to his promise, reward him in the life to come. Πίστις is manifestly the abstract of *πίστευσις* in the preceding clause. Dr J., though his habitual attention to the association of ideas, as an instrument of philology, ought to have preserved him especially from this oversight, did not perceive the correspondence of the two words, and has translated the clause, "God having confirmed it by a decisive pledge." On this he comments:—"The only *decisive pledge* which God has given of this assurance is the resurrection of Christ: to this, therefore, Josephus must allude." (*Eccles. Researches*, p. 551.)

In a more recent paper he improved his version into "God has afforded a mighty proof;" but still referred it to the resurrection of Christ. (*Valpy's Classical Journal*, vol. xvii. p. 201, March, 1818.) To serve his hypothesis in another respect also, Dr J. renders *ἐν περιτροπῇ*, "after a revolution of years" (*Eccles. Res.*), and, growing bolder, in the *Classical Journal*, "after a revolution of ages:" whereas the phrase is as predicable of a short, as of a long, portion of time, and merely denotes that the happiness of the martyr should succeed his sufferings. It is even more favourable to the idea of an *immediate* succession, than of one interrupted by any considerable period. Budæus has well illustrated the phrase. "*Περιτροπή, circumactus et quod Latini dicunt in orbem aliquid facere. Hoc Græci ἐν περιτροπῇ. Basil. Homil. viii. Πῶς μὲν αἱ γέροντες τὰς ἐν νυκτὶ φυλακὰς ἐν περιτροπῇ ὑποδέχονται. Liv. iii. 35. Quum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fasces haberet, et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cujusque vicem, per omnes iret.*" *Budæi Commentarii Ling. Gr. Bas. 1557, col. 589.* See also *Livy*, i. 17.—Afterwards, he adopted the phrase, "after a period." *Monthly Repos.* June, 1818, p. 358.

SECTION V.—ON THE JEWISH RABBINICAL WRITINGS.

THAT the Jews in the middle ages, and their successors of the present day, have looked for only a human Messiah, it would be superfluous to prove: nor will any one attribute value to their opinions and interpretations, who adverts to the defiance of all reason and common understanding which appears in their avowed notions and expectations. While they reject the rational evidences and doctrines of Christianity, there are no absurdities too monstrous for them not to pretend, at least, to believe; or too revolting, for them not to inculcate upon each other. SUCH is the "blindness which hath happened unto Israel!"⁹⁴

But it is not impossible that, in the writings of this unhappy people, some remains may be discoverable of their better and earlier faith.

In the Talmudical writings, frequent and honourable mention is made of Rabbi Simeon the son of Jochai, who is said to have been a disciple of Akiba, and to have been born before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. A collection of Cabbalistical Doctrines, called *the Book ZOHAR*, or *the Book of Light*, is extant, which is affirmed to have been gathered up after Simeon's death, from his oral instructions, by his pupils and companions; in the same manner as the sayings of Socrates were collected by Xenophon. This book is written in the Chaldee dialect, similar to

⁹⁴ See *Mr Allen's Modern Judaism*; a faithful account of the puerilities and miserable superstitious which the unhappy Jews prefer to the reasonable service of Christianity.

that of the Targums; a dialect which became totally extinct by the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era, and was succeeded, in Jewish literature, by the Talmudical Hebrew.⁹⁵ The circumstance of its language and style is held, by those who are sufficiently skilled in the Hebraic dialects, to be decisive of its having been written at or very near the time to which it is attributed. The style is extremely obscure and enigmatical, so as to have deterred from its study almost all but the most profound and patient scholars in this department of learning. Some parts of the work, or interpolations, seem to indicate several dates. Being unable to read this book with sufficient intelligence, I have recourse to the more easy method of extracting passages from the ample collections of Christian Schöttgen. That eminent scholar devoted a large portion of his life to the

⁹⁵ The edition of Sultzbach, 1680, is a small folio of 368 pages, closely printed in double columns, and in the Rabbinical character. It has not a single word except in Hebrew or Chaldee, in the title or in any other part. Its title is "The Book *Zohar* (זֹהָרַ Light or Illustration) upon the Law, from that holy and very venerable man of God the Tanna Rabbi *Simeon*, the son of *Jochai*."—Tanna (סֵטָן) is a Rabbinical title of honour, denoting a Teacher of the Mishna, or oral law.

"*SIMEON*, the son of *Jochai*, a very celebrated man among the Jews, was a scholar of the Rabbi *Akiba*, and flourished about the year 120. At the time of the insurrection excited by *Barchocheba* he fled, through fear of the Romans, and retired to a cave, where he concealed himself twelve years, in the course of which he is said to have composed the well-known work entitled '*Sohar*;' a cabalistic explanation of the five books of *Moses*; but on account of the abstract metaphysical manner in which it is written, and the matter being clothed, according to the Egyptian method, in hieroglyphical images and very florid language, it is not easily understood. In regard to the antiquity of it, a difference of opinion has prevailed; some assigning it to the tenth century: and it is the more difficult to speak with certainty on the subject, as both parties seem to have possibility and even probability on their side. This much, however, can be said, that it contains things which are very old; but it is allowed by Christians, as well as Jews who held it in esteem, to be the production of more authors than one, and to have been enlarged, from time to time, by various additions." *General Biography*, by *Aikin*, *Morgan*, and others. The heterogeneous character of this book, and the fact of interpolations occurring in it, some of which savour even of the sixteenth century, are confirmed by a learned writer (I suspect, the Rev. *Ridley H. Herschell*), in the *Voice of Israel*, vol. i. pp. 181, 197. In vol. ii. p. 11, he adds; "—Whether the book *Zohar* be really the production of *R. Sim. b. Jochai* himself or not, it bears the stamp of antiquity in its very language; though also, as is most evident, replete with interpolations. Interpolations, however, do not altogether deprive a work of its genuineness.—But, if we consider *R. Jochai* to have been its author, as most of the learned have concluded, that he lived in the second century, and that besides his own opinions, this book contains also quotations and sayings from still much older sources; then the judicious reader of the work, who is able to separate the precious from the vile, may discover in it much that is valuable, especially as to many of the doctrines and views held in the ancient Jewish Church."

study of the Zohar, and has made much use of it for the illustration of the New Testament, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*.⁹⁶ He entertained the opinion that Simeon was a Christian, of the description of those "many myriads of Jews who believed, and were all zealously attached to the law."⁹⁷ Serious objections to this opinion were advanced by another Lutheran clergyman, Gläserer of Hildesheim: and Schöttgen candidly republished his opponent's *Diatribæ Philologica* in the valuable work above mentioned, appending his own rejoinder in defence of his original opinion. To me it appears that Gläserer has the stronger side of the argument. But, in either case, if the genuineness of the Zohar be admitted (excluding manifest interpolations, the intrusion of which was very probable into a collection of miscellaneous and unconnected dictates, opinions, and interpretations of Scripture passages), the use to which we may convert it will be not at all affected. On either supposition the report of Simeon and his disciples will be good evidence of the sentiments held by, at least, some of the Jewish nation, about the period of the last dispersion, concerning the PERSON of the Messiah. Dr Mangey, indeed, considers the Zohar as a supposititious work of some Rabbi of the seventh century or later: but the only reason which he intimates for this conjecture, is that "it states the mysteries of the faith as clearly and distinctly as any Christian writer."⁹⁸ This assumption, however, is far from being correct. The book is full of Judaical doctrines and totally inconsistent with Christianity. I suspect that Mangey was misled by the strong colouring which Allix bestows upon his citations from the Zohar, as he has done on those from Philo and the Targums. It is next to incredible that a voluminous work could be written in the Targumic Chaldee, so late as the seventh century. That we have no account of this work till the thirteenth century, will not appear surprising to any who consider the fact that other works of high antiquity, of undoubted authenticity, easy of perusal, and unspeakably more likely to have kept up a constant interest, were completely hidden through the dark ages. The Institutions of Quintilian were not discovered till 1415; and the Fables of Phædrus not till 1596. Even since this volume began to be written, some fragments of Orations and the Treatise on

⁹⁶ In 2 quarto vols. Dresden and Leipzig, 1733 and 42.

⁹⁷ Acts xxi. 20.

⁹⁸ *Præf. in Philonem*, p. xiv.

Government, which there is good reason to accept as genuine works of Cicero, have been brought to light, from the buried treasures of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and that of the Vatican.

One thing, however, is plain, that whatever interpolations may have been introduced, they must be at the farthest remove from being favourable to Christianity, since they belong to the later period; and that sentiments such as our quotations will present, must have been derived from sources more ancient than the commencement of our religion.

The following are extracts from Schöttgen's numerous citations.

"The Angel of the Lord, which is the Shechinah:" referring to Exod. iii. 2.⁹⁹ "God the Holy and Blessed is perfectly united with the Shechinah:" literally, "united in one unity."¹⁰⁰ "There was the Shechinah, God the Holy and blessed, who is one."¹⁰¹ "It is He who liveth for ever and ever, who is arrayed with the name (Metatron) Mediator."¹⁰² "The Mediator is the Servant of the Lord, the Elder of his house, who is the head of the creation of the Lord, exercising dominion over all things that are his; for the Holy and Blessed God hath given him dominion over all."¹⁰³

There are other passages which, on account of being deeply involved in enigmatical terms, could not be quoted without large explications; but the sense and purport of them are that the Shechinah is both of a heavenly and an earthly nature; that the Messiah is the Shechinah, the Angel of the covenant, the Mediator, the Redeemer, the Just One; that the Shechinah is the Heavenly High-Priest, and the Fountain of life; that all the perfections¹⁰⁴ belong to the Messiah. In several places the Divine name, *Jeja* (יְהוָה), the Chaldee abridgment of JEHOVAH, is in a circuitous manner given to the Shechinah.

I subjoin a part of Schöttgen's summary. "With respect to the names of the Messiah, he is expressly called in the book Sohar by the incommunicable name Jehovah, the Angel of God, the Shechinah or Divine Glory, the Mediator, Michael the Archangel, the Angel of the covenant, the Word of the Lord, God the Holy and Blessed:—the Image of God, the Bright-

⁹⁹ *Schætg. Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* tom. ii. pp. 451.

¹⁰⁰ *Ib.* p. 353.

¹⁰¹ *Ib.* p. 335.

¹⁰² *Ib.* p. 334.

¹⁰³ *Ib.* p. 427.

¹⁰⁴ Called the *Sephiroth*, and supposed to be enumerated in 1 Chron. xxix. 11.

ness of his glory, the Lord of hosts, the Son of God, the Son of the Most High, the faithful Shepherd, the Lord of the ministering Angels,—the Angel Redeemer.”¹⁰⁵

When the utmost allowance is made that reason will warrant, for the figurative style and the mystical character of this ancient book, a sufficiency of evidence will yet remain that the doctrines concerning the Messiah which existed among the Jews about the time of their dispersion, had indeed much of the characters of obscurity and indistinct apprehension; but that, without any reasonable ground of question, they attributed to him a superior nature, a pre-existent state, and, to say the least, many characteristic properties of Deity.¹⁰⁶ Even Gesenius admits that they at last rose to the conception of “an incarnate JEHOVAH.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Schætzg. Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* tom. ii. pp. 911–913.

¹⁰⁶ Kuinöl, in his *Prolegomena* to the Gospel of John, has brought forward a variety of Rabbinical citations to prove that, in the age of Jesus, the opinions which existed among the Jews, in relation to the nature and person of their ardently expected Messiah, were by no means uniform: some affirming that he would be a mere man, endowed with peculiar powers and assistance from God; others, that he would be a man with whom a special power emanating from God would be intimately conjoined; others maintaining that he would be superior to their fathers, to all mankind, and to the angels, that he existed before the creation of the world, and was employed by God as an instrument in the formation and government of the world, and peculiarly in the protection and religious institutions of the Israelitish nation. *Comment. in Libros N. T. Hist.* pp. 84–91.

¹⁰⁷ We before (p. 242) alluded to that wantonness of scarcely masked infidelity (which a Christian heart cannot but mourn to see united with stores so rich of Oriental and Biblical learning) in which Dr Gesenius,—who was (d. Oct. 23, 1842) one of the *Professors of Divinity* in the University of Halle!—has written the following passage: “Certainly it was not till later” [than the time of Isaiah] “that the idea of the Messiah took the turn of being imagined to imply a superior Being, above any thing earthly, and sent from heaven; according to Dan. vii. 13. But it was not as yet the notion of an incarnate JEHOVAH. This more splendid representation had its origin near the time of Jesus Christ; after the hope of a Messiah had been so long the object of tantalizing disappointment, but yet was raised continually higher and higher.”—*Commentar. über den Jesaia*, i. 365.—And what is the basis of this daring theory? No sound historical record, no fairly deduced testimony of antiquity; but the unchristian and irreligious fancy of the Professor, who has built up his ideas into a favourite scheme, that the expectation of a golden age, and a king conferring every kind of happiness, originated in the early times of the Hebrew history, was cherished by national affection, was dwelt upon with rapture by the patriotic bards (the prophets), was chiefly put forward and made a popular theme in calamitous times, was little thought of under the best kings and in the most prosperous periods of the Jewish history;—at last, after the captivity, when hope deferred had wearied men’s hearts, was dexterously transmuted into the belief of a spiritual, supernatural, and heavenly Saviour; and this belief gradually refined

So far as I can gain information on a subject which it would require the labour of almost a whole life to collect from its original sources, the extant Talmuds furnish no materials of any value in respect to the inquiry before us. They are almost exclusively occupied with the minutiae of ceremonies and the casuistry of ritual traditions.

Some remarkable passages have been selected by the elder Buxtorf and Witsius from the Rabbinical writers of the middle ages, concerning the *Metatron*, a name probably derived from the Latin, *Metator*, and afterwards used in the sense of *Mediator*. The Targum of Jonathan gave this appellation to Enoch after his translation. In subsequent times, it was differently understood; and the doctrine arose of an inferior Metatron, Enoch, and a superior, who is called in the Zohar "the very Shechinah himself,—the crown of the ten [*sephiroth*] perfections,—the pillar of mediation—in whom the Holy and Blessed God appears in his Shechinah:—he is called Shaddai [Almighty]—the clothing [*i. e.* sensible form] of the Shaddai;—the Servant of Jehovah, the elder of his house, the chief of his creatures, exercising dominion over all things, since they are committed to him."¹⁰⁸ Here we find the very term applied to Jesus Christ in Col. i. 18, compared with Rev. iii. 18. Rabbi Levi seems to have applied it to the personified Wisdom, in the book of Proverbs. Rabbi Solomon uses it for the interpretation of Exod. xxiii. 21. "My name is in him:" and he writes; "Our Rabbis say, He is the Metatron, whose name is as the name of his Teacher, namely, the All-sufficient God." Upon the same passage, Rabbi Bechai says; "He is named Metatron, because in this name are comprised the two significations of *Lord* and *Messenger*:—and, because he keeps the world, he is called the *Keeper of Israel*. It hence appears that he is the Lord of all beneath him, and that the whole host of things above and things below are in his power and under his hand. He is also the Messenger of all

and improved, till it reached the grand conception of the WORD, even God, made flesh and dwelling with men.

To help out this impious system, Dr G. tortures the fair use of language, in his explications of those early passages (such as Ps. xlv. and cx. and Isaiah ix. 6), which assign divine attributes to the Messiah. Against such misinterpretations, I appeal to the judgment of every serious and candid reader, upon the attempt, in this volume, to trace the *Expectation of a Messiah, as founded in Divine Revelation, through its successive developments*. May TRUTH, the TRUTH OF GOD, be alone triumphant!

¹⁰⁸ Cited in *Hengstenberg's Christologie*, vol. i. pp. 241–243.

both above him and below him ; because [God] hath made him to have dominion over all, and hath set him Lord of his house and all his possessions."

The Cabbalists also said, that "the Metatron was the preceptor of Moses." Upon Exod. xxxiii. 14, "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest;" Rabbi Moses ben Nachman writes thus ; "Observe attentively what these words signify. Moses and the Israelites had always desired that Chief Angel ; but who he was they could not fully understand ; for they neither learned it from others, nor adequately attained it by the gift of prophecy. But, as interpreters generally admit, the *presence of God* signifies God himself.—*My presence shall go with thee* ; that is, the Angel of the covenant whom ye delight in ; he in whom my presence shall be seen ; of whom it is said, In the accepted time I will hear thee. *My name is in him* ; and *I will give thee rest* ; that is, I will cause him to be gentle and benign to thee, and to lead thee, not by severe law, but with kindness and clemency."¹⁰⁹

The Zohar says, "The Holy and Blessed God has assigned to the Metatron many names. Sometimes he is called Metator, because he is placed over the rain" [from a childish paronomasia with מַטָּר *matar*, which signifies rain] ; "again, the Stator, for he stops" [*i. e.* arrests the progress of] "the sins of Israel ; he that shutteth, for he closes the doors of prayer ; he that openeth, since he opens the doors of prayer ; the decider, since he determines doctrines and positions in the school : and so he has many names, from his many kinds of offices."¹¹⁰ Of such a low style of thinking and expression, the Rabbinical writings are full ; but under this disguise, we can perceive the great truths of the Messiah's mediation, his expiation of sin, his authority, and his teachings. Other passages represent the Metatron and the Shechinah as the same.

There is obviously internal evidence that these hints and comments, similar to which many others from the same descrip-

¹⁰⁹ Buxtorfi Lexic. Talmud. et Rabbin. col. 1192. Bâle, 1639. Witsii Miscellanea Sacra, vol. ii. pp. 126. Herborn, 1712.

¹¹⁰ Schöttgen's *Jesus der Wahre Messias*, pp. 12, 25. Leipzig, 1748. (Comp. Is. xxii. 22 ; and Rev. iii. 7.) This work of the learned author was designed to apply the mode of investigation which he had pursued in the larger Latin work, to the general use of his countrymen, with reference to the chief doctrines of Christianity, to which he brings many testimonies as acknowledged, directly or by implication, in the early Jewish books.

tion of writers might be adduced, are shattered and faded relics of the knowledge, opinions, and conjectures of the latter ages of the Jewish state.

SECTION VI.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS INQUIRY
INTO THE STATE OF OPINION AMONG THE JEWS AT THE
PERIOD REFERRED TO.

WE may now put together the notices which we have been able to collect, on the state of *general opinion* among the Jews at and near the era of the origin of Christianity, upon the question, *Of what kind would be the person and character of their expected Messiah?* The particulars, as they have been collected at the close of each of the preceding heads of inquiry, need not to be repeated. Each review has appeared to show that those articles of current, or of extensive, belief, were *sublime, imperfectly understood, and in some respects inconsistent.*

I. They were *sublime.* This is manifest from the relics of doctrine and worship which we have found in various ways, attributing to the Messiah pre-existence, dominion, dignity above all the objects of creation, and other properties peculiar to the Deity.

II. They were *imperfectly understood.* This could not but be the case from the nature of the subject, from the reference of the expectation to a future and unknown time, and from the necessary obscurity belonging to unfulfilled prophecy, the great source from which these sentiments were drawn.

III. They were, in various respects, *inconsistent.* Not only did one theory oppose another, but each appears to have laboured under difficulties and contradictions within itself. Such inconsistency we find both in Philo and in the Rabbinical books: and it is readily accounted for, from the mixture of traditionary opinions and diversified hypotheses with the stream of knowledge derived from the Old Testament prophecies. The subject was in itself obscure; and, under all the circumstances, it was not to be expected that the serious and inquisitive Jews of this period could avoid running into conjectures and incoherent notions. It was not yet the day-light of the Sun of righteousness: it was a darkling sky, intersected with beams of light.

It is probable that this imperfection and inconsistency were still further promoted by the fond nationalism which, we have before observed, had acquired a general acceptance among the Jews at the time of which we are speaking. As piety decayed, and as the conquests of the Macedonians and the Romans spread before the eyes of the Jewish people the glare of military glory and the pomp of dominion, they became more and more secular in their views and expectations. Their hopes of a Messiah became closely united with their national pride and their wishes for a universal ascendancy. The figurative representations of the Messiah's reign, given by the holy prophets, were eagerly taken in a literal signification, and were associated with still grosser ideas of ambition and voluptuousness. Thus the bulk of the nation rapidly lost sight of the spiritual and holy objects with which the language of prophecy surrounds its descriptions of the Messiah; and sunk into the habit of regarding him as a politician and a hero. Such an opinion must have strongly disposed them to take up exclusive views of their Great Deliverer as a *man merely*; and as a man of the world, earthly and carnal in his purposes and his character. At the same time, the vestiges of purer sentiments still lingered in the hearts of many, whose devotional and religious habits of mind would represent the best "consolation of Israel" to consist in a holy salvation and a spiritual Redeemer. To such persons the ancient faith would present stronger attractions than they could feel from the worldly expectations with which popular partialities had entangled their minds; and, though unable to free themselves entirely from the fond delusion, they would still be looking for nobler blessings when "the Lord whom they sought should suddenly come to his temple," and "as the light of the morning should arise JEHOVAH, a Sun without clouds for brightness."¹¹¹

¹¹¹ A sentiment similar to this was advanced by Dr Semler, the leader, half a century ago, of the theologians termed liberal, in Germany. Bishop Marsh calls him "the immortal Semler;" and adds, "The original genius of this great critic and divine permitted him in no case to be a blind follower of the opinion of others. He ascended constantly to the source himself, examined with his own eyes, and made more discoveries in sacred criticism and ecclesiastical history, than the envy of his contemporaries has been willing to admit." *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 639. This is too high encomium. Semler was an ambitious and versatile man; with ill-digested masses of learning in his head, but not the best disposition in the use of them.

"Hunc in ordinem haud dubiè pertinent multi ex doctoribus illis et prophetis qui, præter Levitarum ministeria κοσμικά, meliorem cognitionem Dei, regni Dei

The reader will now be able to judge with what degree of argumentative suitableness and justice this topic is treated in the *Calm Inquiry*. It forms the subject of a Section, under the title, "The arguments which are alleged to prove that the Jews, in the time of Christ, believed in the pre-existence of their expected Messiah." The whole of this Section is transcribed below.¹¹² Could then the author think that the matter was sufficiently dispatched in this cavalier and superficial manner? Could he satisfy himself with leaving the impression on his readers, that this was an equitable statement of the argument which he is professing to answer? Is it "*notorious* that the ancient Jews, and indeed the Jewish nation in general, in all

in omnes homines moralis, adepti fuerunt, et longè augustiora exercitia subinde docuerunt, in psalmis et aliis libellis, quæ λατρείαν λογικὴν commendabant. Iidem sic spirituali vitâ aucti, abstinerunt ab omni abusu corporearum rerum, spiritualium beneficiorum ipsi participes. Itaque et longè aliam ideam reipublicæ divinæ, regis sperati *Messia*, et instaurati regni in omnes gentes, bonis mentibus præverunt; licet plerique homines, ψυχικοὶ et σαρκικοὶ, istὰ πνευματικὰ nec intellexerint satis, nec appetierint." "To this class doubtless belonged many of the Jewish teachers and prophets who, rising above the Levitical ceremonies, obtained a superior knowledge of God and of his moral government over mankind, and uttered far more noble strains in their psalms and other compositions, which enjoined a 'reasonable service.' (Rom. xii. 1.) Endowed with spiritual life, and partaking of spiritual blessings, they made a right use of those outward observances. They also showed to the minds of the pious a very different representation of the divine dispensations, of the expected King the Messiah, and of his universal reign: while the majority being 'sensual and carnal' (1 Cor. ii. 14), had no just knowledge of those spiritual things, nor any desires after them." *Jo. Sal. Semleri Inst. ad Doctr. Christ. liberaliter descendam.* Halæ Magd. 1774, p. 314.

¹¹² "That the Jews expected a pre-existent Messiah.—One text only is alleged with any plausibility in favour of this supposition. John vii. 27. 'We know this man whence he is; but when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.' Grotius and Doddridge explain this passage as alluding to the miraculous conception of Jesus. Dr Whitby more justly understands it as referring to a tradition among the Jews, that the Messiah was to be conveyed from Bethlehem soon after his nativity, and to be concealed from the world till Elias came to anoint him. It is said that some of the modern Cabbalists maintain that the angel Metatron, who led the Israelites in the wilderness, will be the soul of the Messiah. But it is notorious that the ancient Jews, and indeed the Jewish nation in general, in all ages, entertained no such expectation. Trypho the Jew, in his Dialogue with Justin Martyr, early in the second century, represents the notion of the pre-existence and incarnation of Jesus, as not only wonderful, but silly: and he reproaches the Christians for their belief in the miraculous conception of Christ, which he ridicules as a fiction equally absurd with that of Jupiter and Danaë. He says, that all his nation expect the Messiah to be a man born like other men. Justin Martyr Opp. Edit. Thirlby, pp. 233-6. Dr Priestley's Hist. of Early Opinions, vol. iii. pp. 40-49. Ben Mordecai's (H. Taylor's) Lett. vol. i. pp. 359-61." *Calm Inquiry*, pp. 10, 11.

ages, entertained no such expectation?" Is the whole series of argument from the Jewish prophecies to be thus eluded? And, though the documents which we possess with regard to the sentiments entertained in the lower ages of the Jewish polity, be not equally direct and palpable, are they entitled to no consideration? Has not various and independent evidence been produced, that many of the ancient Jews believed that their Messiah, thought yet an object of expectation as to his appearance among men, had existed before the creation, and in the possession of the highest dignities and powers?

Dr Priestley has indeed brought evidence to prove that the Jews, in general, since the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, have expected their Messiah to be a mere man.¹¹³ But this does not affect the case. It brings no contradiction to the opinion that, before and at the time of Jesus, a superior doctrine existed among them. After the light of Christianity had arisen, Judaism became a very different thing from what it had been before. The ceremonies of the Jews were sunk into mere superstitions, their ancient doctrines were made void by the traditions and corruptions of their elders, and their whole religion degenerated into a system of vapid forms: "their minds were blinded, and even unto this day, the veil is upon their heart."

The sentence concerning the Metatron is borrowed by Henry Taylor from Allix. Far more important passages on the Metatron have been cited in the preceding chapter. The citations also which have been adduced from the book *Zohar*, appear to me to have deserved some notice from Dr Priestley and Mr Belsham; to neither of whom Schœttgenius ought to have been an unknown author.

The sentiments of Trypho are justly represented. I think there is internal evidence that the Dialogue is founded on a real disputation which Justin had maintained with an able and acute adversary. But the assertion that "all his nation expected the Messiah to be a man, born like other men," was not admitted by Justin as a true statement; for, speaking of the perverseness and unfair arguings of the Jewish teachers, he says; "Those passages of Scripture which they think that they can torture so as to apply to human affairs, they affirm have been spoken, not with respect to this Jesus our Messiah, but with respect to him whom they attempt to bring in: as they have taught concerning

¹¹³ *History of Early Opinions*, vol. iii. pp. 1-49.

the passage [Isaiah vii. 14], upon which we are now conversing, that it speaks of Hezekiah ; in which, as I promised, I will show that they are mistaken. But, whatever passages of Scripture we adduce, which expressly point out the Messiah as one who should suffer, yet should be an object of worship, and even be God (which I before recited to you), these, because they cannot avoid it, they admit, indeed, to have been spoken of the Messiah, but they dare to say that this" [our Jesus] "is not the Messiah ; and they profess to expect that the Messiah is yet to come, and that he will possess a kingdom, and that he will be God, the object of worship."¹¹⁴ We should, further, take into the account, that the character of Trypho, whether real or personated, represents that of his nation after the introduction and the extensive prevalence of Christianity ; when, not only were their prevailing opinions corrupted and secularized by the causes above mentioned, but they were exasperated to the last degree against the new religion, and were under strong motives to retrench every thing in their own system which might seem to countenance its claims. The New Testament furnishes melancholy and abundant proofs that their opposition to Christianity was malignant and dishonest. They closed their eyes and hardened their hearts to the clearest deductions from their own Scriptures. Their violence and mental blindness disqualified them from being unexceptionable reporters of the faith of their ancestors. For the same reason, the sentiments of the modern Jews, degraded as they are by worldliness, infidelity, and the most pitiful superstitions, are entitled to no regard.

¹¹⁴ "Α δὲ ἂν καὶ ἔλκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν νομίζουσι δύνασθαι ἀρμόζειν πράξεις ἀνθρωπίους, ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰρῆσθαι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὃν αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν ὅποιον καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην περὶ ἧς ἡ νῦν ὁμιλία ἐστίν, ἐδίδαξαν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες εἰς Ἐzekiάν αὐτὴν εἰρῆσθαι ὅτι, ὡς ὑπεσχόμενοι, ἀποδείξω ψεύδεσθαι αὐτούς. Ἀς δ' ἂν λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς γραφὰς αἱ διαῤῥήδην τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ παθῆτον καὶ προσκυνητὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἃς καὶ προανιστόρησα ὑμῖν, ταύτας εἰς Χριστὸν μὲν εἰρῆσθαι ἀναγκαζόμενοι συντίθενται, τοῦτον δὲ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν σολωμῶσι λέγειν ἰλεῖσθαι δὲ, καὶ παθεῖν, καὶ βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ προσκυνητὸν γενέσθαι Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν.—Just. M. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 209, ed. Jebb, 1719. See also the late Dr Edward Burton's *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ* ; second ed. Oxford, 1829 ; a work of great value : as also is a companion volume, by the same learned and lamented person, *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost*, 1831. The admission of Origen, that "the Jews did not expect their Messiah to come, as God or Son of God," is sufficiently accounted for by recollecting the character of variableness and inconsistency, which we have shown to have belonged to the ideas of the Messiah entertained by the Jews in the period under consideration.

But the mention of Justin induces me to add a fact, of no small importance in the rational study of the question concerning the person of our Lord and Saviour. That father was born about sixty years after the death of Christ; and many of his contemporaries and associates must have been those who had derived their knowledge of Christianity and its doctrines immediately from the apostles. Now, from his *Apologies* and his *Dialogue with Trypho*, it is manifest in the clearest and most unequivocal manner, that the received doctrine of the Christians in his time was, that the Names and Attributes, the Works and Worship, peculiar to the Divine Nature, belonged to Christ: that he created the world, that he directed the dispensations of providence and revelation, and that he was the Angel of the Lord who appeared to the patriarchs, and delivered to them the commands and promises of Heaven. The arguments and interpretations by which he defends the doctrine, may or may not be approved: but the *fact* remains the same, a fact conspicuous in every paragraph of his writings, that he was not introducing new opinions, but was vindicating the KNOWN AND COMMON FAITH OF CHRISTIANS.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ After the second edition of this work was published, the learned and candid Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Kaye, favoured the theological world with his *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr*; Cambridge, 1829. It has given me satisfaction and encouragement that his lordship supports the same opinions as those above advanced; except that he seems rather inclined to the supposition that the person of Trypho and the narrative of the conversation were fictitious, as in the moral treatises of Cicero and many others. Two or three sentences I shall be allowed to transcribe.

“Although I am far from wishing to deny that there are in this treatise many weak and inconclusive arguments, many trifling applications and erroneous interpretations of Scripture, many attempts to extract meanings which never entered into the mind of the Sacred Writer, yet I cannot think it deserving of the contempt with which some later critics have spoken of it. It proves at least, that the state of the controversy was not essentially different, in the days of Justin, from its present state.—We cannot doubt that he maintained a real Trinity. Whether he would have explained it precisely according to the Athanasian scheme, is not equally clear; but I have observed nothing in the *Apologies* or in the *Dialogue with Trypho*, which appears to me to justify a positive assertion to the contrary. Those passages which seem to imply an inferiority in Christ to the Father, may without any forced construction be understood of the part borne by Christ in conducting the Economy.” Pp. 39, 72.

The following two passages have been, by oversight, omitted. The former of them belongs to the Supplementary Note B, at page 215 of this volume; and the latter to the Note 196, at page 285.

Addition to the Remarks on Ps. xlv. 8. It has been suggested by a learned friend that there is an instance in the LXX. of a construction, precisely similar to that which Mr Belsham apparently preferred, and therefore sufficiently justifying it. This is in Ps. lxxii. (lxxiii.) 26. Ἡ μερίς μου ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Hence it is argued that God might have been said to have been *the throne* ("standing for the sovereign power and dignity of which it is the symbol") of *David*, as well as a *part, portion, or inheritance*; as in Ps. xvi. 5; Num. xviii. 20.—The whole clause is, "The God of my heart and my portion [is] God for ever." My reply is, that there is a want of analogy. To say, *God is my portion*, is in harmony with good taste and reverential piety: but, to put *God as the sovereign power and dignity of David*, appears incongruous to both.

Upon Zech. vi. 13. Among the many circumstances of prophetic signification, by symbolical facts, under the Mosaic dispensation, it is peculiarly observable that the *first* High-Priest of Israel married the daughter of Amminadab whose son and her brother, Naashon, was the "head" of the tribe, the "prince of the children of Judah:" Ex. vi. 23; 1 Chron. ii. 11. The son of Naashon married the gentile Rahab. Thus Obed, the grandfather of David, "had the Prince of Judah for his paternal grandfather, and the High-Priest for his great uncle. The blending of the kingly and the priestly character in the lineage of the Messiah,—sets forth his character as 'High-Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek,' the KING and PRIEST, the king of Righteousness." *Herschell's Voice of Israel*, vol. i. p. 26.

BOOK III.

ON THE INFORMATION TO BE OBTAINED CONCERNING THE
PERSON OF THE CHRIST, FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE
EVANGELICAL HISTORY, AND FROM OUR LORD'S OWN ASSERT-
TIONS AND INTIMATIONS.

Jesus the Messiah.—To him, therefore, all the attributes of the Messiah must attach.
—The testimony of the Christian Scriptures cannot but coincide with that of the
Jewish.—The real humanity of Jesus no objection to the existence of a superior
nature.—Proposed method of the Inquiry.

IN the preceding part of this Inquiry we have endeavoured, with caution and scrupulosity, to collect the characters of the Messiah from the descriptions of ancient prophecy, and the divinely warranted expectations of those to whom the revelation was afforded. We have carefully analysed these descriptions, through the series of the Patriarchal and the Israelitish revelations; and the result is before the reader. *Whomsoever* we may find to be the Messiah, to him we are assured that all those characters must belong; and that, in some way to us unknown and mysterious, he is at once a man of sorrows, the descendant of Adam and Abraham and David, and yet possessed of the high attributes of the Lord God, the Eternal and Unchangeable Jehovah.

All Christians believe that JESUS of Nazareth is the One and Only Messiah; and that to him, and to no other, all the characters of the Messiah belong, in their absolute reality and their broadest extent. Here, then, we might not unfairly close our case, and rise from the search, satisfied that the Author of our Religion is the Root as well as the Offspring of David, the Mighty God, as well as the Son given to us.

But we have Christian Scriptures, the sequel and completion of the Jewish; the writings of the personal attendants and disciples of the Messiah, in addition to those of the Prophets, who had before testified of his sufferings and glories. If our conclusions are justly drawn from the Old Testament, they will cer-

tainly be confirmed by the declarations of the New. To the doctrine of the New Testament, therefore, we direct our attention as a further, but not an independent, branch of evidence.

That Jesus Christ was and is really and properly a *man*, is maintained by the orthodox as strenuously as by the Unitarians. To bring evidence in proof of this point is, on either side, unnecessary; unless it were conceded that proper humanity implies necessarily a mere humanity; or, in other words, that it is *impossible* for the Deity to assume the human nature into an indissoluble union with himself. Such a union, let it be carefully remembered, is not a transmutation of either nature into the other; nor a destruction of the essential properties of either; nor a confusion of the one with the other. The question of such a union is a question of *fact*: and its proper, its only evidence, is Divine Revelation. Though, for the reason just intimated, it might not be strictly requisite to institute a detailed examination of any other parts of the Christian Scriptures, than those which are apprehended to contain evidence of the existence of a *superior* nature in the Person of Christ; yet it will conduce to the completeness of the argument and the increase of satisfaction, to examine, with equal care, the leading testimonies to our Lord's humanity, particularly those which are supposed by Unitarians to involve the idea of a sole and exclusive humanity.

We are now arrived at a position parallel to the commencement of Mr Belsham's "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ." It would be the easier plan for me to follow the arrangement of passages adopted in that work; and, if an examination of its criticisms, interpretations, and arguments, had been the principal object of this work, such a method might have been preferred. But I presume to aim at a more independent and permanent order of usefulness, the exhibition of a complete statement of the Scripture Evidence on this great question: and for this purpose, the inductive process, which has been carried on through the former Chapters, is the most impartial, and appears the most likely to lead us to safe and satisfactory conclusions. We shall, therefore, pursue the lines of evidence, as they are presented to us by the opening and the gradual progress of the New Testament dispensation; and shall consider the interpretations and reasonings of the *Calm Inquiry*, as they will severally find their places in the course of the work.

CHAP. I.

ON THE NARRATIVE OF THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION.

AT the head of his enumeration of supposed arguments in favour of the doctrines which he opposes, the author of the *Calm Inquiry* has placed the weakest that could well be conceived; that "the miraculous birth of Christ is regarded by many as a considerable presumptive evidence of his pre-existence."¹

It is quite sufficient to set aside this alleged argument, to remind those, if such there be, who are disposed to advance it, that Unitarians generally, before Dr Priestley, accorded with the universal belief of Christians on this head. Dr Lardner, a professed Socinian, has largely vindicated the authenticity of the disputed portions of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, against exceptions and difficulties:² and, in the days of modern Unitarians, Mr Gilbert Wakefield, emphatically and designedly, describes the Gospel of Matthew, as "delivering the history of a Covenant between God and the human race, promulgated and ratified by a man born out of the common course of generation."³

On the other hand, if a much greater force belonged to the arguments by which the *Calm Inquirer* and others have endeavoured to establish the spuriousness of the initial portions of Matthew and Luke, and if the evidence were satisfactory to the rejection of those portions, I do not see that the doctrine of the Divine Nature in the Person of Christ would be affected by it; any further than as a few passages, which have furnished some arguments in favour of the doctrine, would be no longer proper to be adduced. Had it pleased God so to ordain, the sinless purity of our Lord's humanity might have been as certainly provided for by a *miraculous intervention*, on the supposition of its being produced in the ordinary way of nature, as on the generally received, and, in my opinion, true and scriptural view of this subject. But, besides the divine ordination, other reasons

¹ Page 12.

² *Credibility of the Gosp. Hist.* Part I. Book II.

³ *Wakefield's New Transl. and Notes on Matthew*, p. 416. 1782.

are not wanting to show the *superior propriety* and CONDIGNITY of this mode of miraculous formation.⁴

It cannot be denied that the portions of the two Gospels in question are pressed with seeming difficulties, more than any other part of the Evangelical history. These difficulties are alleged to lie in the citations which occur in them from the Old Testament, in the facts related, and in the want of any clear reference to those facts in the subsequent parts of the New Testament. But it is contrary to the principles of sound criticism to reject, as spurious, parts of the works attributed to ancient authors, which stand upon the same ground of external evidence that is found by rigorous examination to be sufficient for the rest;⁵ unless there are discrepancies and contradictions which can be removed by no *fair* methods of interpretation; “such traces and marks of ignorance in language, unskilfulness in history and antiquity, want of accuracy in reasoning, or, in short, mistakes of one kind or other, as that we might safely, and without suspicion of prejudice, pronounce it impossible to be the work of”⁶—the author to whom it is attributed.

In the case before us, the internal difficulties are capable of being disposed of, to a candid and reasonable satisfaction. The citations from the Old Testament are rather of the nature of classical passages, capable of a descriptive application to the events, than direct prophecies. Such applications have been always common, not only among the Jews, but with every other nation possessing any literature. So we every day apply to observable events, striking sentences of our own poets.⁷ The facts related have been solidly vindicated, and the objections to their credibility answered.⁸ We shall see, also, that the chronological difficulties have been obviated; and that some solution may be given to the difficulty which arises from the want of reference to these facts in the succeeding parts of the Christian Scriptures.

The positive evidence for the authenticity of the passages is complete. All manuscript authority that exists is in their favour: and equally so is that of the ancient versions. Christian writers who lived within a hundred years of the events, mention the facts as of undoubted certainty, and quote the passages as parts of

⁴ Note A.

⁵ Note B.

⁶ *Markland's Remarks on the Epistles ascribed to Cicero and Brutus*, etc. p. 4. 1745. See also *Tunstall's Epist. ad Conyers Middleton*, p. 194. 1741.

⁷ See p. 145, and Note C.

⁸ Note D.

accredited Scripture.⁹ Celsus, the able and acute adversary of Christianity, who flourished in the second century ; and Origen, in his reply to him ; both consider the history of the miraculous conception as an unquestionable part of the Christian records. So also does the Jewish slanderer who wrote the *Toldoth Jesu*.¹⁰ In modern times, the most distinguished Scripture critics, who with all the aids of every kind of learning that could bear upon such inquiries, have devoted their time and talents to these researches ; and who have been the most remote from any suspicion of what some would call *orthodox predilections* ; have given their most decided suffrage in favour of the disputed portions of Matthew and Luke.¹¹

Mr Belsham lays much stress on the allegation that “the Ebionite Gospel of Matthew and the Marcionite Gospel of Luke, did not contain these accounts :” and in the Notes to the Improved Version, he tells us concerning the chapters in Matthew, that “from the testimonies of Epiphanius and Jerome, we are assured that they were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites.” On these assertions we offer two or three remarks.

⁹ See this evidence stated at length in a valuable work, entitled, *A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first Two Chapters of the Gospel of St Matthew and St Luke : by a Layman*. 1822. pp. 32–60. Now known to have been written by the late Mr John Bevans, a justly esteemed member of the Society of Friends, who died in 1835.

¹⁰ Edited by Wagenseil ; Altdorf, 1681.

¹¹ Lardner, Griesbach, Eichhorn, Paulus, Ammon, Kuinœl, etc. I subjoin the concluding paragraph of Griesbach’s *Epimetron*, on the authenticity of the portion in Matthew’s Gospel which the Editor of the Improved Version has presumed to brand with the note of probable spuriousness, and the Calm Inquirer has, with the same presumption, pronounced to be “of very doubtful authority.” Griesbach’s opinion was also equally strong with respect to the portion of Luke, chap. i. 5 ; ii. 52.

“If now the reader will attentively review all that I have advanced, in detailed discussion, or where no more was necessary by brief mention, he will readily, I trust, give his assent to the following positions.

“1. That it is put beyond all possibility of reasonable doubt, that the Greek text of Matthew’s Gospel never existed without the two chapters in dispute.

“2. That there are no solid arguments in support of the hypothesis that there ever existed another Gospel, from whence the present Greek copy was derived, and which was destitute of those chapters.

“3. That it is very probable that Matthew himself was the author of those chapters [i. e. in distinction from their being one of those documents of the most unquestionable authority, though insulated fragments, which we have reason to believe were often introduced by the first three Evangelists into their respective compositions] : except the genealogy, which having been communicated to him by others, he thought proper to prefix to his work.” *Griesbachii Comment. Critic. in Textum Græcum. N. Test.* vol. ii. p. 64. Jena, 1811.

1. All reasoning from these apocryphal gospels must be extremely uncertain, since our knowledge of them is too scanty and imperfect; but it is sufficiently plain that they had no character of authenticity or trustworthiness.

2. Epiphanius says of the Nazarenes: "They possess the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, in the fullest form; for that Gospel is manifestly preserved to the present time among them, as it was at first written in the Hebrew language." He adds, that he knows not whether they retained the genealogies.¹² He, therefore, had not seen, or had not examined, the Nazarene Gospel. Bishop Marsh has satisfactorily proved from Jerome, that the Gospel of the Nazarenes contained the matter of at least the second chapter of Matthew, if not that of the first.¹³

3. Whatever information we have, concerning the Gospel of the Ebionites, shows that it was a work extremely corrupted, both by mutilations and by fabulous insertions. Epiphanius calls it "the Gospel in use among them, bearing the name of Matthew, but which is not the whole in the fullest form, but on the contrary is characterised by spurious additions and curtailments."¹⁴ It did, indeed, want the matter of the first and second chapters of Matthew, beginning according to the quotations in Epiphanius, with these words, "It came to pass in the days of Herod the king of Judea, [that] John came baptizing the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan; who was said to be of the race of Aaron the priest, a son of Zacharias and Elizabeth: and all went out to him."¹⁵ Thus clumsy is this forgery;

¹² Ἐχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον πληρῆστατον Ἑβραϊστί· παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη, Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτι σώζεται. Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἄχρι Χριστοῦ περιῖλον.—*Epiphan. Hær.* xxix. sect. 9. *Op. ed. Petav.* tom. i. p. 124.

¹³ *On Michaelis's Introd.* vol. iii. part ii. Note 10 and 11, on chap. iv. sect 9. "It is thus indubitably clear, from the testimony of Jerome, whether it relates to the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, or to the sentiments of the Nazarenes, that the account of the Miraculous Conception and Birth of Christ must have been in their Gospel." *The Layman's Vindication*, p. 103.

¹⁴ — Ἐν τῇ γούν παρ' αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ, κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρηστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκροτηριασμένῳ, Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν.—*Epiphan. Hær.* xxx. sect. 13, p. 137.

¹⁵ Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῇ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ· καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες. *Epiphan. Hær.* xxx. sect. 13, p. 138. That the reader who may not have Epiphanius at hand, may have a further specimen of the style and character of this spurious Gospel, the passages preserved by him will be inserted at length in the Supplementary Note E.

making John's mature age to coincide with the reign of the first Herod! Yet the Inquirer and Annotator represents this paltry production of some grossly ignorant person, as a worthy witness against the accredited text of the Evangelist! Such pleadings betray either some suspension of sagacity, or a more deplorable want of candour.¹⁶

4. To the hasty assertion of the Annotator, a complete reply had been already furnished by a distinguished author in this department of criticism, and whom one cannot but be surprised that the writer did not consult before he committed himself. "The Nazarene Gospel, which, according to Jerome, was St Matthew's original, must have been very different from the Ebionite Gospel. For it is hardly credible, if the Nazarene Gospel had differed from the Greek text of St Matthew, as much as the Ebionite Gospel, that Jerome, who transcribed and translated it, could have taken it, even after deducting the interpolations, for the original of St Matthew's Gospel. It is true that Jerome makes no distinction between the Nazarene and Ebionite Gospel; for he says in his note to Matt. xii. 13, In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræni et Ebionitæ—quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum. But we must recollect that Jerome never saw the Hebrew Gospel which was used by the Ebionites; he was acquainted only with that which was used by the Nazarenes, and therefore had no opportunity of comparing the one with the other. Through want of knowledge, then, he might suppose that they were the same, though they were really different."¹⁷

5. If it be conceded that the Gospel used by Marcion, who

¹⁶ A fragment of Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian of the second century, "contains a reference to the history in the second chapter of St Matthew, and shows plainly that this part of St Matthew's Gospel was owned by this Hebrew Christian. It is plain—that Hegesippus received the history in the second chapter of St Matthew; so that he used our Greek Gospel: or, if he used only the Hebrew edition of St Matthew's Gospel, this history must have been in it in his time." *Lardner's Credib.* vol. i. p. 318. The fragment referred to will be found at length in a following part of this volume.

"If we were to form our opinion respecting the contents of the Gospel of the Hebrews, from the general character of the fragments which are left of it, we should pronounce it equally unallied to any of our canonical Gospels, and the work of a later age and a different spirit." *Bishop Thirlwall's Introd. to his Transl. of Schleiermacher's Essay on the Gospel of St Luke.* 1825. p. xlix.

¹⁷ *Michaelis's Introd. to N. T. by Marsh*, vol. iii. part i. pp. 180, 181. "The editors of the Improved Version act in defiance of all evidence, when they represent the Ebionite Gospel to be the genuine Gospel of St Matthew." *The Layman's Vind.* p. 112.

lived in the second century, did not contain the first two chapters of Luke; it must also be considered that neither did it contain the third chapter, nor more than one half of the fourth; and in the subsequent parts, as we are informed by Dr Lardner, who had examined this subject with his usual minuteness and accuracy, it was "mutilated and altered, and even interpolated in a great variety of places. He would not allow it to be called the Gospel of St Luke, erasing the name of that Evangelist from the beginning of his copy."¹⁸ His alterations were not made on any critical principles, but in an arbitrary manner, in order to suit his own extravagant theology. Many distinguished Biblical scholars of modern times, particularly Semler, Eichhorn, Griesbach, Lœffler, and Marsh, entirely reject the opinion that he used the Gospel of Luke in any considerable degree. Griesbach maintained that Marcion compiled a work of his own, for the service of his system and the use of his followers, from the writings of the Evangelists, and particularly of Luke.¹⁹ "That Marcion used Luke's Gospel at all," says Bishop Marsh, "is a position which has been taken for granted without the least proof. Marcion himself never pretended that it was the Gospel of St Luke; as Tertullian acknowledges, saying, 'Marcion Evangelio suo nullum adscribit autorem.' (Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 2.) It is probable, therefore, that he used some apocryphal Gospel, which had much matter in common with that of St Luke, but yet was not the same."²⁰ But, whether this was the case or not, the fact that Marcion's compilation was made upon the principle of omitting and altering whatever

¹⁸ *Lardner's Hist. of Heretics*, Book X. Sect. 36. *Works*, Kippis's ed. vol. ix. pp. 393-401.

¹⁹ *Griesbachii Hist. Text. Gr. Epist. Paul*, p. 92.

²⁰ *Marsh's Michaelis*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 159. Lœffler has very fully examined the question, in his Dissertation, entitled *Marcionem Pauli Epistolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubitatur*; Frankfort on the Oder, 1788. The conclusions of his minute investigations are, that, (1.) The Gospel used by Marcion was anonymous: (2.) Marcion rejected all our four Gospels, and maintained the authenticity of his own in opposition to them: (3.) His followers afterwards maintained that Christ himself and Paul were the authors of it: (4.) Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius had no reason for regarding Marcion's Gospel as an altered edition of Luke's; and their assertion is a mere conjecture resting upon none but frivolous and absurd allegations: (5.) The difference of Marcion's Gospel from Luke's is inconsistent with the supposition: (6.) There are no just grounds for believing that Marcion had any pressing motives to induce him to adopt a garbled copy of Luke; and the motives assigned by the fathers are inconsistent and self-destructive.

did not coincide with his own previous opinions, must deprive it of all trustworthiness in any case which interfered with those opinions.²¹

Mr B. continues; "From Luke iii. 1, compared with verse 23, it appears that Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus, that is, at least two years after the death of Herod: a fact which completely falsifies the whole narrative contained in the preliminary chapters of Matthew and Luke." Thus precipitately, not to say profanely, does this writer rush to conclusions, on a topic which has exercised the laborious industry, not only of orthodox critics and commentators, but of writers as unbelieving as himself, yet more learned and more temperate. "It is wonderful," says the judicious and elegant Ernesti, "that more reverence is often paid to the books of men, than to the book of God. In the former, if difficulties and seeming discrepancies occur, correction or conciliation is sought for, as if the writers were incapable of error: but if such are

²¹ "The Gospel of Luke was probably the basis of Marcion's Evangelium. His variations from the Gospel of Luke were intended, as will appear upon examination, to make it more conformable to his own opinions, that the God of the Jews was not the Father of Christ; that the Jewish prophets did not foretell his advent; that Christ was not born of a woman, and so did not partake of flesh and blood, but was man in appearance only: yet Mr Belsham gravely asserts that there was nothing in his system, that we know of, which was inconsistent with the history of the miraculous conception!" *Layman's Vind.* p. 119.

"The question has been discussed in a masterly manner by Prof. Aug. Hahn, whose work must, I think, satisfy every impartial inquirer that the ancient opinion has been abandoned without ground. He there states and clears from misrepresentation the evidence of the Fathers on this head, gives a full and distinct view of the peculiarities of Marcion's theological system, exhibits the real character of his work, shows, by an elaborate comparison of Tertullian, Epiphanius, and other writers who have quoted or mentioned this Gospel, that it coincided exactly in contents and arrangement with St Luke's, except where *doctrinal motives naturally led to omission and alteration*; and, finally, he removes the objections which had induced modern critics to reject the old opinion." *Bishop Thirlwall's Intr. to Schleiermacher on Luke*, p. lii. Dr Hahn's work was published at Königsberg, in 1823; entitled, *The Gospel of Marcion in its Original Form*. After being Div. Prof. at Leipzig for many years, he is now at Breslau; and is honourably known by many other works.

The late Dr Hermann Olshausen has devoted 120 pages of his work *On the Genuineness of the Four Canonical Gospels* (Königsb. 1823), to an examination of this question, and he gives as the result that "the so-called Gospel of Marcion was nothing but Luke's Gospel mutilated and otherwise altered to suit his system." P. 214. In substantially the same opinion concur the Fathers generally; Simon and Mill; and of recent Bible-critics, Hug, Kleuker, Storr, Arneth, Schütz, De Wette, and Schott (lately deceased) in his *Isagoge Hist. Crit. in N. T.* Jena, 1830; a work deserving recommendation to students, for its perspicuity, comprehensiveness, impartiality, and moderate price.

discovered in the latter, the opportunity is seized for cavilling either at the writers or at their matter itself."²²

Every one, who has attended to the subject of ancient chronology, is aware that there is no point in relation to which so great difficulties occur, as the adjusting of the notes of time which are found in the Greek and Latin historical writers. They had no conception of that perfect accuracy of dates which the researches and the habits of modern times lead us to require: and had they perceived the necessity, they had scarcely the means, from the defect of established epochs, and from other impediments, of answering the purpose. Many difficulties from this cause occur which have appeared to the most patient critics absolutely insuperable, except by cutting the knot. It requires exquisite caution to construct a positive argument upon such grounds.

Lardner has treated this subject in his usual minute and circumstantial manner, and has shown that it may be maintained on just grounds; that, by "the fifteenth year of the government²³ of Tiberius Cæsar," Luke might intend the fifteenth from his being associated with Augustus as colleague in the empire;²⁴ and that the phraseology "Jesus was about thirty years old when beginning [his ministry]," may be properly applied to an age two or three years over, or under, the round sum mentioned.²⁵ Campbell proposes to understand ἀρχόμενος in the sense of ὑποτασσόμενος in chap. ii. 51, but, I apprehend, without any sufficient authority. "In this passage, however," says a learned and laborious modern critic, "the use of the adverb ὥστε clearly shows that nothing can be with certainty determined with respect

²² "Admirandum est plus reverentiæ tribui libris humanis quàm divinis. Nam in illis, de antiquis loquimur, cum aliquid ejusmodi incidit, correctio aut conciliatio quæritur, velut ἀναμάρτητοι fuerint; in his occasio arripitur carpendi vel scriptores vel doctrinam ipsam." *J. A. Ernesti Instit. Interp. N. T.* p. 13. Or, in *Dr Henderson's* edition of *Prof. Stuart's* Translation of *Ernesti's Elements of Bibl. Crit.* p. 45.

²³ Ἡγεμονία is a more general term than *reign*, and is applicable to any kind of rule or presidency.

²⁴ Filius, COLLEGA imperii, consors tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur. *Taciti Annal.* i. 3.

²⁵ *Credib.* Part I. Book II. ch. iii. If the reader should have listened to any insinuations, that Dr Lardner was not so deeply acquainted with this chronological difficulty as Dr Priestley and Mr Belsham were, and that they have brought to light arguments of which he was not aware, and objections to which he has provided no answer; I request his attention to the excellent work of Mr Bevens before quoted, the *Layman's Vindication*, pp. 169-184.

to the year of Christ's age, at the time of his baptism, and his entrance on his public ministry."²⁶

The Inquirer adds: "If the relation given of the miraculous conception were true, it is utterly unaccountable that these extraordinary events should have been wholly omitted by Mark and John, and that there should not be a single allusion to them in the New Testament, and particularly that in John's history, Jesus should be so frequently spoken of as the son of Joseph and Mary, without any comment, or the least hint that this statement was erroneous."²⁷

This objection carries a plausible front: but we ask an impartial attention to the following considerations.

The fact in question was of the most private and delicate nature possible, and, as to human attestation, it rested of necessity solely on the word of Mary herself, the person most deeply interested. Joseph's mind was satisfied with regard to her honour and veracity by a divine vision; which, in whatever way it was evinced to him to be no delusion, was still a private and personal affair. But this was not the kind of facts to which the first teachers of Christianity were in the habit of appealing. The miracles, on which they rested their claims, were such as had multiplied witnesses to attest them, and generally enemies not less than friends. Here then, we see a reason why Jesus and his disciples did not refer to this circumstance, so peculiar and necessarily private. At the same time, let it not be forgotten that our Lord, in repelling the assaults of his enemies, habitually insisted upon the spotlessness of his character; but, if there had been any ambiguity about his origin, it is more than probable that their malignant industry would have brought it forwards to his disparagement, as they did not hesitate to do in the case of a very poor man whom they thought they might insult with impunity.²⁸ Surely, also, reason and feeling dictate that there is a high propriety, a sort of natural congruity, in the idea, that He who was to be the Saviour of men from sin should receive his bodily frame in a manner absolutely free from the semblance of any predisposition to moral infirmity.

The account in Matthew had probably been transmitted

²⁶ "Hic verò ipse usus adverbii *ὅτε* luculenter docet, nihil certi definiri posse de ætatis Christi anno quo baptizari se siverit, quove doctoris publici partes agere cœperit."—*Kuinöl* (Prof. Theol. at Giessen in Hesse Darmstadt) *Comm. in Libros Histor. N. T.* Lips. 1817; vol. ii. p. 357.

²⁷ *Calm. Inq.* p. 13.

²⁸ John ix. 34.

through the family of Joseph and Mary, and that in Luke through the family or intimates of Zacharias and Elizabeth; a supposition which furnishes a reason why the two narratives contain so little matter in common. The same reason will account for the absence of reference to this miracle in the epistolary writings of the New Testament, if that absence be admitted to the fullest extent: for there is one passage which appears to carry an implication of the fact.²⁹ The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in explaining the symbolical representations by which it pleased the Holy Spirit, under the former dispensation, to prefigure the blessings of Christianity, seems to put the interior sanctuary, or "holy of holies," as the sign of the heavenly state; and the outer tabernacle as that of "the flesh," or human nature of the Messiah. As the Aaronical high-priest, on the great anniversary of expiation, was first to officiate in the tabernacle, offering the sacrifices and sprinkling the blood of symbolical pardon and purification, and then was to advance, through that tabernacle, into the most holy place, the representation of the divine presence; so Christ, our "Great High-Priest," and "Minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle,"—"entered into the sanctuary,—through the greater and more perfect tabernacle,—his own blood."³⁰ Now, of *this* tabernacle it is declared that "the Lord pitched it, and not man;" that it was "not made with hands, that is, not of this creation."³¹ The expression in Scripture, "not made with hands," denotes that which is effected by the immediate power of God, without the intervention of any inferior agency. It, therefore, in the case before us, intimates that the fleshly tabernacle of our Lord's humanity was formed, not in the ordinary way of nature, but by the immediate exercise of Omnipotence.

²⁹ Some conceive that it is also implied in the phrase, "*made of a woman*" (Gal. iv. 14), γενόμενος, not γεννώμενος, or γεννητός, *born*, as in LXX. of Job xiv. 1; xv. 14; xxv. 4, and twice in the N. T., Matt. xi. 11; Luke vii. 28. But this does not appear a ground sufficient to support the inference: for γίνομαι is sometimes used in this sense, both in the LXX. and in common writers; Gen. iv. 25; xxxv. 26. Τινὸς θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς παῖδας. *Josephi Ant. Jud.* XV. ii. 6. Σακράτης ἐν ταύτῃ [ἡμέρᾳ] ἐγένετο. *Æliani Var. Hist.* ii. 25. Γίνονται μὲθ' ὅπλων [they are born armed]; iii. 18. Γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ νόμφης. x. 18. Ἦν ἐξ Ἰλλυρίδος γυναικὸς τῷ Φιλίππῳ γενομένη. xiii. 36. But, in the last instance, some editions have γεννομένη. Bishop Squire, in his *Plutarch on Isis and Osiris*, shows that the interchange of the two words is frequent in manuscripts; pp. 79, 162. See also, in Griesbach, the various readings of Luke i. 35.

³⁰ Heb. iv. 14; viii. 2; ix. 11, 12. See Note F.

³¹ Heb. viii. 2; ix. 11.

In the passage from the *Calm Inquiry* under consideration, we meet with an observable specimen of the subserviency to hypothesis which marks the Inquirer's principles of interpretation. He never scruples to expatiate on the *fewness* of the texts which (according to him) can with any plausibility be alleged as favouring the doctrines of the pre-existence and deity of Christ; and yet, few as he would have us believe them to be, those passages occupy many pages of his own enumeration and rapid criticism. But, when another turn is to be served, it is roundly assumed that there is a remarkable *frequency* of instances in which Jesus is spoken of, "in John's history," as the son of Joseph and Mary. Was the Inquirer aware that his "*so frequently*," differed little from a *so seldom*? The instances of this frequency are only *two*! ³² The one is the language of a

³² John i. 46.—vi. 42. Paulus [died 1851, æt. 90], the patriarch of the Antisupernaturalists, and one of the most daring of them, remarks on the latter passage, that "it cannot be inferred from the silence of the Evangelist, that Jesus admitted himself to be really the son of Joseph; for, to the matter in question, Whether he had come down from heaven? it had no relation to determine in what sense he was called the son of Joseph: neither was it Jesus's object to prove his descent from heaven by the circumstance of his birth having been out of the ordinary course of nature; *but by THIS*, that before his birth, *he was a celestial being*, enjoying supreme happiness with God." (*Kuivöl*, vol. iii. p. 339.) Paulus, in his recent work on the Gospels, treats this subject at great length, not to say with a wearisome tediousness. He appears unwilling to admit, yet unable to deny, the miraculous conception of Jesus. He places in a convincing light the *irrefragable* character of the historical narrative, in both Matthew and Luke. He speaks in the most decided terms of the perfect purity and chastity of both Joseph and Mary, and of the strict veracity of their testimony. He, somewhat obscurely, seems to be labouring to insinuate an idea, which he appears unable to venture upon putting into plain words; namely, that *the physical effect was produced on Mary* by the power of a most exalted, transporting spiritualism, the sublimely enraptured feelings of holy devotion to God (signified by the term *holy spirit*), combined with her firm faith in the prophecies concerning the Messiah! He likewise presumes to assign a very important practical object, in the plan of providence, for permitting or effecting this extraordinary phenomenon; "that this commencement of the earthly life of our Christ must have had the greatest influence upon the manner in which from the very first he was treated as an infant, upon the development of his powers of mind, upon his training for the holy object for which he was destined, upon the direction which he would voluntarily give to his active energies (according to Lu. ii. 40), and upon the relation of all circumstances that affected him. To us all is Jesus the Teacher and Ruler sent by God to bring salvation to man [*der Heilbringende Lehrregent Gottes*], not through the undescribed [mystery] of his corporal origin, but by the operations of his powerful spirit of holiness. Rom. i. 3; Heb. ix. 14; Mark ii. 8; Lu. x. 21." *Exegetisches Handbuch über die drei ersten Evangelien*, vol. i. p. 113. Heidelberg, 1830–1842, 3 vols. This is the man who has brought forward so many wild imaginations (of the conjuncture of favourable circumstances, and the like) to explain away the miracles of the New Testament!—Do

stranger, just now convinced of the divine mission of Jesus; the other, that of virulent enemies; and both would of course speak according to the common opinion. A parallel instance occurs in Luke,³³ and two still stronger:³⁴ but they are reasonably interpreted as the style of common parlance, on the ground laid by the same Evangelist, of Jesus being, “as was *supposed*, the son of Joseph.”³⁵

The doctrine of the miraculous conception has no necessary influence on the determination of the great point in the controversy concerning the person of Christ. The preceding observations, therefore, are made principally with a view to show how much it concerns a sincere inquirer after truth to be jealous of the positive assertions and the style of criticism employed by the Calm Inquirer. The proof, however, of the authenticity of the disputed passages is of the more importance, as they include some texts, which we shall hereafter have occasion to consider.

In this part of the Gospel-history a passage occurs, which has been by many regarded as of importance in the great question before us. “All this took place, in order that the declaration might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet: Behold, the Virgin shall become pregnant, and shall bear a son; and they shall call his name EMMANUEL, which explained, is, *God with us*.”³⁶ This passage has been already considered as it stands in the prophecies of Isaiah.³⁷ The friendly censure of a respectable journal³⁸ has called upon me to reconsider the sentiments which I had expressed: I have carefully done so; and have examined the authors to whom the reviewer refers, mentioned below; but am obliged to acknowledge that I can discover no sufficient grounds for changing my opinion. It still appears to me that the passage can be proved to be a prophecy of the Messiah, in no other than a secondary sense; and that no argument can be drawn, from the words or context, capable of determining whether EMMANUEL was designed to be a *descriptive title*, and therefore declaratory of the union of the Divine Nature with the human, or a *commemorative name*, to express and celebrate the fact of the divine interpo-

not his suppositions involve more of the miraculous, than any of the facts which he is so anxious to get rid of?

³³ Chap. iv. 22.

³⁴ Chap. ii. 41–48.

³⁵ Chap. iii. 23.

³⁶ Matt. i. 23.

³⁷ Vol. I. pp. 237–248.

³⁸ *Congregational Magazine*, March 1819. *Spanhemii Dub. Evang. Par. I.* cap. xxxiv. *Vitringæ Obs. Sacr. Lib. V. cap. i.*

sition for the salvation of mankind. Of the latter class of names, there are many in Scripture, such as Joshua, which signifies *Jehovah the Saviour*; Elijah, *my God Jehovah*; Abijah, *my Father Jah*; Eliah, *my God Jah*; Eliatha, *thou my God*. On the position, that the fact of a Divine nature in the constitution of the person of the Messiah is already established by other evidence, we are undoubtedly at liberty to apply the word EMMANUEL to our Lord and Redeemer as a title directly descriptive of himself: but I confess myself unable to perceive that it can, by any process of fair criticism or conclusive reasoning, be made an independent argument.³⁹ In such cases, however, it is to be remembered that the secondary sense is the *principal* one in the original intention, the *great and ultimate* design of the Holy Spirit, "who spake by the prophets."⁴⁰

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. I.

Note A, page 404.

"This is that 'great mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh;' the King of glory after a manner divesting himself of his royal robes, and truly putting on the form of a servant, the Holy Ghost framing him a body in the virgin's womb: not that it was impossible to have made his human nature sinless in the ordinary way, though the schools [the scholastic divines of the middle ages] usually give that reason: but that, by that miraculous and peculiar manner of birth, he might be declared more than man; as being a way more congruous, both to the greatness of his person and the purity of his human nature." *Archbishop Leighton on the Creed, Art. 3.*

"Supposing that Almighty God, by his divine power, had so ordered the matter, and so perfectly sanctified an earthly father and mother from all original

³⁹ Note G.

⁴⁰ "—There are kinds of composition in which an apparent sense is presented, which every intelligent reader sees is only an envelope for another meaning; and it is *this other* meaning which is the author's actual design, his one and true intention. [*E. g.* proverbs, hyperboles, allegories, etc.] But there was a *peculiarity* in the inspired writings of the Hebrews, which *could* belong to no other writings; because it arose out of the religious and political constitution which the Author of truth had been pleased to confer upon them. That constitution was formed upon a principle of subserviency to the spiritual reign of which we have before spoken, the *progressive* kingdom of the Messiah. Hence, many descriptions occur in the prophetic parts of the Old Testament which are applicable to the persons who are their immediate subjects; only in a partial and very imperfect manner; but which find a complete and satisfactory correspondence to their *full* meaning in the Messiah, and the new dispensation of which he is the Head. It is one sense; it is one predicate or collection of predicates; but, by original design and construction, formed so as to be applied to two subjects; to the first, by anticipation and partially, and to the second in complete perfection; the former being the temporary representative and introduction to the latter." *Disc. on the Principles of Interpretation, as applied to the Prophecies, p. 52.*

spot, that the human nature might have been transmitted immaculate to him, as well as the Holy Ghost did purge that part of the flesh of the virgin of which the body of Christ was made; yet it was not convenient that that person, that was *God blessed for ever*, as well as man, partaking of our nature, should have a conception in the same manner as ours; but different, and in some measure conformable to the infinite dignity of his person; which could not have been, had not a supernatural power and a divine person been concerned as an active principle in it. Besides, such a birth had not been agreeable to the first promise, which calls him *the seed of the woman*, not of the man; and so the veracity of God had suffered some detriment; the *seed of the woman*, Gen. i. 15, only, is set in opposition to the *seed of the serpent*. By this manner of conception, the holiness of his nature is secured, and his fitness for his office is assured to us. It is now a pure and unpolluted humanity that is the temple and tabernacle of the Divinity.”—*Charnock, on the Power of God; Works.*, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 414.

An author whom Unitarians commonly, and very deservedly, profess to hold in high esteem, glances at an argument in favour of the *propriety* of “the miraculous conception of Christ,” which he considers as of great weight; namely, that the present order of nature for perpetuating the human species is “to be considered as one of the marks of our present fallen, degenerate state. The mortality of the present body, introduced by Adam’s sin, would of course require some such method of propagation as now subsists, though nothing of this kind had taken place before the Fall; and therefore it may be, that nothing did, or something greatly different from the present method.” *Hartley on Man*, 8vo. ed. vol. ii. p. 233.

Note B, page 404.

If the reader will try the disputed portions of Matthew and Luke, by Le Clerc’s diagnostic “Aphorisms” on the characters of genuine and spurious books, he will find the result to be most satisfactorily affirmative. I subjoin these Aphorisms (from the *Ars Critica*, P. III. sect. ii. cap. 2-6), somewhat abridged.

“1. If, in the oldest manuscripts, a book is attributed to a different author from the one whose name has been affixed by later editors; or if, in the oldest copies, it is anonymous; and if no other reason can be alleged in favour of the more modern and common attribution—in the first case the modern name is *supposititious*, in the latter it is an *interpolation*.

“2. If citations from any book occur in ancient writers, which are wanting in the present copies professed to be of the same work; the work, as now existing, is either a *different* work, or is *mutilated*. If the citations materially differ, there is ground to *suspect* the present copy. If the whole be found with no variations, or trivial ones, the book is *genuine*, unless other grounds of suspicion exist.

“3. Works not mentioned by any writer of the two or three centuries immediately following, are *spurious*, or at least *liable to suspicion*.

“4. Books which the more ancient writers rejected, or held to be doubtful, can scarcely ever be received on later authority.

“5. A work containing opinions contrary to what the alleged writer is known to have constantly defended, especially if they are opinions of any importance, is most probably *spurious*; or, at least, it is *interpolated*.

“6. A book gravely asserting impossibilities, fables, or absurdities, or containing marks of ignorance on the subject in hand, cannot be received as written by a serious, competent, and upright author.

“7. A book in which allusions exist to opinions, controversies, facts, or persons, certainly subsequent to the time of the alleged writer; or which has any manifest imitation of a later writer; is *spurious*, or at least *interpolated*.

“8. If the style be manifestly different from the known style of the age, or of the writer; or if there occur words of a lower age, it is wrongly attributed to him.

If it is found, by competent examination, to be the same as the style of another writer, it ought to be attributed to that writer, other considerations being equal.

“ — I trust,” subjoins M. le Clerc, “that these Aphorisms will be found to be so true and just, that a diligent observance of them will scarcely ever fail to conduct to a true result. But, clear as they are in themselves, it must be confessed that it will require something more than a mediocrity of learning to make a safe and correct use of them; and that no little time and practice will be needful, to acquire the art of applying them with promptitude and success. In this respect, however, they resemble all preceptive institutes: of which, though the propriety and obligation may be very speedily made intelligible, yet men not inured to their observance can only be brought by time and reflection to an intelligent and cordial submission to them. But here lies the difference; that, while all men are bound to be virtuous and observant of moral precepts, no man is obliged to be a critic. Whoever then does attempt the study of this difficult art, should well understand what a task he undertakes, and by what laws he must be governed: or else he will be a most infelicitous critic: and, instead of reaping that high honour which men of real erudition have obtained from this art, he will become contemptible and ridiculous.

“I think I hear my reader asking me, Whether I myself look for any portion of this honour?—This is really an invidious question; and whatever reply I give may be turned against me. I will only venture to say, that I do not PROFESS this arduous and hazardous study, though I highly honour those who profess it, and have long read their writings with great pleasure, from which perhaps some tinge of criticism may have adhered to me.”

Note C, page 404.

“It was a very favourite custom with the Jews to employ terms and phrases taken from the Old Testament; especially when some striking points of resemblance really existed between the circumstances of the passage and the new fact to which it was adapted. Hence in the Rabbinical writings the verbs מלא and בלא, and in the New Testament πληρωθῆναι, and τελεσθῆναι, occur in different acceptations. The oracles and declarations of the Prophets were thus said to be *fulfilled* and *accomplished*, not only when the very event occurred which was in the design of the prediction, but when any thing took place which was *like the prophetic descriptions*, which brought them to recollection, or which was in any way a confirmation or illustration of them.” Kuinöl, tom. i. p. 41.

“Many passages of the Old Testament are introduced [in the N. T.] merely on account of some remarkable similarity in the circumstances or in the expression; as citations in the same way are common in all writings, meaning, *that is true in this sense, which occurs elsewhere in another sense*. So Isa. liii. 4, 5, ‘He took away our diseases,’ which denotes the maladies of the soul, is applied in Matt. viii. 17, to bodily diseases. A similar example is, in John xviii. 9, deduced from the discourse of Christ in chap. xvii. 12.” Knapp’s (des verewigten) *Vorlesungen über die Christliche Glaubenslehre*; vol. ii. p. 136. Halle, 1827. This accomplished divine and excellent man, Dr George Christian Knapp, Senior Professor of the Theological Faculty in the United University of Halle and Wittenberg, died Oct. 14, 1825, æt. 72.

Note D, page 404.

The Calm Inquirer speaks in a strain of unwarrantable positiveness when he asserts, that “if the facts related in the account of our Lord’s nativity were true—*viz.* the appearances of Angels, the star in the East, the visit of the Magi, the massacre of Bethlehem, etc. they *must* have excited great public attention and expectation, and *could not have failed* to have been noticed by contemporary writers, who nevertheless observe a total silence on the subject.” P. 13.

The history of Jesus and his first followers presents many instances of "appearances of angels," as well as other facts out of the course of nature, which were not less remarkable than those recorded of Zacharias and Elizabeth, Mary, Joseph, and a company of probably not more than four or five pious shepherds, obscure and poor men. Yet will even the scepticism of this author deem them unworthy of credit, because they are recorded only by Matthew or Luke, and "contemporary historians have observed a total silence" upon them?

The star was, in all probability, a meteoric flame, visible at no great distance (otherwise it could not have "stood over" a particular house), and becoming extinct when its purpose was answered.

The visit of the Magi, probably Persians (see *Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers.* Ox. 1700, cap. 31), was certainly a most remarkable fact: but among the numerous bodies of foreign Jews who were frequently visiting Jerusalem, and especially in the perturbed state of the country towards the latter part of Herod's reign, such an occurrence might meet with less attention and be sooner forgotten than it deserved. A fact of much more astonishing magnitude and importance is related by Matthew in the most brief and unimpassioned manner; a fact which, so far as it was known, not only "could not have failed" to excite great attention, but must have produced impressions the most overpowering and alarming; yet a fact which no "contemporary writer has noticed," and which the Annotator on the Improved Version passes over without any mark of doubt or difficulty, and without explication. "The sepulchres were opened, and many bodies of holy persons who had slept were raised; and coming out of the sepulchres, after His resurrection, they entered into the holy city, and were made visible to many." Matt. xxvii. 53.

"Josephus makes no mention of the murder of the infants:—but he also consigns to silence many other facts, the truth of which is indubitable, and which could not be unknown to him.—Reasons may be assigned for this omission. Bethlehem was a small town, and of little consideration: the population, including the neighbourhood, scarcely reached a thousand; so that the number of male infants within the prescribed age could scarcely exceed ten or twelve.—And this was not the only act of extreme cruelty that Herod perpetrated.—Hence it is very properly observed by *Vossius* in his *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 159, that 'After so many instances of cruelty exercised by Herod in Jerusalem and throughout all Judea; after his having murdered so many of his own children, of his wives, his nearest relatives, and his friends, it would not appear a very great matter to order the execution of the children of one town or village and its adjacent country; a massacre which in a very small place could not be extensive, since not all the children, but the males alone, and of them such only as were under two years old, were cut off.'" *Kuinöl*, vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

It should also be considered that, excepting Josephus, there are no contemporary writers extant, nor do we even know that any ever existed, from whom a reference to these facts could be expected.

Note E, page 406.

"In the Gospel which is in use among them (bearing the name of Matthew, but which is not the whole in the fullest form, but on the contrary, is characterised by spurious additions and curtailments, and they call it *the Hebrew Gospel*), it is declared: 'There was a man whose name was Jesus, and he was about thirty years of age, who chose us. And he came into Capernaum, and entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter: and he opened his mouth and said, As I was coming by the lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon, and Andrew, and Thaddeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot: and thee, Matthew, I called, sitting at the receipt of custom, and thou followedst me. You therefore, I appoint to be twelve Apostles, for a

testimony unto Israel. And John was baptizing, and the Pharisees and all Jerusalem came out unto him, and were baptized. And John had his clothing of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his food was wild honey, of which the taste was that of manna, as a sweet cake in oil."

After the passage cited before as the commencement of the Ebionite Gospel, and "after much matter besides," Epiphanius says, "it proceeds thus:

"When the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And as he came up from the water, the heavens were opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God, in the form of a dove, descending and coming upon him. And a voice came from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased. And again, This day have I begotten thee. And immediately a great light shone around the place. John, beholding him, said to him, Who art thou, Lord? And again a voice came to him from heaven, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And then John, falling down before him, said, I beseech thee, Lord, baptize thou me. But he forbad him, saying, Let alone, for thus it is proper that all things should be fulfilled.'" *Epiphanius Op.* tom. i. pp. 137, 138.

Note F, page 412.

Many modern interpreters understand "the tabernacle" in these passages as signifying the heavenly state. Yet these writers make "the sanctuary" also to signify the same object; thus confounding two very distinct images. The propriety of the figures, the argument of the connexion, and the frequent use of *σκήνος* and *σκήνωμα* to denote the human body (2 Cor. v. 1-4; 2 Pet. i. 13, 14, and this use of at least *σκήνος* is common in Greek writers; see *Wetstein* on 2 Cor. v. 1, and *Schleusneri Lex.*) satisfy me of the justness of the interpretation of Calvin, Grotius, James Cappel, Dr Owen, etc. It is no objection that in Heb. x. 20, "the veil" is the symbol of the Messiah's human nature: for the veil, as one of the boundaries of the tabernacle, in a natural sense belonged to it; and the passage relates to our Lord's death, so that the *veil* is very fitly introduced, marking the transition out of life into another state. A further argument that our Lord's human body is here meant, arises from the antithesis to "the blood of goats and bullocks," and the position of "his own blood," which may be viewed as exegetical of the subject first mentioned; each of the three members having *διά*.

The text was partially quoted above, for the sake of presenting alone the clauses on which the argument rests. It is proper here to insert it at length. The reader will observe the apposition of "the tabernacle" and the "blood."

"But Christ, having presented himself, a High-Priest of the blessings to come, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands (that is, not of this creation), and not through the blood of goats and calves, but through his own blood, entered once [*i. e.* once for ever, never to be repeated] into the sanctuary, having acquired eternal redemption."

Grotius's note is judicious and satisfactory. "The design of the writer is to declare that Christ entered the highest heavens through his sufferings and death. To keep up the comparison with the high-priest under the law, his object is to declare that Christ entered through his body and blood; for the body is very properly put by metonymy for bodily sufferings; and it is common in all languages to use the term blood to denote death, as death follows upon any very copious effusion of blood. Yet he does not express the body by its proper word, but uses a symbolical description suitable for carrying on the comparison, as I have observed above. The Hebrews were accustomed to call the body a tabernacle: and from them the disciples of Pythagoras deduced the expression, as I have said on the Wisdom of Sol. ix. 15, and 2 Cor. v. 1-4. In particular the body of Christ is called a temple, on account of the indwelling divine energy: John ii. 21. Here this body is said to be 'not made with hands,' and the writer explains his meaning by adding, 'that is, not of this creation,' understanding by creation the usual

order of nature; as the Jews apply the Talmudical term *Beriah* [creation, any thing created]: for the body of Christ was conceived in a supernatural manner. In this sense he properly employs the term *not made with hands*, because in the Hebrew idiom any thing is said to be made with hands which is brought to pass in the ordinary course of nature. See ver. 24, and Mark xiv. 58; Acts vii. 48; xvii. 24; Eph. ii. 11. The Prophets frequently give to idols the appellation *made with hands*, as the opposite to any thing divine." *Grotii Annot.* in Heb. ix. 11.

Note G, page 415.

"Matt. i. 22, 23. The following are evidently the words, not of the angel, but of the evangelist, referring his Jewish readers to the O. T. in order to show them, that this new thing [Jer. xxxi. 22], at the outset of the glad tidings, was already prepared for in their sacred ground of faith. Yet he does not take up any single or detached circumstance, for, in relation to such, discrepancies would present themselves (*e. g.* the child which Mary bore was called Jesus, not Immanuel), but the *entire whole* of the transaction; and this answered to the prophecy. *The Lord* himself is here presented as the *efficient cause* (*ὑπὸ*, as in ver. 20, *ἐκ*, denoting the source or first spring of an action); and the prophet merely the mediate organ of the action: for *διὰ*, in contradistinction from *ὑπὸ*, signifies the instrument *by means* of which any thing is effected.—With respect to the meaning of the phrase *ἵνα* or *ὥπως πληρωθῇ* (*that it might be fulfilled*), which is used with a characteristic frequency by Matthew, it is, in the first place, very evident that the N. T. writers themselves understood it in the obvious and literal sense: and in the same plain comprehension of meaning, *πληροῦσθαι* (*to be fulfilled*) to convey the idea that something, which had at a past time been promised or engaged for as to take place *in future*, is now *brought into a present existence*; so that *πληροῦσθαι* always presupposes a promise of prediction as having gone before. The conjunction *ἵνα* cannot be translated ecabatically, *so that*, as if it merely designated the sequent event; but it must be taken telically, as expressing the design, *in order that*. In the whole phrase the *designed* character of the effect is clearly prominent; to which idea the verb itself necessarily leads. Therefore the ellipsis to *τοῦτο γέγονεν* (*this was done*) may be supplied by *ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου* (*by the Lord*); since that which took place cannot be regarded as a matter of accident. The form of expression is, by some interpreters, allowed to have its simple, proper, grammatical meaning, only where, in their judgment, prophecies strictly so called are adduced from the O. T.; but where this does not appear to them to be the case, they attach a wider meaning to the phrase, thus; the occurrence was such, that such or such words of the O. T. might very suitably be applied to it. In support of this method of explaining, it is urged that *ἵνα* is used ecabatically in the N. T. I admit that this is the case in some passages, as John vii. 23, and ix. 2, though Fritzsche, in his *Commentary on Matthew*, p. 49, and in his *Excursus I.*, denies this. Yet, see what he says upon Matt. xiii. 13. But, because *ἵνα* may be so used, it does not follow that it *must* be so in any passage. This peculiar phrase, which is of constant occurrence in the N. T., can have only one and the same meaning in all the places in which it is used. An appeal to the universal custom of applying passages of the O. T. to objects altogether alien from their proper reference as shown in their connexion, cannot be allowed to be available; for we cannot think that the sacred writers would have accommodated to themselves a practice both absurd and pernicious, and which was really a *perverting of the word of God*. Such it really would have been; and had those sacred writers followed that practice, they must also have received the principle on which it rested, namely, that the Scripture has unlimited meanings, and that it may therefore be applied to all possible relations and circumstances. The rabbinical authors made their applications of Scripture, even the most preposterous, upon this principle; and in pursuance of their view of the all-sided relation of the holy writings, they believed every one of the applications

which they made to be an actual fulfilment of the written word. In my opinion, it is only a doctrinal prejudice that has given occasion to the style of explanation which deviates from the plain grammatical meaning of the phrase, "that it might be fulfilled." It was conscientiously believed that, in the N. T. passages out of the O. T. are cited as prophecies, which in their original connexion are not prophecies at all: therefore, to prevent its appearing as if the N. T. writers had cited out of the O. T. passages as prophecies which really contain no prophecy, recourse was had to the way of explanation which I have mentioned. Only then let the difficulty be taken out of the way, and there will be no occasion for departing from the proximate sense of the words. Now the difficulty is taken away by admitting, in the O. T. prophecies, a *twofold* reference; in the inferior, to an object immediately present; in a superior, to a future object. With this admission we can always maintain the one reference; the proximate, simple, grammatical, literal sense; and, at the same time, comprehending the other, ascribe to the citations in the N. T. their full meaning as prophecies. *It is a part of the peculiar INTENTION and CONSTITUTION of the Scriptures, that the life and being of the O. T. is a mirror of the N. T. life; and that all the lines of the religious ideas and institutions of the O. T. unite expressly in the person of Christ, as the chief object presented in the N. T.*

"This universal character of the O. T. is expressed in the passage (Isa. vii. 14) here cited. The proximate, grammatical and literal sense necessarily requires a reference to an object actually present, as the virgin who was to bear the Immanuel, was presented by the prophet to king Ahaz as a sign. A reference to the Messiah, to be born of a virgin some centuries after, appears totally inapplicable to the occasion. Under the word *virgin* (παρθένος, עַלְמָה an unmarried female, in itself indeed different from בְּתוּלָה which necessarily signifies pure virginity; but עַלְמָה *may*, here it *must*, be understood of a virgin in the strict and proper sense): under this word, the mind most naturally recurs to the *betrothed spouse* of the prophet, designated in Isa. viii. 3, by the feminine termination to the word signifying Isaiah's own office, meaning therefore the wife of the prophet. Thus the passage obtains the plain and natural sense, that Isaiah presented as a sign to Ahaz, this series of facts, that his now only betrothed spouse, but who was soon to be his wife, would have a son of the name Immanuel; and that, before this child should come to the usual early development of faculties (that is, in two or three years), the promises now made would be fulfilled. So king Ahaz had given to him a sign which was *immediate* and *intelligible*; while yet the birth of the Immanuel had its *superior* reference to the Messiah, in whom it acquired its fulfilment in a far higher and deeper sense, he being born of a virgin as a *sign* to the unbelieving world, represented in Ahaz. This explication well suits the whole plan of the symbolical names which Isaiah gave to his sons. A complete series of *sentiments* and *facts*, of especial importance to him in the then existing circumstances, was represented by the names of his children; Shear-jashub, Maher-shalal-hashbaz, and Immanuel. Thus, connecting the names of his children, he formed the circle of ideas in which his spirit so actively moved.¹ Such a method of conveying instruction is perfectly in unison with the plan of *speaking by actions* which was one of the peculiar characters of the prophetic office: and thus also the evangelist Matthew had the ground of perfect right to apply the occurrence, the birth of an Immanuel, to the birth of Christ." *Olshausen's Commentar. üb. d. N. T.* vol. i. pp. 51–54. Königsberg, 1830.

¹ Meaning, I presume, that the three names would form a sentence, as a prediction of the deliverance of Ahaz and his people from their great national dangers; q. d. Fear not, thy country shall not be long oppressed; the prisoners shall be released, *a remnant shall return*: because *God is with us*;—and thou shalt retaliate and be indemnified, therefore, *hasten to the spoil, quick to the prey*. Dr O. must also have supposed that Shear-jashub was the son of Isaiah by a former wife, or his scheme falls at once to the ground.

On the Pedigree of Jesus, I am happy in recommending a work of extensive research and great interest, *Reflections on the Genealogy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*; by Daniel Benham, Esq. London, 1836.

CHAP. II.

ON THE EVIDENCE RELATIVE TO THE PERSON OF THE CHRIST, WHICH MAY BE DERIVED FROM THE OFFICE AND THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

A forerunner peculiar to the dignity of the Messiah.—Terms in which the office of John was described.—His testimony.—His resemblance to Elijah.

Luke i. 15–17. “For he shall be great in the presence of the Lord; and many of the children of Israel shall he turn unto the Lord their God: and he shall go before his presence in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of fathers to children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous, and to make ready for the Lord a prepared people.”—Ver. 43. “And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?”—Ver. 76. “And, thou, child, shalt be called, Prophet of the Most High; for thou shalt go before the presence of the Lord, to prepare his ways.”

Matt. iii. 3. “This is he who was spoken of by Isaiah the Prophet, saying, A voice of one, proclaiming in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord! Make ye straight his paths!”—Vers. 11, 12. “I indeed baptize you with water, unto repentance: but He who is coming after me is more mighty than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his corn-floor; and he will gather his wheat into the granary, but the straw he will burn with unquenchable fire.”

John i. 29–30–34. “Behold the Lamb of God, who beareth away the sin of the world! This is he concerning whom I said, After me cometh a man who has become before me; for he was prior to me.¹—And I have seen, and have testified that this is the Son of God.”

AMONG the peculiarities which distinguish the most perfect dispensation of revealed religion, was the fact that its Author and Finisher was introduced to his work of mercy to man, by a special harbinger. No such preparation had divine wisdom judged necessary to any preceding disclosure of truth or authority. This honour was reserved till God should “bring the First-Begotten into the world.”

This is a circumstance eminently fitted to awaken expectation. It marks importance in the event, and dignity in the Person for whose approach such preparation is made. This impression is strengthened when we observe, that this arrangement was a particular topic of prophecy; and that, not the Sovereign only, but his servant and herald likewise, was expressly predicted.

When a sincere inquirer has duly reflected upon this, let him take up the terms of the declaration; let him examine the form of the proclamation; but let him leave out of his mind the designation of *the person announced*. “He shall go before his presence. Thou shalt be called, Prophet of ——. Thou shalt go

¹ Note A.

before the presence of —. A voice of one proclaiming, Prepare ye the way of —!" Let it be imagined that these were lacunæ in every existing copy; and that, in the remediless absence of all critical authority, we were reduced to fill them up by conjecture. Would it not, in such case, be deemed one of the most safe and certain of conjectural readings, to supply "THE MESSIAH," or some equivalent term? Would not all men consent in this supplement? Would not the most scrupulous acquiesce in it, as indisputably justified, and even required, by the sense and the connexion?

But there is no chasm. We have the words complete, and no one disputes their authenticity. The Sovereign thus announced and introduced, is THE LORD GOD of Israel, THE MOST HIGH, THE LORD JEHOVAH of the Prophets. Can honesty of interpretation require any more?² Is not the obedience of faith, which is the characteristic of every real Christian, satisfied, that the Christ, whom John proclaimed in the wilderness, is GOD JEHOVAH, THE MOST HIGH? The language of Elizabeth implies that she had so understood the prophecy of her husband; and that the same spirit of faith was given to her, by which she saw in the child to be born of Mary, him whom she owned as her Lord. Indeed, it is expressly recorded that, on this occasion, "Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit."

The faithful herald proclaimed the dignity of his Lord and Master, not only by declaring that he was greater and mightier than himself, but by giving instances of the exertion of his power. John had baptized by the symbolical use of water: the Messiah was actually to confer the blessing thus signified, that divine influence which would produce and nourish all piety and religion; "HE will baptize you with the Holy Spirit." According to the lowest hypothesis which at all admits of divine influences upon the human mind, for the purposes of restoration to holiness and happiness, the power to confer those influences can belong to no merely human being. However, the generality of Unitarians, denying any such influences, understand the phrase as denoting only the communicating of divine knowledge, by outward instruction; and to them this argument may be of little weight. But it will not be equally easy to elude the other parts of the declaration, which attribute to Christ the inward scrutiny and unerring decision of human character, the purga-

² Note B.

tion of the church, the protection of the upright, and the infliction of judgments upon the impenitent. The *baptism with fire*, and other parts of the description, correspond with one of the usual scripture metaphors for expressing the infliction of divine judgments for the sins of men.³ Both the right and the power to inflict such punishments, are, according to the uniform testimony of the sacred word, among the exclusive prerogatives of the Supreme Being.⁴

The resemblance between John and Elijah was to be so great, that he was described as coming "in the spirit and power" of that great Israelitish prophet, and was predicted as even another Elijah. The stern integrity, the independent and occasionally recluse mode of life, the simple and austere manners, and the bold reproofing of royal criminals, which distinguished Elijah, were also conspicuous in John. But the capital circumstance in Elijah's character was his testimony against polytheism, and his recalling his countrymen to the acknowledgment and worship of the One and Only God. What shall we find corresponding with this, in the character and ministry of John? His great, and strictly speaking his single, object was to bear testimony that Jesus was the Messiah, and invite his countrymen to receive him: and this office is explicitly described thus; "Many of the children of Israel shall he turn unto the Lord their God." Now, if that Messiah were God, the correspondence is made complete *in the chief particular*: but if not, it fails where we should *most* expect it to hold. As a collateral and indirect evidence, this appears to me to have great weight.

It may be asked whether John himself understood that such was the nature of his office, and the amount of his testimony. I answer, that there does not appear to be any reason for supposing him to have been, in that respect, in different circumstances from those of preceding prophets. Though "the Spirit of Christ was in them, testifying before" concerning him, it is evident that they did not, and that by the nature of the case they could not, entertain other than indistinct apprehensions of the subjects on which they delivered the oracles of God. It was essential to the scheme of prophecy, that it should not be "of *self-solution*;"⁵ that is, that it could not be explained from itself, by any scrutiny of its own terms, till light should be cast upon it by the event. The testimony of John, clear as it is

³ See especially Exod. xv. 7; Job xxi. 18; Ps. i. 4; Isa. v. 24; lxvi. 16, 24.

⁴ Note C.

⁵ 2 Pet. i. 20.

rendered to us by the subsequent developments of the gospel, might to himself be clouded with much obscurity; for he, like the other prophets, uttered not the dictates of his own judgment, genius, or conjecture; but spake what he had in charge from God to deliver. Neither can the subsequent hesitation of John⁶ be admitted as any bar to our interpretation of the testimony which he was inspired to bear. We have no reason to think that he was raised above the current opinion of his countrymen, that the reign of the Messiah would be established with temporal authority and power, exercised for the vindication of the injured and the deliverance of the oppressed; and that his righteous dominion would greatly consist in such deeds of honour. That John should have been so long the victim of unprincipled cruelty; and apparently neglected, and even abandoned, by the very person to whom he had borne witness, and his fidelity to whom had been the occasion of his present sufferings; were circumstances to put the strongest faith to the severest trial. Those must know little of human nature who think it impossible for doubts to arise under such pressing difficulties. But his message to Jesus may be justly regarded as the utterance of complaint and remonstrance, rather than of serious doubt: "If thou art indeed the Hope and Deliverer of Israel, why dost thou permit thine enemies to triumph? Why dost thou forsake thy faithful messenger, and leave him to pine in chains and misery?"⁷

But, in this very message of embarrassment and despondency, we find an important circumstance of reference to prophecy; "Art thou He that should come,"—ὁ ἐρχόμενος, *the coming one*? Now this was a part of the descriptions of the Messiah occurring in the Old Testament: the Shiloh that should come,—God, who would come and save,—the Adonai Jehovah, who would come to feed his flock,—the Lord, who would suddenly come to his temple, the Angel of the covenant.⁸—The Messiah, in the estimation of John, was distinctively *the coming one*; but the prophetic passages which speak of the great expected advent, connect it with plain attributions of the names of Deity to that Coming One.

⁶ See Matt. xi. 3.

⁷ "Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; *i. e.* Tu ita agis quasi non sis Messias, quasi alius expectandus sit!"—*Borger de Constanti Jesu Christi Indole*, p. 137. Leyden, 1816.

⁸ "Facta nimirum cum veteribus de Christo oraculis apertissime congruentia. —Ille de quo verbum illud *veniendi* usurpavit Jacobus, Gen. xlix. 10, et Esaias, xxxv. 4." *Grotius* in loc.—Isa. xl. 10. Mal. iii. 1.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAP. II.

Note A, page 422.

Great difficulty hangs upon the translation and interpretation of this sentence, repeated from verse 15 and 27. The common version and some other high authorities, among whom are Chrysostom and Theophylact (among the ancients, and probably, the generality of modern interpreters), give an easy sense: "he is before me in dignity, for he was before me in time." But I apprehend that it cannot be sustained with sufficient evidence, because *ἔμπροσθεν* never, in the LXX., the Apocrypha or the New Testament, or in classical usage, is applied to *rank*, but only to *local situation* and to *time*. Newcome renders *ὅς ἔμπροσθέν μου γίγονεν*, "who goeth before me:" but this construction cannot be put upon the words. The *Calm Inquirer* adopts "has got before me, for he was my principal:" and he approves the interpretation of the late Rev. Newcome Cappe, of York, "He who set out after me, whose harbinger I was, *ἔμπροσθέν μου γίγονεν*, has overtaken and passed me in the career. The idea is taken from the relation of the harbinger to the prince whom he precedes."—*Calm Inq.* p. 39. The precise meaning of *γίγονα* is, *I have become*, *i. e.* I have come into a state in which I was not before; which certainly may be well rendered by the colloquial phrase, *I have got into* the state or relation in question. A single instance occurs in the LXX. 2 Chron. xiii. 13. "Jeroboam turned the ambushcade to come upon him from behind, and he got before Judah (*ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθεν Ἰούδα*)." On the other hand, the phrase usually refers to time. It is the ordinary expression when the kings of Judah and Israel are characterized as better or worse than those who had "been before them (*οἱ γενόμενοι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ*)," 3 Kings xvi. 25, etc. See also Ecclesiastes i. 10, 16; ii. 7; iv. 16. But the phrase more exactly occurs in 3 Kings iii. 12. "No one like thee has been before thee (*ὡς σὺ οὐ γίγονεν ἔμπροσθέν σου*)," and in ver. 13, "A man like thee has not been (*οὐ γίγονεν ἀνὴρ ὅμοιος σοι*)." Thus it would appear, that the general current of example and analogy obliges us to understand the phrase, in the passage under consideration, as referring to *time past*.

Undoubtedly *πρῶτος* is of common occurrence in the sense of *chief* or *principal*; but that is always when eminence in a class or specified denomination is intended. So it is twice used in the LXX. to signify the *chief priest* (2 Kings xxv. 18; 2 Chron. xxvi. 20), and so we have, the *chief of the captains* (1 Chron. xi. 11), the *king's principal friend* (ib. xxvii. 33), the *chief commandment* (Matt. xxii. 38), the *best robe* (Luke xv. 22), the *chief city* of a district (Acts xvi. 12), the *chief person* of the island (ib. xxviii. 7), and a *chief of sinners* (1 Tim. i. 15, 16).—But our instance is not on a par with any of these: and indeed examples of the same construction are extremely rare in Greek writers. There are, so far as I can discover, none in the LXX. or the Apocrypha; and the only one in the New Testament is in this same book, John xv. 18, "If the world hate you, know that it hath hated me *before you* (*ἔμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν*)."
Another instance occurs in Athenæus (*ed. Schweighæuser*, vol. v. p. 284), ΠΡΩΤΗ δὲ εὔρηται ἡ περὶ τοὺς πόδας κίνησις τῆς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν. "The movement with the feet was invented *before that* with the hands." Another is in Chariton (*ed. d'Orville*, Amst. 1750, p. 85), Δεῖ δὲ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤὸΝ ΔΟΓΩΝ ἅπαντας παρίεναι τοὺς ἀναγκάσιους ἐν τῇ δίκῃ. "It is requisite that, *before the pleadings*, all the relations should be present at the trial." The learned editor, in his note on this passage, refers to John i. 15, as an instance of the same construction: and he cites a passage from the Fragments of Manetho (lib. i. 330, collected by James Gronovius, Leyden, 1698), in which occurs *γεννήτορα πρῶτον μητέρος*, "the father before the mother."—Hoogveen refers John i. 15, and xv. 18, to the use of the superlative for a comparative, in which case it also governs a genitive. (Not. in *Viger. de Idiotism.* Cap. III. Sect. ii. Reg. 11.) Bos and Schwebelius maintain that in these constructions there is an ellipsis of the preposition *πρὸ* to govern the genitive: "*Πρῶτός μου pro πρῶτος vel πρότερος πρὸ μου.* (*Ellipses Græcæ, sub præp. πρὸ.*)"

Another objection to this interpretation of *πρῶτος* lies in the tense of the verb, which, upon this hypothesis, could not have been ἦν, but must have been in the present, "he is my principal."

The very learned and judicious Morus, however, does not shrink from this embarrassment; for he renders the two clauses, "me anteit, quia erat reverâ præstantior me:" and the Genevese version of 1805 boldly attaches to each of the expressions the idea of dignity: "un homme qui m'a été préféré, parce qu'il était plus excellent que moi." Klee (*Comment. üb. d. Joh. Mentz*, 1829) strongly maintains the idea of *dignity*, and parallels it with chap. viii. 58. But philological evidence will hardly allow us to turn the words from the idea of time. Kuinöl takes ἦν in the sense of *certainly, truly, assuredly*, as it is occasionally used by the LXX. to render the Hebrew particles הִנֵּה and הִנְּךָ. "Simplicior," he says, "omnino, et orationis seriei convenientior, hæc est: *Qui post me munus suum auspicaturus est, ante me fuit certè, prior me fuit: repetitur aliis verbis eadem sententia quæ præcessit, quo fortius inculcetur.*" "By far the more simple interpretation, and the more agreeable to the connexion, is this, *He who shall enter on his office after me, existed before me; assuredly he was before me.* The sentiment is repeated in other words, to produce a stronger impression." (*Comment. in Libros Hist. N. T.* vol. iii. p. 120.) Wetstein's opinion is not dissimilar. He considers the final clause as a clearer and explanatory declaration of the preceding. Le Clerc, Rosenmüller sen., Tittmann, Bretschneider, Lücke, Tholuck, and Olshausen support the interpretation. Meyer (*N. T. Kommentar*, Götting, 1832) refers γέγονεν to "the coming forth of the Word from God, before all time" [vorzeitliche];—the eternal generation.

A difficulty, however, of another kind exists in this interpretation. The assertion of priority of *time* cannot be understood as if Jesus were older than John; for he was younger, and had it been otherwise, the thing was altogether trivial. It must then be referred, as is observed by Tittmann, Kuinöl, and other critics just mentioned, to the *pre-existence* of the Messiah. But the text is expressly, "After me cometh A MAN." We are then in a dilemma. Either we must understand the predicate in a sense contrary to the rules of language: or we must suppose that the Christ is called *a man* (though the reference is to his superior and pre-existent nature), by a natural and easy *catachresis*, a figure extremely frequent in the flow of speech; so that the sentiments may thus be expressed; 'A man is following me, as if he were my disciple and inferior; but notwithstanding his circumstances of humiliation, he really existed before his human birth.' Or the expression may be referred to another kind of tropical diction, the *enallage*; and this would undoubtedly have been Dr Owen's method of solution, according to the principle which he thus lays down; "Sometimes" the person of Christ "being denominated from one nature, the properties and acts of the other are assigned to it. So, 'They crucified the Lord of glory.' He is the Lord of glory, on account of his divine nature only; and thence is his person *denominated*, when he is said to be crucified, which was in the human nature only. So, on the other side, 'The Son of man who is in heaven.' The *denomination* of the person is from the human nature only; 'the Son of man:' that [property] ascribed to it was with respect unto the divine nature only: 'who is in heaven.'" *On the Person of Christ*, chap. xviii.

Thus, on both sides difficulties press; and for this reason no conclusion is drawn from this part of John's testimony, in the observations above submitted to the reader's judgment. One of the most impartial of our contemporary German critics writes; "According to John iii. 13, Christ is in heaven, even during his life on earth, as he works in and with God" [*i. e.* a personal union. J. P. S.]; Dr L. A. G. Krehl, Prof. Div. Leipz. *N. T. Handw. B.* p. 349. Leipzig, 1843.

Note B, page 423.

Luke i. 17. Αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. It is difficult to believe that any

principle but a dishonest subserviency to hypothesis, could have dictated the following translations of this most plain and unambiguous clause; “He will lead the way in the sight of God.” Wakefield, with whom Archbishop Newcome agrees.” *Calm. Inq.* p. 218. “He shall go before [Christ] in the sight [of the Lord God].”—*Impr. Vers.*—Upon men who can thus set at defiance all critical integrity, reasoning and remonstrating would be thrown away.

To evade the argument from this passage, the writer adopts two measures.

1. He flies to his assumption of “the doubtful authenticity of this story.” To refute this opinion, we have adduced evidence in the preceding chapter.

2. He adds, “Though strictness of construction warrants the application of the pronoun *him* to the antecedent *God*, yet as the phrase ‘Lord our God,’ is never applied to Christ in the New Testament, no Jew would ever think of such an application of the words. John was the forerunner of the Lord their God by being the forerunner of Jesus, the great messenger of God to mankind.” Pp. 217, 218. To these gratuitous assertions we reply:

(1.) That strictness and even fairness of construction not only “warrants,” as he is forced to allow, but *necessitates*, the reference of the pronoun to the antecedent, God.

(2.) That the assumption which follows, is a gross begging of the question. The sequel of this inquiry will perhaps enable us to determine whether, if not verbally the same, yet equivalent phrases are not applied to Christ in the New Testament. For the moment, however, let the reader compare two clauses in the solemn and beautiful passage which concludes the book of Revelation, chap. xxii. 6-20. “The Lord, the God of the spirits of the Prophets, hath sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must come to pass shortly.” “I, Jesus, have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things.” Vers. 6, 16.

(3.) That no Jew, if he knew how to construe grammatically the words before him, could avoid perceiving, that such an application of them was the intention of the writer, whether it might comport or not with his own previous opinions. But we have before found sufficient evidence, that the application of these and other designations of Deity, to the Messiah, was not unknown or unauthorized among the Jews contemporary with the Apostles.

(4.) That the Inquirer’s closing sentence, meant as an interpretation, is a gratuitous assertion, destitute of proof, and contrary to the fair and legitimate use of language.

Note C, page 424.

“He will commence his religion with a more powerful baptism than I. I have only water, but he hath a twofold baptism.—He will baptize with the Holy Spirit; *i. e.* he will pour out, in the richest abundance, the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit, namely, prophecy and miracles (which took place on the remarkable pentecost); and those who reject him he will plunge into a sea of fire. The temple, Jerusalem, and almost the whole land of Judea, became literally the prey of the flames: though the term *fire*, in this place, may equally comprehend all the righteous punishments which the Messiah should inflict.” *Michaelis Anmerk. z. Matt.* iii. 11.

“If we compare the expressions in vers. 10 and 12, we can scarcely have a doubt that the *baptism with fire* signifies the awful punishments which the Messiah will inflict upon the wicked. John shows why he describes the Messiah as much greater than himself. He (says the Baptist) who will enter upon his office after me, will not only bestow excellent gifts on men, but as their Lord, will chastise the disobedient; while I, his unworthy subject and servant, can only bind men to reformation by the solemn rite of baptism, and thus prepare the way for him as the Messiah.—Ver. 12. The sense is, He accurately discriminates the good and the wicked, for he sees through the inmost recesses of the mind.” *Rosenmüller in Matt.* iii. 11, 12.

CHAP. III.

DECLARATIONS, INTIMATIONS, AND ADMISSIONS OF JESUS CHRIST CONCERNING HIMSELF.

IT entered into the scheme of divine wisdom that, while the Messiah was actually sojourning among men, and was pursuing the preliminary objects of his mission, the truth concerning his person and offices, and other characteristics of his dispensations, should be gradually and slowly unfolded. He himself lay in deep obscurity, during all but a very short period of his life. After he had begun his public labours, it was long before he unreservedly and openly declared himself to be the Messiah. Till towards the end of his course, he rarely made this avowal but in private, and to those who were his friends and tried adherents; and, on several occasions, he prohibited them from publishing the fact to the world. Such a plan of studied reserve and slow development would not have been chosen or approved by human wisdom: but, whether we can penetrate the reasons for it or not, the fact is indisputable, that such was the course adopted by the Founder of our faith. He seems to have deemed this the proper course to be taken;—to awaken the attention of men, to stimulate their expectations, to present them with circumstances, hints, and implications, and thus to furnish a growing body of *data*, from which they for themselves might, in due time, draw the most important conclusions with increasing light and certainty.

Besides this, it is to be observed, that the Lord Jesus professedly withheld the full manifestation of his doctrines, till the period subsequent to his death and resurrection; when the instruments of communication would be his selected messengers now qualified by inspiration. The Evangelists repeatedly observe, that our Lord's most intimate disciples "understood" not those things, and the word was hidden from them, and "they knew not the things spoken," by him.¹ But he assured them that, though they were not then competent to receive many important things *concerning HIMSELF*, they should subse-

¹ See Luke ix. 45; xviii. 34. John xii. 16, etc.

quently become so, and should be led by an unerring Guide into a perfect knowledge of those truths.²

If we duly consider these features of the early Christian economy, we shall not expect to find a full declaration of the doctrine respecting our Lord's person, in the narratives of the Evangelists, or in his own discourses; but we shall rather look for *intimations*, for *principles implied* in facts and assertions, and for *conclusions* from such facts and assertions deduced by minute attention and close examination on our own part. Such attention and examination are a part of that "obedience of faith," which is the indispensable duty of every man who has, or can obtain, a knowledge of the inspired volume.

CAPITULE I.—DECLARATIONS MADE OR ACQUIESCED IN, BY
JESUS CHRIST, ELUCIDATING THE IMPORT OF THE APPEL-
LATION, "SON OF GOD."

ALL mankind, and, on the same principle, all other intelligent creatures, are justly called *children* or *sons of God*, as they are the offspring of his power and beneficence.³ In a more restricted and of course a higher sense, the Scriptures give this title to persons who are dignified with any special kind of resemblance, or any constituted relation to God. Thus kings and other magistrates, who bear some shadow of supremacy and government,⁴ the worshippers of the true God, in distinction from debased idolaters,⁵ and especially the faithful and obedient servants of the Most High, who are "conformed to the image" of his moral excellency, are, on these respective accounts, in numerous passages, styled *sons of God*.

The MESSIAH is called THE SON OF GOD, once at least in

² See John xvi. 12-15.

³ "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?" Mal. ii. 10. "We are the offspring of God." Acts xvii. 29. "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Job xxxviii. 7, and i. 6.

⁴ Psalm lxxxii. 6. "I said, gods are ye! And sons of the Most High, all of you!" The Psalmist appears to use the language of an ironical concession, in order to give the greater force to the humiliating contrast which instantly follows.—So the heathen called their heroes *διογενείς*, *διοτρεφεῖς* and *δὲς γενεῖς*. In the earlier ages, it was believed that those persons were the physical offspring of the gods; and afterwards the style was kept up by the ignorance of the people and the audacity of political flatterers.

⁵ Gen. vi. 4. Deut. xxxii. 19. Psal. ii. 7. The application of Dan. iii. 25, is disputable.

the Old Testament: in the New, as all know, the epithet is of frequent occurrence. It is evident, however, that the application of this name to Christ will prove no superiority of nature, nor any dignity but such as we have just mentioned; unless it should be accompanied with other circumstances of description, pointing out a different *ground* of application. This ground and reason, therefore, requires our principal attention.

SECTION I.—SON OF THE MOST HIGH.

“He shall be great, and he shall be called THE SON OF THE MOST HIGH; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.”—Luke i. 32.

THIS is the first instance of the occurrence of this term in the history of Jesus Christ; and a reason of the appellation is assigned, plainly referring it to his *dignity as a Sovereign*. If he had literally occupied the throne of Israel, if his reign had been of this world, we should have been authorized to understand the title as merely falling under the description just before mentioned, in which magistrates and chieftains are called *sons of the Most High*. But this was not the fact. The case turns out immensely different. The dominion of the Messiah, in its nature, purposes, subjects, authority, power, extent, and duration, is infinitely above comparison with the empires of men: and it will be remembered that, in the various imagery of this representation, the Messiah is pre-eminently exhibited in the Old Testament.⁶ Therefore, before we can, on safe principles of interpretation, determine the sense of the title as here applied to him, we must obtain a satisfactory knowledge of the *peculiar* nature of his regal office and dominion. We must ponder well, that it is an empire over mind and conscience, requiring not only outward acknowledgments but an inward and spiritual homage, an allegiance of faith and the most radical affections of the soul; in short, the whole course of duty involved in religious responsibility, that which is the *peculiar* domain of God, and of God only. But further light will accrue to this subject, from future parts of our inquiry.

⁶ See pp. 173, 179, 197–199.

SECTION II.—SON OF GOD, BY HUMAN BIRTH.

“The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee; and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: on which account the Holy Offspring shall be called THE SON OF “God.”—Luke i. 35.⁷

HERE it is manifest, that the production of the Messiah’s human nature, by the immediate operation of God, is assigned as the reason of the appellation. The words of the passage are evidently selected with a view to convey, in the most emphatical manner, the idea of such a miraculous production. Whatever may be our opinion on the general meaning of the term HOLY SPIRIT, it cannot be doubted that, in this instance, the design of the whole expression is to represent a peculiar exercise of almighty power, for the production of an extraordinary effect. This act of the Holy Spirit is put in parallelism with “the power of the Most High.” It is said to “come upon” her, and to “overshadow” her: expressions which, agreeably to the scriptural usage, mark the exercise of a peculiar, extraordinary, and divine energy.⁸ The uncommon expression also, “the holy offspring,” seems to be especially adapted to denote that the child would be produced in a way different from the generation of the rest of mankind. On the appellation, *Son of the Most High*, Kuinöl observes “that it seemed to be used to signify that Christ was procreated by an immediate divine intervention: in which sense Adam also is called ‘the Son of God.’”⁹ The Messiah was to be a new Head of the human race, a “second Adam,” to retrieve the apostasy and remedy the ruin of the first.¹⁰ It was, therefore, proper that he should be produced, as the first

⁷ In this and the last cited passage, though there is no article before *τῷ*, it must be translated with the definite article, since the noun is the predicate of a verb of designation or appellation. See *Middleton on the Greek Article*, p. 62, where also is quoted the decisive authority of the ancient Greek grammarian Apollonius.

⁸ See in the LXX. Psalm xc. (xci.) 4; cxxxix. (cxl.) 7. “The verb *ἐπισκιάζειν* answers to *ἐνδύεσθαι*, which the writers of the Old Testament use in passages when the Spirit of God is said to take men, to come upon them, or to rest upon them; and thus to exert his power upon them. The expression therefore intimates that Mary should bear a son, by the interposition of divine power.”—*Rosenm. in loc.*

⁹ *Comment. in Libros. Hist. N. T.* vol. ii. p. 271, and see Luke iii. 38.

¹⁰ Passages in the Rabbinical writings are adduced by Schöttgen, from which it appears that the Jews applied to the Messiah the terms *Last Adam* and *Heavenly Adam*. *Horæ Hebr. et Talmud.* i. 670.

Adam was, by the immediate power of the Creator. Not only was it *proper*, on the ground of a becoming distinction and superior dignity ; but it was absolutely *necessary*, unless some other equivalent miracle had been wrought, of which however we can form no rational idea, in order that the Deliverer from moral corruption might not himself be the subject of it. The experience of all mankind has demonstrated that depraved moral propensities, both in their general nature and in their numerous specific varieties, are propagated, however mysterious is the mode of this humiliating fact, by the physical descent of human beings from their progenitors.¹¹ But, by an obvious necessity of reason, he who was to be the Saviour from sin, was not to be subjected to this connate predisposition to sin. The supposition involves a contradiction ; for, had it been so, he would have needed a Saviour for himself. But it was not so. He was “[TO γεννώμενον ἍΓΙΟΝ] the Holy thing produced,” or “the Holy Offspring.”—“Such a High Priest was necessary for us ; holy, guiltless, spotless, separated from sinners.”¹²

¹¹ “In order to account for a sinful corruption of nature, yea, a total native depravity of the heart of man, there is not the least need of supposing any evil quality, infused, implanted, or wrought into the nature of man, by any positive cause or influence whatsoever, either from God or the creature ; or of supposing that man is conceived and born with a fountain of evil in his heart, such as is any thing properly positive. I think, a little attention to the nature of things will be sufficient to satisfy any impartial, considerate inquirer, that the *absence of positive good principles*, and so the withholding of a special divine influence to impart and maintain those good principles (leaving the common, natural principles of self-love, natural appetite, etc. to themselves, without the government of superior divine principles),—will certainly be followed with the corruption, yea, the total corruption, of the heart, without occasion for any positive influence at all.” *Edwards on Orig. Sin.* Part IV. ch. ii. sect. 2.

¹² Heb. vii. 26.

SECTION III.—SON OF GOD, IN A HIGHER SENSE.

The title, SON OF GOD, a known designation of the Messiah.—Not a synonym.—Understood to imply a superior and even Divine nature.

“The beginning of the glad tidings concerning Jesus the Christ the SON OF GOD.” Mark i. 1. “This is my BELOVED SON, in whom I am well pleased.” Matt. iii. 17. “I have seen and borne witness, that this is the SON OF GOD.” John i. 34. “Thou art the Christ, the SON OF THE LIVING GOD.” Matt. xvi. 16. “Art thou the Christ the ‘SON OF GOD?’” Ib. xxvi. 63. “—— the SON OF THE BLESSED?” Mark xiv. 61.

THESE passages, and some others parallel or similar in the four Gospels, furnish the following results.

1. The title, *Son of God*, was recognised by Jesus himself, by his friends and followers, by his enemies, and by the Jewish nation at large, as a designation of the Messiah. This acceptation seems to have been universally known and indisputably held. It must, therefore, have had a satisfactory and authoritative origin; or it could not have been so received and established. Such an origin is most naturally to be sought in the Prophetic Scriptures. Nowhere else could an authority be found to which the whole Jewish nation would bow, and to which it would, at the same time, be congruous for the Divine Majesty itself to conform. This title we have already found among the prophetic descriptions of the Messiah, and we have seen that it was recognised in the Jewish theology of the period intermediate between the Old and the New Testament.¹³

2. Though it be undoubtedly an appropriated appellation of the Messiah, it is not a mere synonym of that word. Some respectable writers¹⁴ have fallen into this inaccuracy. Two or more terms may be generally, or even with an exclusive uniformity, applied to the same object, and yet be respectively of very different import. Christ is called Lord, Mediator, Saviour, Prince of Life, Captain of Salvation, King of kings: but it would betray great ignorance or rashness to say, that these were *synonymous* expressions. The term *Messiah* designates a person divinely appointed and consecrated to one or more of the offices of a king, a priest, or a prophet. The other term, unless it be

¹³ Pp. 197, 376, 391.

¹⁴ *Calm Inquiry*, p. 261. Also J. D. Michaelis, Rosenmüller sen., etc. Grotius says with more discrimination, “Apparet hoc cognomen vulgò Messiae datum.” *Annot. in Matt.* xiv. 33.

taken in a sense wholly figurative, is manifestly expressive of the *nature* of the being to whom it is applied, and of a *natural relationship* to another person. The frequent instances in which these two designations are put in apposition, strongly imply that each presents the same object, but under a different view or with a different relation.¹⁵

3. It becomes, therefore, important for us to ascertain, whether this epithet be given to Christ in one of its figurative meanings stated above, or in a strict and proper sense. Now, if the former were the fact, if the Messiah were styled *the Son of God* merely as an expression of his royal dignity, or pre-eminent sanctity, or prophetic mission, how could we conceive that his claiming this appellation, or his admitting, on the interrogation of an enemy, that it belonged to him, could be made the ground of a charge of *blasphemy*? A proof so broad and palpable in the opinion of the Jewish lawyers, as to render further inquiry needless, and to be decisive of the alleged guilt.¹⁶ The law of Israel against blasphemy was expressed with the utmost precision. "Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin: and he who blasphemeth the name of Jehovah shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall surely stone him: as well the foreigner as the native; for his blaspheming THE NAME he shall be put to death."¹⁷ The cases of real or imputed blasphemy which occur in the Old Testament, and in the

¹⁵ Besides the instances quoted at the head of this section, see John vi. 69, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of God:" Ib. xi. 27.—xx. 31, "These things are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Acts ix. 20, "He preached the Christ, that he is the Son of God." Rom. i. 1-4, "—Jesus Christ—the powerfully demonstrated Son of God." The reply of Nathanael may be properly added to these passages, as the style *King of Israel* is acknowledged to be equivalent to *Messiah*: John i. 49, "Teacher, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel!" We do not suppose that Nathanael understood, at the time, the full import of the expression; but that he was merely using a term which was, in the usual speech of his countrymen, a designation of the eagerly expected Messiah, and to which they attached ideas of an obscure and mysterious grandeur.

¹⁶ "The high-priest said to him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Christ the Son of the living God! Jesus saith to him, Thou hast said" [in the Hebrew idiom equivalent to *I am*; as it is given in Mark xiv. 62]. "Then the high-priest rent his garments, saying, He has blasphemed! What further need have we of witnesses? Behold, you have now heard his blasphemy!" Matt. xxvi. 63, 65. "We have a law; and according to that law he ought to die, because he hath made himself the Son of God." John xix. 7.

¹⁷ Lev. xxiv. 15, 16.

Apocrypha, all wear this distinctive character;¹⁸ they are a *reproaching*, a *contempt*, a *designed insult*, upon the name and attributes of the living God, or of some supposed deity. He would be guilty of "blaspheming the NAME," who should apply "that fearful and glorious name" to an idol, inanimate or animate: and, most evidently, he would not be less chargeable with the same crime, who could have the boldness to apply it unwarrantably to *himself*! Of this latter form of blasphemy Sennacherib was guilty, in ascribing to himself powers and a command over success and victory, such as can belong to none but an omnipotent being.¹⁹ The Mishna enumerates blasphemy among the crimes to be punished with the highest kind of capital punishment, that of being stoned to death; and adds, "No one is to be esteemed a blasphemer unless he has expressly uttered THE NAME;"²⁰ that is, the revered word JEHOVAH. Blasphemy, therefore, in the Jewish sense, is justly defined by Schleusner to be, "the saying or doing any thing by which the majesty of God is insulted, uttering curses or reproaches against God, speaking impiously, arrogating and taking to one's self that which belongs to God."²¹ In this latter sense the Jews manifestly understood it, when they said, "We stone thee for blasphemy, and that thou, being a man, makest thyself God."²²

This was the crime which Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim affirmed that Jesus had in very fact committed in their presence, and for which they instantly passed judgment of death. Let it be observed, that, according to the hypothesis of the Unitarians, Jesus, in admitting that he was the Messiah, claimed nothing above the rank and functions of a human being, nothing beyond

¹⁸ In the instances of Naboth, Rabshakeh, Sennacherib, Antiochus, Nicanor, etc. See 1 Kings xxi. 10; 2 Kings xix. 22; Isaiah lii. 5; Dan. iii. 29 in LXX.; Bel and the Dragon, ver. 9; 2 Maccab. ix. 28; xv. 3, 5, 24.

¹⁹ See 2 Kings xix. 22-24.

²⁰ *Tract. de Sanhedrim*, in *Mishna*, ed. *Surenhusii*, vol. iv. pp. 238-242. The Mishna is a body of Rabbinical interpretations of the written law, pretended to have been revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, and to have been handed down by tradition to the Prophets, the Great Sanhedrim, etc. and finally to have been committed to writing by Rabbi Judah the holy. Dr Lardner assigns A.D. 180 or 190 as the probable period of its compilation. *Jewish Testim.* chap. v. The work contains internal evidence of being a collection of traditions really very ancient, far beyond the time of the compiler. See *Prideaux's Connexion*, i. 326, etc.

²¹ "Dicere et facere quibus majestas Dei violatur, maledicum in Deum esse, impiè loqui, arrogare sibi et sumere quæ sunt Dei." *Schleusn. Lex.* voce βλασφημία.

²² John x. 33.

an office, august indeed, and venerable, but which every Jew believed would be executed by a mere man. To those who rejected his claim, he might have appeared chargeable with fanaticism, imposture, or even constructive treason : but where was the colourable pretext for the charge of *blasphemy*, a crime so closely defined by the original law, and the limits of which were so anxiously fixed by the tradition which had all the force of law ? Let it also be observed, that the apparent reason of the charge was so clear as to admit of no demur or hesitation. Had the High-priest and the Sanhedrim been proceeding upon grounds which they were conscious were notoriously false ; had they applied the law of blasphemy to a case in which it was manifest that not the semblance of that offence had been committed ; it is credible that they would have adopted some circuitous course for the accomplishment of their purpose. But they did no such thing : they found their way plain before them. If, however, we were to concede to Dr Campbell,²³ that the Sanhedrim imputed this crime to Jesus dishonestly upon their own principles, it would only follow that they gave a wrong name to their charge. The allegation was, that he had, by claiming to be the Son of God, arrogated to himself *divine honours* ; and this, as a fact, remains the same, whether it was designated rightly or not by the term *blasphemy*.

It is not unworthy of remark, that Josephus mentions various instances of impostors, who rose up about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, calling themselves prophets, announcing to their adherents a speedy deliverance by divine interposition from their calamities, and “promising to show signs and præternatural appearances” for that purpose.²⁴ From comparing our Lord’s prediction²⁵ with the facts which he relates, it appears probable that several of those persons gave out themselves to be the Messiah. But, though the historian paints in strong colours their falsehood and their other atrocities, he never, so far as I can discover, charges them with *blasphemy*.

It seems, therefore, impossible for us to escape the conclusion, that the avowal of Jesus that he was THE SON OF GOD was understood, by the highest legal and ecclesiastical authorities of his country, to be more than declaring himself to be the Mes-

²³ *On the Four Gospels*, Dissert. ix. part 2.

²⁴ *De Bello Jud.* lib. vi. cap. v. sect. 3 ; lib. vii. cap. xi. sect 1.

²⁵ Mark xiii. 6.

siah, and to involve the assertion of something belonging to his person that was superhuman and DIVINE ; or to be a constructive assumption of such dignity as belongs only to God.

That such ideas of dignity and powers, above what belong to the rank of man, were attached to this epithet by the Jewish people at large, is at least a probable inference from the taunting language which they held to our Lord in his last sufferings : " If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross."²⁶

This conclusion is corroborated by another of the passages cited at the beginning of this Section. " Who, do men say, " that I, the Son of Man, am ?—Who say ye that I am ?—Thou " art the Christ, the Son of the living God."²⁷ The position of the terms plainly intimates, that the appellation, *Son of the living God*, was conceived by Peter to be of higher dignity than the other, *Son of Man*, which was the designation most commonly assumed by our Lord himself, evidently as the least offensive profession of being the Messiah. Neither is it probable that the two terms, *the Christ* and *the Son of God*, would have been used, if they were tautological. Our Lord further declares that the fact affirmed by Peter was not properly apprehended but by divine instruction ; " Happy art thou, Simon son of Jonas, for " flesh and blood " (a well known Jewish idiom, denoting the unassisted principles and powers of human nature) " hath not " revealed [it] unto thee ; but my Father who is in the heavens." But surely it required no such divine influence to enable a man, who had so copiously witnessed the evidences of the claims advanced by Jesus, to perceive the rational conclusion from those evidences. Peter needed but the common understanding of men, to receive the proof of the Messiahship of Jesus. The fact thus asserted by the Saviour, of a special divine influence enabling Peter to make this good confession, suggests to us also the strong probability that the apostle did not at present comprehend the full import of the declaration which he made. The subsequent teachings of the Holy Spirit would bring it to his remembrance, with a much higher measure of knowledge and understanding. It is further worthy of being observed, that Christ immediately connects his being the Son of God with the exercise of sovereign authority and power, in relation to the salvation of men and to matters of moral obligation : yet *this* is the sole province of Deity. " I will build my

²⁶ Matt. xxvii. 40.

²⁷ Matt xvi. 13–19.

"church : the gates of hell shall not prevail against it : I will "give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Let a man seriously reflect on the magnitude of this work, the power requisite to accomplish it, and the nature of the ground of certainty here assumed that it should be accomplished ; and can he refuse to exclaim, "From Jehovah is this : It is marvellous in our eyes !" ²⁸

SECTION IV.—HIS PERSON, EQUALLY WITH THAT OF THE FATHER, SURPASSING HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

Intimate and accurate knowledge expressed in the terms.—Such knowledge communicated by divine influence.—This communication the province of Christ.—The inherent knowledge of the Father, and of Christ, reciprocal.—Both expressed in convertible terms.

"All things have been committed to me by my Father; and no one knoweth perfectly the Son, except the Father; neither doth any one know perfectly the Father, except the Son, and he to whom the Son may be pleased to unveil [this knowledge]." Matt. xi. 27. "As the Father knoweth me, even so I know the Father." —John x. 15.

THE passage in the Gospel of Luke parallel to the preceding one in that of Matthew, has this difference : "No one knoweth who the Son is, except the Father : and who the Father is, except the Son." In such cases it appears a reasonable maxim to consider the actual phraseology of the speaker, as it was uttered in the vernacular language of Judea, to have been susceptible of both the modes of the Greek expression ; so that the one may be taken as an assistance of the highest authority, for the explication of the other. On this principle, the seeming discrepancy in the present instance vanishes ; for ἐπιγινώσκειν, used by Matthew, signifying such *knowledge* as is peculiarly *intimate* and *accurate*, *full* and *perfect*, ²⁹ will well comport with

²⁸ Ps. cxviii. 23.

²⁹ The force of ἐν, in composition, appears to be *closeness*, in situation or in succession. See *Dunbar on the Greek Prepositions*. If the reader will examine the diversities of meaning laid down by Schleusner, and study all his and many more examples, he will find them in general, if not universally, reducible to this as their circumstance of distinction from γινώσκειν. Among other renderings he has, "*sensu cognosco, satis cognitum habeo, idoneâ scientiâ imbuor* ; passivè *accipio pleniorē et perfectiorem cognitionem*." Under Ἐπίγνωσις he says, "*speciatim, major, perfectior, et exactior cognitio et scientia* ; nam ἐν in compositis haud rarò auget significationem."

Luke's phrase *γινώσκειν τίς ἐστίν*. If this observation be just, it nullifies Mr Belsham's interpretation of the words,³⁰ and shows that the knowledge refers primarily to the *nature* and *person* of the Father and of the Son; "WHO he is." This writer triumphs in what he regards to be a key to the passage; that what a man may learn of God, by the revelation of the Son, is nothing but his revealed will. But it is not the *will* of God, strictly speaking, either decretive or preceptive, that is the sole object of revelation. A manifestation of the peculiar excellences and glorious *perfections* of God, as the Supreme and Infinite Possessor of all natural and moral good, is no small part of the design of revealed truth: and this is a species of knowledge in the highest degree necessary to piety and happiness. It is such knowledge as is not merely intellectual, but is associated with a sense of beauty, sweetness, and worth, exciting the affections of love and delight, and every grateful sensation of the mind. This mental sense of moral loveliness, in our conceptions of the Divine Being, forms the great distinction between the true and the nominal believer. I am aware that this doctrine will meet only the scorn of those who hold the system on which I feel myself bound to animadvert; but I must not, for that reason, shrink from avowing it. To this momentous and interesting truth, I conceive, our blessed Lord refers in the instance of Peter, which may be taken as a special case under the general fact stated in the passage before us: "Happy art thou; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but MY FATHER who is in heaven." This is a glory to which they are blind who "will not behold the majesty of the Lord:" but of all genuine Christians it is declared, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in their hearts, to their illumination with the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ."³¹

³⁰ "It is plain that he to whom the Son reveals the Father knows the Father. But what can a man thus learn of God? Nothing surely but his revealed will. In the same sense, precisely, the Son knows the Father, *i.e.* he knows his will, his thoughts, and purposes of mercy to mankind. And the Father alone knows the Son, knows the nature, the object, and the extent of his mission." *Calm Inq.* p. 187.

³¹ 2 Cor. iv. 6. Some good authorities translate *ἐν προσώπῳ*, "in the person of Jesus Christ." But, as there is probably an allusion to "the face of Moses" concealed by a veil (ch. iii. 7, 13), the other term appears preferable. The subject intended, however, is manifestly Christ, personally, as representing the grandeur and amiableness of the divine character towards men, in the con-

The passages under consideration, on due examination, are found to include these statements of truth :

1. That the communication to mankind of the doctrines which refer to their highest interest in knowledge, holiness, and happiness, is by a constitution of Divine wisdom, made the province of the Messiah, as the Mediator between God and man. The "all things committed³² to him by the Father," are evidently the important and humbling truths of the gospel, which he had just before mentioned as "hidden from the wise and prudent." Now, the KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, in all the ways which have appeared good to infinite wisdom and rectitude, forms, as we have before observed, an essential part of the blessings communicated by the Christian revelation, when known and received according to its proper design.

2. That this knowledge of the Father and knowledge of Christ, are expressed in the way of a perfect *reciprocity*. The description and properties of the one, are the description and properties of the other ; without limitation on the one side, or extension on the other. Is it conceivable that a wise and good teacher, conscious of no dignity above that which was strictly and merely human, or arising only from his office and delegated powers, would select, for the purpose of conveying what might have been expressed in plain words, language which unquestionably describes himself and the Eternal Being by *equivalent and convertible terms*?³³

stitution of the gospel and its practical effect. The elder Rosenmüller says, on this passage ; "The *glory of God in the face of Christ* consisted in this,—that those who beheld Christ on earth, as the Teacher of divine truth, perceived God representing himself in the doctrine and miracles of Christ." But that might be only a "knowing Christ according to the flesh," which alone had no beneficial effect. (Ch. v. 16.) The knowledge here spoken of is of a spiritual and far more excellent kind : it belongs to all true Christians, and it is the basis of their pure and active faith. In Christ, "though now they see him not, they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

³² Παρεδόθη, so used in Luke i. 3 ; 1 Cor. xv. 3 ; and therefore *doctrines* are called παραδόσεις in 2 Thess. ii. 15 ; 1 Cor. xi. 2, etc.

³³ The *Monthly Repos.* Reviewer considers the phraseology of these passages as of similar import to that in Matt. v. 48 ; and, he might have added, 1 Pet. i. 15. He says, "Precisely in the same manner as when the disciples were exhorted to *be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect*, they and the Eternal are described in equivalent and convertible terms." (P. 66.) I am astonished at this assertion of the acute and ingenious writer. Is it possible that he cannot see the wide discrepance between the cases ? On the one side, are *commands* to that which is the indispensable duty of every rational creature, a conformity, to the highest reach of his powers and capacities, to the moral perfection of God, his holiness and beneficence : on the other, *declarations*, in plain narrative terms, of an existing twofold fact, each of whose parts corresponds to the other. Alas ! It is

3. That, in relation to both the Father and the Son, this knowledge is not attainable by the ordinary means of human investigation. Now, this cannot be said of the gracious will and purpose of God in showing mercy to mankind ; nor of the nature, object, and extent of the mission of Jesus, as the instructor and reformer of the world. On both these topics, a considerable degree of information was not only accessible, but was actually possessed by many persons. But such a knowledge of the unspeakable glory of the Divine perfections as appears to be here intended, is a far more sublime attainment: it is fundamental to a saving and practical knowledge of true religion ; it has its seat in the affections as well as in the intellect ; and it is here affirmed to be a special communication of Divine influence.

4. That this knowledge, as existing in the state of communication from Christ to any of mankind “to whom the Son may be pleased to unveil” it, though the same in kind, cannot be imagined to be the same in *degree* or *extent* ; unless it be assumed that the capacity and attainment of the instructed, must, as a matter of course, be equal to those of the INSTRUCTOR.

5. Had the member of the sentence which introduces the Son as the object of knowledge been wanting, I think that the obvious, and probably the generally admitted, interpretation of the remaining part of the passage, would have been, that it referred to the *peculiar glories* of the Divine Being, or THAT which distinctively constitutes him God. Had it stood thus ; “No one knoweth God, or WHO God is, except Jesus of Nazareth, and those to whom Jesus may communicate the knowledge ;”—would it not have unquestionably conveyed this position, that the Infinite Majesty and Perfection of the Adorable Supreme, as dis- the case in this, as in other instances of religious controversies upon subjects which lie at the very base of the fabric, that we seem to have no ultimate community of judgment, no perception of the ground of evidence, lower than which we cannot go ; for the next step could only be to the axiom, that the same thing cannot both be and not be, all the relations being the same.—Thus : it is shown, in regard to the first principles of theology, which MUST BE the foundation of personal religion, that our intellectual determinations, and the state of our affections towards God (in scripture language, the *eye* and the *heart*), have the strongest influence upon each other ; but that the governing power lies in the latter. Would to God that myself and all my readers felt this great fact as we ought !—Then should we better understand the spirit of those models for our prayers ; “Open mine eyes ; let my heart be sound in thy statutes ; lead “me in thy truth !—That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, “may give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, in the acknowledg- “ment of HIM ; the eyes of your heart being enlightened.” (Eph. i. 17, 18 ; *heart* is the reading of the best editions, supported by ample authority.)

tinguished from the imaginary deities of the heathen world, were revealed and demonstrated by the Christian religion alone? Would any one have controverted the propriety of this phrase?—Restore, then, the clause which has been withdrawn; and will not fairness of interpretation require us to accept it, as *equally* attributing to the Son *the same* Infinite Majesty and Perfection?

SECTION V.—SON OF GOD, CLAIMING A PARITY IN POWER AND HONOUR WITH THE FATHER.

State of the question between Jesus and his opponents.—Characters of subordination belonging to Christ:—Mission,—Reception of a function,—Accurate knowledge,—Judicial commission.—Characters of Supremacy:—Parity of power,—Ability to confer physical life,—Determining the final state of men.—Claim of supreme homage.—Observations on Mr Lindsey's and Mr Belsham's interpretation.

"Jesus answered them, My Father worketh until now: I also work. On this account, therefore, the Jews were the more eager to put him to death, that he not only broke the Sabbath, but even called God his own Father; making himself equal to God.

"Then Jesus answered and said to them, Verily, verily, I say to you; the Son can do nothing from himself; [he doeth] only what he seeth the Father doing: for whatever things he doeth, those things the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth to him all things which he himself doeth; and he will show to him greater works than these, that ye may admire. Because, as the Father raiseth and giveth life to the dead, so the Son also giveth life to whom he willeth. And neither doth the Father pass judgment upon any one: but the whole [exercise of] judgment he hath given to the Son, that all may honour the Son as they honour the Father. He who honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent him. Verily, verily, I say to you; that he who attendeth to my word and confideth in him that hath sent me, hath eternal life, and into [condemnatory] judgment he cometh not, but is passed over from death to life. Verily, verily, I say to you; that the hour is coming, and now it is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and hearing they shall live. For, as the Father hath life in himself, so he hath given to the Son also to have life in himself: and he hath given to him authority also to exercise judgment, because he is the Son of man. Be not astonished at this: for the hour is coming, in which all who are in the tombs shall hear his voice and shall come forth; those who have done good actions to the resurrection of life, but those who have done base actions to the resurrection of [condemnatory] judgment. Not that I can do any thing from myself. As I hear [i.e. am instructed], I judge; and my judgment is righteous, for I seek not mine own will, but the will of him who sent me."—"The works, which the Father assigned to me in order that I might finish them, those very works which I do, testify concerning me that the Father sent me." John v. 17-30, 36.³⁴

To collect satisfactorily the information contained in this important passage, it is, in the first place, necessary to have a

³⁴ Ver. 17. "Mon Père agit continuellement, et je le fais aussi." *New*

clear view of the STATE OF THE CAUSE between the Lord Jesus and the Jews who opposed him. The question turned upon the RIGHT to *perform works on the day appropriated, by the divine command, to cessation from labour.* For an act performed on the Sabbath, Jesus was charged with the immorality of breaking the fourth commandment. This charge he had to repel. The most obvious course, and which on other occasions of the like kind he took,³⁵ was to plead the *character of the work*, that it was an act of mercy and beneficence; and that the performing of such acts, however laborious and troublesome, was known to be strictly consistent with the law. But he took a course entirely different. He advanced a claim of *superiority to the law.* He adduced the example of God his Father, who carries on the operations of nature and providence without a sabbatic rest or any intermission whatsoever; and he asserted his own right to do the same; “My Father worketh until now; I ALSO work.”³⁶ Let the serious reader impartially reflect upon the fair meaning and the implications of these words. The subject is works of *power.* The speaker puts *his own* work of power, in the miraculous cure which he had effected, on the *same footing* of consideration, as the works of the Deity in the conservation and government of the universe: and *upon this parity*, he grounds his right thus to work on the Sabbath-day. If we suppose that Jesus was conscious of no relation to the Deity except such as belonged to a mere human being, or to any other mere creature, can we free his assertion and his argument from extreme absurdity and arrogant impiety?

His opponents understood him as adhering to his crime, and aggravating it. They conceived him to be “making himself equal to God.” He did not deny their inference. He did not

Genevese Version. Ver. 19. “— aus eigenem Triebe,” ‘of his own impulse.’ *J. D. Michaelis.* The different rendering of γὰρ in vers. 20, 21, 22, appears necessary to convey the sense in our own language, as it is not only a causal particle, but frequently its only force is connexive and continuative. Vers. 25, 28. Michaelis, Tittmann, the New Genevese, and Van Ess, render ἄρα very properly by the more general term, *time.* The sense given to ἀκούω in ver. 30, is supported by chap. iii. 32; viii. 26; xv. 15.

³⁵ See Matt. xii. 12. Luke xiii. 14; xiv. 3.

³⁶ Thus paraphrased by Semler. “Deus, Pater meus, nullâ sabbati religione impeditus, nunquam non digna ipso opera per omnem mundum corporeum efficit; itaque similia licet et me pari jure efficere.”—“God, my Father, under no restriction from the law of the Sabbath, never desists from the performance of works worthy of himself, throughout the whole material world; and I therefore claim an equal right to do the like.” *Semleri Paraphr. Evang. Joann.* vol. i. p. 166.

protest against their construction of his words. Yea, he proceeded to use language plainly *confirmatory* of what he had before said, and which was understood to be so by those who heard him.³⁷ In this second speech we find that remarkable mixture of *characters of subordination* with *characters of supremacy*, which we have before found in the descriptions of the Messiah, when he was the object of inspired expectation.³⁸

The following characters of *subordination* are clearly to be collected from this passage :

1. A *mission* from the Divine Father : ver. 36. This is among the most usual declarations both of Jesus himself and of his apostles. For instance; "God so loved the world, that he gave "his Only-begotten Son;—he sent his Son into the world." "Jesus, the Christ whom thou hast sent." "The Father sent "the Son to be the Saviour of the world." "The Apostle [*i. e.* "messenger, person sent] of our profession."³⁹ We have seen also, that under the same character, the prophecies of the Old Testament represented the Messiah, and the ancient Jews looked for him as such.⁴⁰

2. A *giving, appointing, or assigning* of special functions to be discharged : ver. 36. This also is the frequent language of Jesus Christ concerning himself. "My food is, that I may do "the will of him that sent me, and may complete his work." "I must work the works of him that sent me."⁴¹

The same declaration of a mission and a specific purpose is made in the negative form :—"I can do nothing from myself :—" "I seek not mine own will : " vers. 19, 30. This also is in our Lord's accustomed style;⁴² and it denotes that he had no disposition, or inclination, in the slightest degree, discordant with the purposes of that infinite wisdom which formed and directed his mediatorial mission. To "act from one's self," in the scriptural sense of the expression, is to act from one's own mind, assumption, or authority ; and is opposed to the acting from a divine commission.⁴³ The form of expression is that of the

³⁷ Note A.

³⁸ See pp. 196, 199, 336.

³⁹ John iii. 16, 17 ; xvii. 3. 1 John iv. 14. Heb. iii. 1.

⁴⁰ See pp. 295, 303, 331, 376, 391, 394.

⁴¹ John iv. 34 ; ix. 4.

⁴² See John vi. 38, 40 ; vii. 16.

⁴³ This use of the phrase is confirmed by the LXX. version of Numbers xvi. 28. "By this ye shall know, that the Lord hath sent me to do all these works, that [I have done them] not from myself." See also John xvi. 13.

known Hebraizing idiom, which conveys a comparative idea by an absolute term,⁴⁴ but which it would be absurd to understand in literal strictness. The inability of the Blessed Jesus to “do any thing from himself,” was not physical incapacity, but was a necessary part of his moral perfection. In this sense, it is declared to be a part of his glory that “he *cannot* deny himself:”⁴⁵ and, in the same sense, the Great Promiser of eternal life is called “God who cannot lie.”⁴⁶

3. An *exact knowledge* of the will and purposes of the Father. “The Son doeth—only what he seeth the Father doing. As I hear, I judge,” vers. 19, 30. By a well known scriptural idiom, common indeed to the early state of all languages, the organic senses are put for mental actions.⁴⁷ Christ declares, that he has a most intimate and perfect knowledge of all the powers and operations of the Almighty and Eternal God; such a knowledge as may be justly compared to the most acute vision,—an *intuitive* knowledge: and that, in the exercise of judgment, he is susceptible of no bias; he is incapable of imperfect information, deceptive impressions, or partial decisions; he judges according to a *perfect perception* of the dictates of the Divine Mind.

4. The possession, by communication from the Father, of that very LIFE which is *peculiar* to the Divine Nature, which depends upon nothing extrinsic, which is essential and self-active, and which is the cause of all dependent existence: ver. 26. The terms are plain, that *the same* spontaneous and independent life, which belongs to the Living God, the Father of spirits, belongs also to the Messiah. But the circumstance of this being “*given* to the Son,” and the connection with the succeeding particular, lead to the belief that the reference is to our Lord’s official prerogative, as Mediator and Saviour, of bestowing those spiritual blessings which constitute “everlasting life.” The appointing of the Son of God to be the Messiah, is repeatedly expressed by the term *giving*.⁴⁸ As, however, according to the scholastic

⁴⁴ Thus our Lord says, “Whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him who sent me.” Mark ix. 37. “My doctrine is not mine, but his who sent me.” John vii. 16. “He who believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him who sent me.” Ib. xii. 44.

⁴⁵ 2 Tim. ii. 13.

⁴⁶ Ὁ ἀψευδὴς Θεός. Tit. i. 2.

⁴⁷ See Ps. xxxiv. 8. 1 Pet. ii. 3. Heb. vi. 4. Matt. v. 8. Rom. vii. 23. Acts xvii. 27.

⁴⁸ For example, Isaiah lv. 4. John iii. 16.

maxim, whatsoever is given must be given according to the capacity of the receiver, it is manifest that the Being who is *competent* to such a function as "the giving of everlasting life" to the "multitude which no man can number," must have original powers of the highest kind. It is the Father's will to constitute him the Fountain of divine life to mankind, *because* he is, *IN HIMSELF*, adequate to such a function. It betrays a gross want of argumentative equity, to say of this doctrine, "It appears, after all, that nothing was given to Christ which he did not already possess."⁴⁹ Surely no sagacity is required, beyond what a child of ordinary intellect possesses, to observe the distinction, between an *original ground* of suitableness, in the capacity and qualifications of an agent for a given purpose, and a *consequent investment* of that agent with a particular function appropriated to that purpose.

5. A commission to execute a supreme *judicial authority* in deciding upon the moral character and the future condition of mankind: ver. 27. This authority is given to him "BECAUSE he is *the Son of man*;" the distinctive appellation of the Messiah which our Lord chose to employ more than any other, and which has a marked and evident reference to his state of humiliation. The Calm Inquirer observes, and very truly, that "it is even implied, John v. 27, that the proper humanity of Christ is an essential qualification for the office."⁵⁰ Certainly it is; as, without a participation of a real and proper humanity, the Son of God could not have been the Messiah. But is it necessary to be perpetually repeating to the Unitarians, that their opponents believe "the proper humanity of Christ" no less than themselves?—It is, moreover, peculiarly congruous with the nature and requisites of the case, in the estimation of Divine Wisdom, that the Judge of men should be himself a real, but spotless and perfect man; who experimentally knows the circumstances of human nature, and can be touched with the fellow-feeling of its infirmities and sorrows.⁵¹ Some understand, by this authority to execute judgment, our Lord's presiding, as the Founder of Christianity, over the moral resurrection, or the reformation of mankind by the efficacy of his doctrine. But it is manifest that, without the most unreasonable violence of construction, the terms of vers. 28 and 29 cannot be applied to any

⁴⁹ *Calm. Inq.* p. 316.⁵⁰ *Id.* p. 341.⁵¹ Note B.

other than the literal and universal resurrection of the dead, and to the final judgment which will be connected with it.

Now, all these circumstances of delegation, instruction, commission, and a perfect union of will, motive, and purpose with the Divine Father, were the necessary attributives of a Mediator and Saviour; who, by the nature and conditions of his office, was to be the "servant of God, his chosen, the delight of his soul," whom "the Father set apart and sent into the world," and who was "faithful to him that constituted him,—as a Son "over his [the Father's] house."⁵² They are all characters of *official* subordination.

The other parts of the description present characters of *supremacy*.

1. A *parity* of *operative power*: ver. 17. It may be objected that the words do not necessarily imply more than a *resemblance*, and that only in some respects. But this construction is resisted by two circumstances.

(1.) The turn of the argument. Upon the principle of the objection, Jesus is made to say, "Because the divine agency is incessantly exerted in the machinery of the universe, therefore I may do any thing, though it violate the sabbatic law." If such reasoning could be admitted, it would be equally allowable to argue that, as God in his infinite dominion deprives men of their enjoyments, health, and lives, so a creature might rightfully take away the property or the life of his fellow. The implication in our Lord's words evidently is a *right* to work on the Sabbath, *because* providential agency is not intermitted on that day: thus putting both his will and his power on a par with those of his Father.

(2.) The nature of the work from which the discussion originated. It was a miracle. Now, on the supposition of the mere humanity of the Christ, the work was wrought by God; Jesus was but the organ, or rather the declarer, of the divine agency. His reply to his adversaries would then have been, "This work was wrought by the immediate interposition of God himself, to whom the law of the sabbatic rest cannot be applied." On the other hand, as Jesus so manifestly makes himself, in distinction from the Father, the agent of the miracle, he asserts for himself a power *to control* the laws of nature, a power undeniably the

⁵² Isa. xlii. 1; John x. 46; Heb. iii. 2, 6, reading, with the best authorities, *αὐτοῦ*, not *αὐτοῦ*.

same with that which fixed them, and which actuates the universe according to them. Thus, on this ground also, we are inevitably led to understand the words as denoting an equality both of power and of right: "My Father worketh until now; I also work."

This interpretation is strengthened by another assertion, with which our Lord follows up the former: "Whatsoever things the Father doeth, those things the Son also doeth, in like manner." There is nothing in the connexion to restrict the universal terms to any specific objects. They plainly affirm a proper universality of operations, and an identity in the mode of performing those operations, that is, that the works of the Father, as to both their nature and manner, are equally the works of the Son.

2. The sovereign power to confer *animal life*: ver. 21. "The Son also giveth life to whom he will." The occasion of the discourse was the restoration of vital action to paralytic limbs, which, in a popular sense, might be called dead. This shows that physical life was the object intended: and the same thing is proved by the connexion of the topic with the great future fact of revelation, the resurrection of all the dead.⁵³

3. The effecting of that mysterious and astonishing work, the future *restoration to life* of the whole human race: ver. 25. It is not "incredible that GOD should raise the dead;" but it is absolutely so that any other being should. To *hear the voice* of any one is, in scriptural phraseology, to acknowledge and obey the authority of the person.⁵⁴ When it is declared that "the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God," the evident implication is, that such power is possessed by him, as can and will effect that most stupendous work, the universal resurrection.

4. The exercise of *judicial authority* in determining the final condition of all the individuals of mankind: vers. 27, 29. Such a work as this could no more be delegated to an inferior intelli-

⁵³ "Thus the meaning is, 'he raiseth to eternal life whom he will.' No man surely can imagine that this is an irrational will, without motive, a party-inclination which has no respect to the actions and character of those who shall be raised. In what follows, Jesus explains himself by saying, that it is 'those who have done good,' who believe in him, whom he will raise to eternal life. The expression 'whom he will,' is likewise equivalent to saying, the Father hath subjected all things to the will of Christ; the same idea that is expressed, in the next verse, by giving *all judgment* to him." *J. D. Michaelis Anmerk. z. d. O.*

⁵⁴ Exod. xxiv. 7. Deut. iv. 30; viii. 20. Ps. xc. 7. Nehem. xiii. 27, and many other instances.

gence, than could the government of the universe. It requires the highest attributes of Deity for its performance.⁵⁵

5. A claim of *homage* to the Son, the same in kind and equal in degree, with the homage which is due to the Almighty Father: ver. 23. "That all may honour the Son as they honour the "Father." It has been pleaded that not an identity or an equality of honour is here intended, but only such a *resemblance* as would still reserve the infinite distance between the objects: as because it was the eastern custom to pay respect to kings with the same bodily gestures that were used in divine worship, the convention of Israel "bowed down their heads, and prostrated "themselves to Jehovah and to the king."⁵⁶ But there is a total want of similarity in the cases. The circumstances of the occasion put the expression used by Jesus quite out of the range of comparison with the Hebrew phrase. The thing in question was, not civil homage, but *religious supremacy and honour*. The point of the case lay in his having used language, which the Jews construed into an assumption of equality with God. Upon Unitarian principles, our Lord must have been among the most unfortunate of apologists: for he ought to have said, "It is true that I claim an honour, but I arrogate not that which belongs to God: it is, indeed, his will that all should honour the Son; but, be not mistaken, this honour is essentially different from that which is due to the Father, and is altogether inferior to it." Yet, so far from this, the Lord Jesus reasserts his claim in language more striking, and less capable of being misunderstood; language which, if it were indeed not meant to affirm an identity of nature and dignity, cannot be freed from the charge of being the most ill-timed, offensive, and dangerous that can be imagined; not to say, absolutely impious. Whenever in Scripture the phrase *to honour God* occurs, or any equivalent expression, it always denotes *religious* homage; the making God our end and

⁵⁵ See the further examination of this subject in Capitule VI. of this Chapter.

⁵⁶ 1 Chron. xxix. 20. Three words, of which the first and last are used in this passage, "have this difference of meaning: (1.) קָרַר is *to incline the head and shoulders*, which sometimes preceded a more profound gesture of respect. (2.) כָּרַע signifies *the bowing of the upper parts of the body down to the knees*, as in 2 Chron. vii. 3. (3.) הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה denotes *to fall down on the knees, and put the forehead on the ground or floor; to prostrate one's self*; which was practised in the civil homage of the oriental nations, not only to superiors, but to equals also." *Simonis et Eichhorn, Lex.* p. 1617. The same distinctions are stated by Gesenius under the respective words.

object in all our actions, the celebration of his praises, obedience to him, and confidence in him: and this "his glory, he will not give to another."⁵⁷ To honour, then, the Son AS we honour the Father, must be to have our thoughts, affections, and actions, directed to him, and our hope and confidence reposed on him, in the same manner. It is a paltry evasion to say, with Mr Lindsey, that this text "does not relate to worship at all;"⁵⁸ for, though the formal act of prayer or any other explicit mode of adoration be not mentioned, all and every act or mode of worship is *included*, as the species under a genus. A very liberal divine, and a scholar and critic incomparably superior to Mr Lindsey, the celebrated Döderlein, says of this passage, "These words of Jesus possess such perspicuity, that nothing can be desired more decisive."⁵⁹

Mr Belsham disposes of this argument by a summary assertion.⁶⁰ According to his interpretation, Moses, John, or Paul, might have used the same language; for each of them was the bearer of a message from God, a message to which "the very same regard is due as to an oracle delivered by God himself;" and each might, with the greatest propriety, have said, as one of them actually did say, "He that despiseth, despiseth not man, but "God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit." But can any person think it compatible with their character and spirit, to have declared, "In consequence of the message with which we are charged, it is the will of the Eternal God that all men should honour us, as they honour HIM: he that honoureth not us, honoureth not the Great Being who commissioned us?"—Is any sentiment analogous to this to be found in their speeches or writings? Is not every turn of thought and expression invariably of the contrary description, and marked with the most scrupulous jealousy, to "give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name?" Can the implication be imagined, without shocking every pious feeling?—And can we suppose that Jesus, the pure

⁵⁷ See 1 Sam. ii. 30. Ps. xxix. 2. Prov. iii. 9. Isa. xlii. 8; xxix. 13; lviii. 13. 1 Tim. i. 17. Rev. xix. 7.

⁵⁸ *Lindsey's Sequel to his Apol.* p. 110.

⁵⁹ *Institutio Theologi Christiani, nostris Temporibus accommodata*; Norimb. 1784. vol. i. p. 333. The author died in 1792.

⁶⁰ "The obvious meaning is, that, Christ being the messenger of God, the very same regard is due to his message which would be due to an oracle delivered by God himself; and that to disregard Christ under this character is the same affront to the Supreme Being, as it would be to disregard the voice of God himself." *Calm Inq.* p. 362.

and lowly in heart, "the wisest and best of teachers," had less delicacy of soul, less sensibility to the approaches of pride, or less horror at the semblance of blasphemy, than his far inferior followers?

The Inquirer is also mistaken in that which he assumes as the ground of our Lord's claim. That ground is not his quality as a messenger from God, but it is expressly declared to be his exercise of universal judgment; a work which the Father hath, indeed, committed to him, it being a part of his official functions as the Messiah, but which plainly implies *prerequisites* not lower than divine perfections.⁶¹

It is, to say the least, not improbable that the offence taken by the opponents of Jesus had respect also to the language which he had used to the object of his miraculous beneficence: for it is the same leading sentiment (the controverted question concerning the dignity and the claims of the admired and reviled Teacher) which runs through the dialogues and narrative of chapters ix. and x. The first part (ch. ix. 1; x. 21) appears to have occurred a very short time, perhaps only one day, before the second (x. 22-38), in which we find resumed both the subject and the imagery of the former. Our Lord had graciously sought out the poor man who had made so good a use of his imperfect knowledge; "and said to him, Thou believest on the Son of God! The man answered, Who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him? Jesus said to him, Even thou hast seen him, and he that is speaking with thee is he. And he said, I believe, Lord! and worshipped him." The man had confessed his belief that Jesus was a prophet, evidently meaning a person commissioned and authorized by God: but the sentence (put in the form of an assertion, to denote that, though it required an answer of assent, our Lord knew his state of mind, and the answer which would correspond to it), "Thou believest on the Son of God!" seems intended to conduct the mind to an order of thought superior to the miracle or the authority which had been already acknowledged; to the quality of the person, rather than to the dignity of the office. The *worship* which the grateful beneficiary paid to his Lord appears, from the very mode in which it is introduced, to have been something more deep and solemn than any act of civil homage. We cannot doubt that it corresponded to his views of his Benefactor, though they could

⁶¹ Note C.

as yet be only obscure and defective ; and that therefore it rose to a strong religious veneration. Jesus evidently accepted it with approbation : but it may well be doubted, whether to have accepted any mere civil homage would have been congruous with his spirit and character. It is further worthy of observation, that the apostle John never uses this verb but to express a religious act ; either the adoration of the True God, or in several instances in the Book of Revelation, the idolatrous homage paid to the antichristian power, which is certainly to be understood as an impious rivalry to lawful worship. Of course I except ch. xx. 28 ; which, with other passages upon the homage accepted by Christ, will be considered in a following part of this Inquiry.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. V.

Note A, page 445.

“For the established doctrine of the Jews [on the lawfulness of works of mercy on the sabbath] Jesus might have made a vindication, easy and offensive to no one, of what he had done and commanded ; but he was pleased, on occasion of this irrefragable and public miracle, to speak of his own superhuman dignity.—When Jesus says, not ‘the Father worketh still,’ but ‘*MY* Father,’ etc. he gives us to understand, as every one must perceive, that God is his Father in a manner altogether peculiar. The least that could be deduced from it would have been, that he avowed himself to be the Messiah, whom it was the practice of the Jews to call *the Son of God*. But when we read forwards, we find it clear that he declares himself to be the Son of God, in a much higher sense than that in which the Jews conceived of the Messiah.—‘And I also work.’ In this expression, Jesus ascribes this miracle to himself, as a partaker with God in a common operation. No prophet, no mere man, can say this of himself : such a one has no part in the production of a miracle ; it is the reverse ; God is the sole author of the whole. But still greater is the case, when the miracle is described as a breach of the great sabbath of the world, and Jesus is represented as ‘working still’ with God ; for thus he declares himself to be He who, on the seventh day of the creation, ‘rested from all his works ;’ and who is that Being, but the Creator of the world ? But can we understand these words of Christ, as referring to a subject so very great as a Divine Nature dwelling in him ? I scarcely see how they can possibly be understood otherwise : and at least the apostle John, who recites this discourse, must have so understood it. In the positions which he lays down against certain erroneous teachers, he maintains that ‘all things were made by the Word,’ and that, ‘without him, nothing was made that has been made.’ In his Gospel, he selects the particular discourses of Jesus which were adapted to confirm those positions ; and thus—the man Jesus is described as united with the Eternal Word, who created the world. Even the Jews find in these words, something exceedingly great : ‘He maketh himself equal to God.’ This he certainly does, when he represents himself as resting with God from the creation of the world ; but as, from time to time, interrupting this rest, this sabbath of the world, by miracles ; and as working those very miracles in conjunction with God. In his answer to the Jews, he does not tell

them that they had misunderstood him, and that he by no means intended to make himself equal to God; but he repeats the matter, and expresses it in terms which may even be regarded as stronger than the former; since he maintains that he performs all divine works, in a community of operation with the Father, not excepting the resurrection of the dead itself" [that most stupendous work of omnipotence]. *J. D. Michaelis, Anmerkung.*

Note B, page 447.

"It can scarcely be deemed a difficulty that Jesus is declared to be the judge of men 'BECAUSE he is the son of man,' that is *a man*, and so far like the rest of mankind. For in this very debate with the Jews, he also declared himself to be the Son of God, entitled to the same honours as the Father, and possessed of those divine perfections by which he is competent to this work of judgment, as being possessed of infinite knowledge, holiness, and righteousness; and through the whole of his discourse, he so urges this point that the reader cannot lose sight of it. But, in this paragraph, he assigns as the reason why God had given to his Son the authority of judgment over mankind, that he was *a man*, a partaker of the human nature. In this we admire the arrangement of divine benignity, that God has given to mankind a Saviour and Sovereign, who possesses our own nature united with his Divine Majesty, and is, in all respects, sin excepted, like unto us. (—The same sentiment is advanced in 1 Tim. ii. 5; Phil. ii. 7, 9; Heb. ii. 6, 17—iv. 15, 16—v. 1, 2.) On this account, the apostle, preaching to the Athenians that Christ was ordained by God to be the Judge of the world, with express purpose denominates him, *a man*, *ἄνθρωπος*. But what appears to me as perhaps the most remarkable circumstance in our Lord's design, is his intending a reference to the sublime vision of Daniel, in which the Messiah is described as 'like to a son of man;' to convey the idea that his character and government would not be like those of the worldly monarchies which are represented by savage animals, but that his conduct would be gentle and humane, as that of a man with men." *Specimen Hermeneutico-Theologicum de Appellatione τοῦ Τίτου τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου, auctore Wesselio Scholten; pp. 18, 19. Utrecht, 1809.*

These remarks are just and important; but Mr Scholten is mistaken in his supposition that the absence of the article in this passage distinguishes the phrase from *ὁ Τίτς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and brings it under the anarthrous form which signifies, in the Hebrew and Syriac idiom, merely a *human being*. The form of the clause here, *ὅτι Τίτς ἀνθρώπου ἐστί*, is in consequence of a rule of the Greek idiom, established by the most satisfactory evidence, that the predicate of a proposition, whether the substantive verb be expressed or not, should be without the article. See *Bishop Middleton's* long and satisfactory Note, in his *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, pp. 71–76.

Note C, page 452.

If we possessed any unexceptionable method of ascertaining in what manner the terms and phrases of ancient writers, which have become matter of controversy in later times, were understood by those who lived in or near the age of the authors, and who spoke the same language, we might be apt to think that we enjoyed a signal assistance for interpretation. In some respects this circumstance, could it be realized, would be found advantageous; yet by no means to a great extent. If passions and prepossessing opinions could be laid aside, the difficulty of interpreting the writings of antiquity would not be so great as it is often represented to be. This difficulty is little complained of with regard to the didactic Greek and Roman writers; and, with respect to the historians and poets, still less. The great stream of that traditional communication of grammar and interpretation, which has been transmitted, by a living and *really*

uninterrupted succession, in schools and colleges, from the purest classic times to the present day; the ancient scholia, glossaries, lexicons, and grammatical treatises, which are extant;—the study of the context;—the comparison of passages; and an acquired familiarity with the language, style, and manner of authors;—have been found sufficient to establish in the minds of rational men a prevailing acquiescence in the generally received understanding of the Greek and Latin languages. The chief toil of criticism has been the emendation of corrupt passages, and the explanation of technical terms and uncommon phrases.

It might be thought that an advantage of this kind is to be derived to the study of the New Testament, from the writings of the earliest Greek fathers. But such an expectation would be disappointed. Those authors had little knowledge of rational and impartial principles of interpretation; and they appear to have adopted, with unsuspecting acquiescence, any arbitrary and fanciful gloss on the words of scripture, which promised to answer a present purpose. Though a better judgment is manifested in the comments of Basil, Chrysostom, and some others of the fourth century, yet the controversies which had been so warmly agitated, and the active part taken by those eminent men, prevent our adducing them as witnesses, except when a reasonable ground can be assigned for regarding their judgment, in any particular case, as unbiassed.

If, however, we had a writer who was merely a man of letters, and who had transfused into any kind of explicatory composition those passages of the New Testament which affect our inquiry, upon other principles and with other views than what might be presumed to actuate a professed theologian; such a writer would, in all men's estimation, be entitled to considerable regard.

An author approaching to this idea is Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt. Unfortunately his age is rather late, he having flourished at the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century; yet this was many centuries before the ancient Greek ceased to be a living language. Nothing is known of the life or character of Nonnus. Two poems of his are extant; the *Dionysiaca*, a long epic composition on the life and actions of Bacchus, but so loaded with digressions and episodes as to include a chaos of heathen fables, lavish in mythological learning, and, with much extravagance, exhibiting marks of genius; and a *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, in Homeric versification. The style and manner of this latter composition shows that the author's design was to display his poetical talent, rather than to produce a theological work. All things considered, I think it may be taken as a fair specimen of the manner in which a man, whose vernacular language was Greek, understood the phraseology of the evangelist, at the distance of three hundred years from the publication of his Gospel. It is adduced as an illustration rather than as an evidence; and the judicious reader will form his own opinion upon the degree of regard to which it is entitled. I shall copy this metaphrase on the principal passages which are quoted in Sections V. and VI.

Εἰσὶνι νῦν γενέτης ἐργάζεται ἡθάδι κόσμῳ
Ἡθεσιν ἀντιτύποις, καὶ ἐγὼ παῖς ἔργον ὑφαίνω.

“The Father worketh until now in modes corresponding with the constant order of the universe, and I the Son skilfully execute the work.” John v. 17.

Καὶ Θεὸν αὐτογένεθλον ἐν κίκλησκι τοκῆα,
Ἰσάζων ἐν εὐχος ἐπουρανίῳ βασιλῆϊ.

“— and called the self-existent God his own Father, equalling his own glory to the celestial king.” Ver. 18.

Οὐδὲν ἐξ ἰότητι δυνήσεται υἱὸς ἀνύσσαι,
Εἰ μὴ ἰσαθρήσειεν ἐν τελείοντα τοκῆα
Ἔργα γὰρ εἰν ἐνὶ παντὰ Πατὴρ ἑμὸς ὅππῃσά ῥέζει,
Ταῦτα Θεὸν γενέτην μιμούμενος υἱὸς ἀνύσσει.

"The Son can never perform any thing by his own determination, only what he beholds his own Father accomplishing: for all the works whatsoever my Father doeth, those in one [*i. e.* in unison or together] the Son performeth, imitating God the Father." Ver. 19.

Ἀνδρομένην δὲ
 "Οψιμον υἱὶ δῶκεν ὅλην κρίσιν, ὅφρα καὶ πάντες
 γίᾳ τιμήσωσιν ἰσόζυγον αὖ γενετῆρι,
 Οἷα τε κυδαίνουσι καὶ ὑψιμέδοντα τοκῆα.
 Εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλοπρόσαλλον ἔχει νόον, οὐ δὲ τοκῆος
 Κυδαίνει λόγον υἱᾶ, καὶ οὐ γενετῆρα γεραίρει.

"The whole final judgment of mankind he hath given to the Son, in order that all may honour the Son as equal in rank to his Father, and in the manner in which they glorify the Father who reigns on high. But if any one has a versatile mind, and does not glorify the Word the Son of the Father, he does not pay homage to the Father." Ver. 23.

Οὐποτε ποίμνης
 Οὔποτε πῶσα ταῦτα διόλλυται, εἰσόκε μίμνη
 Αὐτομάταις ἀψίσιν ἑλῖξ κυκλοῦμενος αἰών.
 Οὐδέ τις ἀρπάξειεν ἐμὴν μινυτόφρονα ποίμνην
 Χειρὸς ἀφ' ἡμετέρης, γενέτης ἐμὸς ὅττι, νομεύειν
 "Ὅς μοι πῶσα δῶκεν, ὑπέρτερος ἐπλετο πάντων.
 Αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, μεδέων τε Πατὴρ ἐμὸς, ἐν γένος ἐσμεν,
 "Εμφυτον, αὐτόπερμενον, ὅθεν φυτὰ μύρια κόσμου.

"Never, never shall these sheep of my flock perish, while the world remains revolving in spirals on its self-moving arches. Nor can any snatch my timid flock from our hand; for my Father who gave me the sheep to feed, is superior to all. I myself and my sovereign Father, are one genus, of mutual nature, self-originated, and from which are derived the innumerable offspring of the universe." Chap. x. ver. 28, 29.

Λόγον αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑψιμέδων πόρε κοσμῷ
 Καὶ καθαρῆς παλάμης ἀγίᾳ σφρηγίσσατο θεσμῷ,
 "Τμῆς ἄφρονα μῦθον ἐπεφθέγγασθε μανέντες,
 "Ὅττι Θεοῦ ζώντος ἐγὼ παῖς ; ———

"The Word whom the Sovereign Ruler sent into the world, and sealed by the holy decree of his pure hand, do you in your fury charge with a foolish speech [for saying] that, I am the Son of the living God?" Ver. 36.

Εἰ βιοδώτερι μύθῳ
 "Ημετέρου γενετῆρος ἀτέρμονος ἄξια ῥέζω,
 "Εργοῖς ἡμετέροις τάπερ ἔδρακε μάρτυς ὅπωπῃ,
 "Ὅφρα καὶ γινώσκειτε θεοπνεύστῃ τινὶ μύθῳ
 "Ὡς ἐν ἐμοὶ τελθεὶ γενέτης ἐμὸς, ὅττι καὶ αὐτὸς
 "Αγχιφανὴς, ἀμέριστος, ὁμόζυγός εἰμι τοκῆος.

"If, by my life-giving word, I do things worthy of my infinite Father, by my works which your eyes have witnessed, that ye may know, by a divinely-inspired declaration, that my Father exists in me, that I also am manifested as near to my Father, indivisible from him, equal to him." Ver. 38.

SECTION VI.—SON OF GOD, ONE WITH THE FATHER.

Sum of the assertions here made by Jesus Christ.—Investigation of the scriptural phrase, *to be one*.—A characteristic of our Lord's manner of teaching.—Peculiarity of the oneness of Christ with the Father.

"The Jews surrounded him and said to him. How long dost thou hold us in suspense! If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.

"Jesus answered them; I did tell you, and ye do not believe. The works which I do in the name of my Father, these testify concerning me. But ye believe not: for ye are not of my sheep. As I said unto you, my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand. My Father, who gave [them] to me, is greater than all: and no one is able to snatch [them] out of the hand of my Father. I and the Father are one.

"Then again the Jews took up stones, with a view to stone him. Jesus answered them; Many good works I have shown to you from my Father: for which of those works do ye stone me?

"The Jews answered him; For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy; and because thou, who art a man, makest thyself God.

"Jesus answered them; Is it not written in your law, 'I said, ye are gods?' If he called gods, those to whom the word of God was [addressed], (and the Scripture cannot be annulled), do ye say to him whom the Father hath set apart and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of my Father, give me not credit: but, if I do [them], though ye give not credit to me, give credit to the works: that ye may know and be assured that in me is the Father, and I in him." John x. 24–38.⁶²

IN this portion of the doctrine of Jesus, we find the following particulars:

1. The avowal, so often made on other occasions, of his *official subordination* to the Father; in having been designated, commissioned, sent, and endowed with a peculiar property in his people; and in exercising miraculous powers by the authority of the Father.

2. The assertion of *his own power to confer* the blessings of salvation; namely, holy character, immortal happiness, deliverance from moral danger, and security against all possible hostility. Let it be observed that, in the evident nature of the case, and according to the uniform tenor of Scripture, the bestowment of SUCH gifts implies the attribute of All-sufficiency in the Donor.

3. This assurance of security is repeated, with a confirmatory

⁶² The clause, "as I said unto you" (ver. 27), is joined to the following words, not only in conformity with the best editions and translations, but because this position appears more closely accordant with the instances of clauses beginning with *καθώς*, in the writings of John. Many authorities omit it.

declaration that the *Omnipotence* of the Almighty Father is pledged to the same object.

4. These two assurances are consolidated into the proposition, "I and my Father ARE ONE."

To obtain a satisfactory conclusion as to the meaning of the expression, "to be one" (*ἐν εἶναι*), it is necessary to review the few passages of the New Testament in which it occurs.

In John xvii. 11, 21-23,⁶³ the connexion shows that the *being reciprocally one* which is predicated of Christ, his Divine Father, and his disciples, is the union of cordial and generous *love* in the present life, and of celestial *happiness* in the future state.

1 Cor. iii. 8, "He that planteth, and he that watereth, are one." Here the union of *design* and *co-operation* is plainly intended.

There are no other instances, except the one now under consideration. The phrase occurs, indeed, in a passage which is regarded, upon strong evidence, as spurious, 1 John v. 7; and if we were to argue from that passage, we should say that the connexion shows the reference to be to *consent*, or the union of *testimony*. The Septuagint furnishes only two or three examples: and their manifest signification is the closest union, either of *resemblance*, or of *conjunction*.⁶⁴

It is, therefore, manifest, that the grammatical sense of the phrase will not, of itself, determine its exact import; and that the meaning must be ascertained, in every instance, by an attention to the *nature* and *circumstances* of the given case.

What, then, is the kind of union which the nature and circumstances of the case before us point out? It is a union for the bestowment of the most important blessings, for the averting of the greatest evils, for a sovereign and effectual preservation from spiritual danger and eternal ruin. *These* are the plain facts of the case. It is, therefore, a *union* of *POWER*.—"No one shall "snatch them out of MY FATHER'S hand:—I and the Father "are ONE."

The argumentative connexion of the clause requires also to be attended to. Jesus had affirmed the adequacy of *his own* power for the certain salvation of his sincere followers; as well as that of God his Father. Therefore, to show that he had not exceeded the bounds of truth in the assertion, and to furnish a

⁶³ Cited at length in pp. 460, 461.

⁶⁴ They are Gen. xli. 25, 26. Exod. xxvi. 11.

sufficient ground of reason for it, he adds, "I and the Father are one." The union of power is thus shown to be a real *identity* of power.⁶⁵

The hearers of Jesus instantly accused him of assuming DIVINE honours, and were proceeding to a summary execution of their capital law against blasphemy. Whether their alarm was sincere or affected, it is clear that there must have been an *apparent* ground for it.

The Lord Jesus might have answered; "I accept your construction, but I deny your charge. I have uttered no impiety, for I have claimed no more than I have a right to claim. I am the Messiah, whose goings forth have been from of old, even from the days of eternity. I am not only a man like yourselves, but I existed and acted before my taking flesh, as the Shepherd of Israel, the Lord of David, the King whose throne is for ever and ever."

And if this were true, why did he not so answer? We reply, that, admitting the truth of the assertion supposed, there are good reasons to account for his having declined to make it. It would have been inconsistent with the present stage of the advancement of his dispensation; it would have been a departure from that rule of reserve which we have ample evidence that he most carefully adhered to; and he had before him another mode of proceeding, which we shall presently see was in accordance with his usual practice as a teacher.

But, upon the Unitarian hypothesis, no motive can be imagined why he should not have met the accusation with the clearest and most pointed denial. Though he saw it not to be proper, as yet, to avow himself publicly to be the Messiah, there could be no reason why he should omit to protest that he was merely a man, such as other men: and every consideration of piety and veracity, and all other good principles, demanded the most

⁶⁵ "Not *εἷς* (*unus*) one and the same *person*, but *ὅν* (*unum*) one and the same *thing*. The Father has communicated his power to the Son." *Calm Ing.* p. 235. But what is this to the purpose? No Trinitarian interpreter ever contended for the former representation, which would be as inconsistent with his doctrine as it is with the words of the passage. The neuter form is necessary to the idiomatical expression: and it has been often insisted on by divines, from Tertulian downwards, as indicating the unity, not of *person*, but of *essence*. As for the writer's assertion of the "communicated power," he seems to have little reflected on the kind, degree, and extent of the *power* which the case requires; a power which could be neither communicated to, nor exercised by, any being merely a creature.

prompt and unambiguous declaration against the blasphemy with which he was charged. This course, however, he did not take. It has, indeed, been said that "he peremptorily denies the conclusion which the Jews drew from his language."⁶⁶ Such denial I acknowledge myself unable to discover, either in a "peremptory" or in an implied form. The serious and attentive reader must decide for himself, on a careful scrutiny of the language held by Jesus in his reply.

It was so frequently practised, that we may pronounce it to have been one of the characteristics of our Lord's style of teaching, to reason with men *upon their own* real, or pretended *principles*; and to conduct them to a point in which *their own minds could not escape* from drawing the *very conclusion* which they had been, at the outset, anxious to avoid.⁶⁷

In this way, therefore, he proceeds. He reminds his accusers that, in the phrase of their own scriptures, even wicked rulers were denominated gods. He infers that no prejudice could be justly entertained against him, for having used language implying that God was his Father in a special and unique sense; while he had not called himself God, but only, by the showing of his opponents, had claimed to be the Son of God. At the same time, he evidently assumes that his own title to the disputed honour was greater than that of the Jewish magistrates. He then appeals to his unquestionable miracles, as the attestation of his truth in again affirming *the very thing* which had created the offence; in terms different, indeed, but clearly of the same import, and most strongly expressive, *not of a union of power merely*, though that involved a claim of omnipotence, but of a union in the *very nature and manner* of existence:—"IN ME is the Father, and I IN HIM."

But this interpretation is contested, because the "phrase is applicable to believers in general."⁶⁸ The passages in which such application occurs are these:—

"In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you:" John xiv. 20. "Holy Father! keep in thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we.—That they all may be one, as thou,

⁶⁶ *Calm Inq.* p. 218.

⁶⁷ For example, Matt. xii. 1-12; xix. 3-9, 16-22; xxi. 23-27; xxii. 16-22.

⁶⁸ *Calm Inq.* p. 235. The same line of argument is followed by Arian, Socinian, and Unitarian writers in general.

"Father, in me and I in thee, that also they in us may be one; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me: and the glory which thou hast given to me, I have given to them, that they may be one as we are one. I in them, and thou in me: that they may be completed into one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me. That the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them." Chap. xvii. 11, 21-23, 26. "If we love one another, God abideth in us, and his love is completed in us. By this we know that we abide in him, and he in us, that he hath given us of his Spirit.—Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God: and we know and are confident of the love which God hath towards us. God is love; and he who abideth in love abideth in God, and God in him." 1 John iv. 12, 13, 15, 16.

From these passages, no one can doubt that the phrase of a reciprocal in-dwelling, or *in-being*, is scripturally predicable of the relations which subsist between God and sincere Christians in general. The passages evidently express an intimate union of *holy mental affections* between the Father of spirits and his faithful servants, in the present state; the communion of *gracious influences* on his part, and of *devotional feelings and actions* on theirs; and that *perfection of both* which will subsist in the heavenly state. This use of the expression may be rationally accounted for, by referring it to the principle, which is more or less conspicuous in the structure of all languages, that terms and phrases are occasionally used in senses greatly below their native strength and significancy; the nature of the subject and the circumstances of its association pointing out, in all such cases, the restrictions which are understood.⁶⁹ So Christians are directed to aim at being "partakers of a divine disposition," to be "perfect as God is perfect," to be "holy as he is holy;"⁷⁰ and so, by a different direction of the same figure, Christ is represented as "being made sin for us," and disbelievers of the divine testimony are said to "make God a liar."⁷¹

⁶⁹ See *Lord Kames's Elements of Criticism*, chap. xx. sect. 3.

⁷⁰ 2 Pet. i. 4, *ῥίζις*, "origo,—ipsa rei natura et essentia, proprietates insitæ, in-doles, mores." *Schleusner*. Matt. v. 48; 1 Pet. i. 16.

⁷¹ 2 Cor. v. 21, taking *ἁμαρτία* in its primary and obvious sense, with which a rhetorician would first be concerned; for the interpretation of *sin-offering*, derived from a more narrowed inquiry into the peculiarities of Bible-idiom, is a matter of ulterior consideration. 1 John v. 10.

Why, then, may not this phrase, when applied to Christ and the Father, be regarded as conveying no more than a metaphorical in-dwelling, a union of affection and moral principles? We reply that the rule just mentioned, *a regard to the nature and circumstances of the application*, will not permit us so to regard it. The case in question refers not to any moral quality, but to a oneness of *power* for the performance of works which imply omnipotence. Our Lord adduces the in-dwelling of the Father and himself as a synonymous expression of that identity of power; or, more exactly speaking, as a superior and more extensive declaration, confirming, and including the other. The peculiarity of the case, therefore, lying in its relation to the exertion of omnipotence, excludes a metaphorical or merely moral signification, and obliges us to understand it in a strict, proper, and physical sense: it is an *identity of POWER*, such power as can belong to Deity alone, implying and resting upon an *identity of NATURE*. It clearly follows that the title *Son of God*, as belonging to Christ, and as vindicated by him in this passage, denotes one who has the same *essential nature* as that of the Father: or, in the words which our Lord, so far from refusing, fixed upon himself, one who “maketh,” or representeth “himself to be GOD.”

This conclusion is strengthened by observing the ground which our Lord lays to confirm his declaration: “If I do not “the works of my Father, give me not credit; but, if I do, “though ye give not credit to me, give credit to the works.” The term, “works of my Father,” may denote either actions done by the command and authority of God,⁷² or such as are wrought by the immediate power of God. To take it here in the former sense, is evidently inapplicable to the occasion, and would make the reasoning nugatory. In the other sense, it suits the argument. “By the miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God wrought through him,—Jesus of Nazareth was a man demonstrated by God”⁷³ to be all that he himself claimed, whether by assertion or implication. So far he differs not from other inspired messengers. God confirmed the mission of prophets and apostles by exhibiting miraculous powers through them.⁷⁴ Jesus had all this honour as a man and a prophet. But

⁷² As in John vi. 28, and Rev. ii. 26.

⁷³ Acts ii. 22.

⁷⁴ “God wrought very extraordinary [οὐ τὰς τυχαίας] miracles through the “hands of Paul.” Acts xix. 11.

the divine testimony does not permit us to rest at this point. Jesus Christ constantly speaks of himself as being, not an instrument only, but the AGENT, in works of miraculous power: and it is remarkable that, while the apostles manifested a studious anxiety to avoid using language that could be construed into any representation of themselves above that of a powerless instrumentality, they ascribed the final agency to Christ as readily as to God the Father. The "signs and wonders" which sanctioned the ministry of Paul, and of which the number and variety was so great, that his modesty refused to speak of them, beyond a slight and necessary allusion, he definitely attributes to CHRIST as their AUTHOR: "Christ wrought them through me."⁷⁵ Here, therefore, are reasons for understanding our Lord's words as asserting *for himself* a power of divine agency, and consequently the possession of divine perfections, "I do the works of my Father,—that ye may know and be assured that in me is the Father, and I in him."

Let the experiment, in imagination, be made of putting these words into the mouth of an apostle. Let Peter, John, or Paul say, "I and God are one: I do the works of God: God is in me, and I in him." Every one feels that the supposition is, not monstrous only, but intolerable. Yet, on Unitarian principles (which affirm that these phrases are "applicable to believers in general," without any investigation of the grounds and the diversity of application), we ought to feel no difficulty in making the supposition. The assumption of such language by any inspired man, must be not barely allowable, not merely capable of being palliated, but strictly and unequivocally in character with piety, humility, meekness, and lowliness of heart,—Unitarianism requires me to believe this!

CAPITULE II.—PASSAGES ELUCIDATING OUR LORD'S USE OF THE APPELLATION, "THE SON OF MAN."

IN the discourses of our Lord, whether private or public, whether in the bosom of his friends or under the jealous observation of his enemies, the style which he was pleased most frequently to use, for describing himself, was that of *the Son of man*,

⁷⁵ Rom. xv. 18.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,⁷⁶ with the article to denote particularity. On an examination of all the passages in which it occurs, it appears that, when this appellation is used, it is always with a reference to some acknowledged character, function, or work of the Messiah: so that, in nearly every instance, the sentence is an apophthegm of the doctrine concerning the Messiah, and might stand as such, quite independently of any particular individual who claimed to be that Messiah. While it was the title which Jesus evidently preferred to every other, and which he was most in the habit of employing, it is observable that it was never applied to him by any other person, except in the single instance of the martyr Stephen; that Jesus himself never returned to the use of it after his resurrection; and that the apostles on no occasion employed it, either in their preaching or in their writings.⁷⁷

To rehearse the numerous and different opinions which have been given of this appellation, and the reason on which it has been supposed to rest, would be tedious and of little profit. That which appears to me the best supported by evidence, has been mentioned in a former part of this work.⁷⁸ It is the interpretation which has been advanced by scholars and divines of the first erudition, and of very different theological sentiments: Beza, Episcopius, the Dutch Annotators of the Synod of Dort,

⁷⁶ Some have affirmed that we ought to translate the phrase, *the son of the man*, and that the allusion is to David as the ancestor of Jesus. But this assertion proceeds on ignorance of the Greek idiom, or inattention to it. A noun governed by another noun which has the article, must itself also take the article; and *vice versâ*. See *Middleton on the Greek Article*, pp. 69–71. On this particular phrase, that distinguished scholar observes, “He [Christ] was to be designated as ὁ υἱὸς, for otherwise he would not have been distinguished from any other individual of the human race; and if ὁ υἱὸς then ΤΟῦ ἀνθρώπου, for ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου would offend against *Regimen*. Hence it is plain that the article before ἀνθρώπου is not, if I may say so, *naturally* and *essentially* necessary, but is so only *accidentally*; and consequently it will not be admitted unless where *Regimen* requires it, *i. e.* where ὁ υἱὸς precedes.”—P. 354.

⁷⁷ Rev. i. 13, and xiv. 14, are not exceptions to this remark, for in them the phrase is υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου without the articles, corresponding with the Hebrew and Syriac idiom, which occurs very frequently in the Old Testament (*e. g.* Num. xxiii. 19. Job. xvi. 21; xxv. 6. Psa. viii. 4. Isa. lii. 14; lvi. 2), and is universally known to be merely a periphrasis for *a human being*. In both those passages this is evidently the sense; so that they are improperly rendered in the common version, *the*, instead of *a son of man*. In the Peshito Syriac the phrase, *barnosh* and *barnosho*, is used in many places for ἀνθρώπος, especially, though not only, when the word is a general term, as in Matt. xii. 12. John ii. 25. Rom. i. 23. It is even used in Rom. vii. 22, and in the two instances in 1 Cor. xv. 47.

⁷⁸ See pp. 277–8.

Leigh, Venema, Wetstein, Bengelius, Abresch, Semler, Eichhorn, and many others, for the enumeration of whose names I am indebted to the ample and exact dissertation of Mr Scholten,⁷⁹ a divine of the University of Utrecht, whose learning, diligence, and acuteness have anticipated almost every thing that could be advanced on the question. This opinion is, that the term was used with a designed allusion to the prophecy of Daniel: "I looked in visions of the night, and, behold! with the clouds of heaven, came one like a SON OF MAN."⁸⁰ This is among the clearest prophetic descriptions of the Messiah: and, though in its original connection it is combined with lofty characters of majesty and honour, the expression in itself is such that nothing can be conceived more simple and unassuming. It was, therefore, admirably calculated to answer the purposes of our Lord's habitual testimony concerning himself, during that period in which his wisdom saw it right to suspend the universal declaration of his claim to be the Messiah. It could hurt no feelings, rouse no prejudices, offend no pride. It could minister no fuel to the rage of the violent, nor furnish any occasion to the capriciousness of the artful, nor be wrested into a pretext for exciting civil discord, nor awaken the jealous fears of the Roman government. But, while thus humble and inoffensive, it was intelligible, clear, and definite, to those who "searched the Scriptures;" and it went the full length of a claim to the Messiahship.

This view of the origin and design of the phrase leads to the conclusion, that, though it literally expresses only a human nature, it is applied, on the generalizing principle of language,

⁷⁹ Cited above, p. 454. Kuinöl accedes to this idea of the origin of the phrase. See his *Comment. in Lib. N. T. Hist.* vol. i. p. 259. Gesenius, citing Dan. vii. 13, adds, "In the *Book of Enoch*, which was written about the time of the birth of Christ, partly as an imitation of the Book of Daniel, this expression [*Son of man*] is in constant use for the Messiah, and is employed synonymously with *Son of God*, *Anointed*, etc. as in the New Testament." *Handwörterbuch*, art. מָשִׁיחַ. See Book II. ch. vii. § 3.

⁸⁰ Dan. vii. 13. Mr B. remarks that "the expression may possibly signify nothing more than a person in human form; and—this symbol of a human figure is explained, not of an individual, but of the kingdom of the saints of the Most High." P. 392. But these objections are, I think, removed by the considerations, that, (1.) In other instances of prophetic description the Messiah is exhibited in his own person, though associated with allegorical personages and scenery. See Rev. i. 13–20; xix. 11–16. (2.) The expressions of "the saints possessing the kingdom," etc. vers. 18, 22, 27, are fairly interpreted, in conformity with the elucidations supplied by the New Testament, of the deliverance from sin, persecution, and all evil, and of the final triumph and perfect happiness, which the servants of Christ shall receive from him as their Head and Saviour.

to designate the MESSIAH, *in the whole comprehension* of his person and character, yet with an especial view to his state of humiliation.⁸¹ The circumstances of glory, power, and relation to the Divine Father, which in the original passage are attributed to him who bore the likeness of a Son of man, excite and seem to warrant this notion; especially if the interpretation be admitted, which was proposed in page 278 of this volume, of a clause in that passage as declaring a close and intimate *conjunction*, by the greatest of all miracles, of the frail and lowly nature of a child of man with that of the Ancient of days, so as to form *one person*. Thus we are also furnished with a guide to the interpretation of several passages of the New Testament, which, on any other hypothesis, Trinitarian or Unitarian, present great difficulties.⁸² The principal of these passages are now before us to be examined.

SECTION I.—ON CHRIST'S DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN.

Unitarian Interpretation stated and examined.—Idea of a local heaven.—Hebrew phrase, to ascend into heaven.—Its Rabbinical use.—Its true meaning.—The correlate phrase, to descend from heaven.—Applied to the Divine Being,—and to signal blessings from him.—Applied to persons only, when a real presence is signified.—The leading idea.—Its application to the passage under consideration.

“No one hath ascended into heaven, except he who descended from heaven, the Son of man, who is in heaven.” John iii. 13.

THOSE believers in the Deity of the Messiah who understand the phrase under consideration as denoting him in his human nature restrictively, have no plausible method, as appears to me, of interpreting this passage, unless they coincide with the usual gloss of the Unitarians.

⁸¹ “The very title, ‘Son of man’ has every where a reference to the *Incarnation of Christ*, and is therefore significant of his acquaintance with human weakness. I have, indeed, observed that, in a majority of the places in which our Saviour calls himself the Son of man (and he is never in the N. T. so called, by others, before his ascension) the allusion is either to his present humiliation, or to his future glory: and, if this remark be true, we have, though an indirect, yet a strong and perpetual declaration, that the human nature did not originally belong to him, and was not properly his own. He who shall examine the passages throughout, with a view to this observation, will be able duly to estimate its value. For myself, I scruple not to aver, that I consider this single phrase so employed, as an irrefragable proof of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ.” *Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article*, p. 354.

⁸² “When we want to open a lock, and after having tried, to no purpose, a number of keys, we hit upon one which opens it with facility, we conclude that we have met

Socinus and some of his immediate followers, believed in an actual translation of Jesus to some celestial region, in the interval between his baptism and his entrance on his public ministry; and that he there received instructions and qualifications for his mission.⁸³

The opinion preferred by the Calm Inquirer, and by the generality of modern Unitarians, may be thus represented :

The Jewish notion of a local heaven is an absurd and puerile hypothesis. God is at all times equally and every where present; and heaven is a state, not a place. To be perfectly virtuous, and to be perfectly happy, is to be in heaven. But *to ascend into heaven* is a Hebrew form of expression, to denote the acquisition of such knowledge as lies remote from common apprehension, or is unattainable by the ordinary faculties of men: for example, Deut. xxx. 12. Prov. xxx. 4. Baruch iii. 29. Rom. x. 26. The phrase, therefore, here denotes, "No one is instructed in the divine counsels." The next clause is to be understood in the same figurative manner, and is perfectly correlative with the first; signifying, "Excepting the Son of man, who had a commission from God to reveal his will to mankind." This form of expression also is used in Scripture, to signify what is of divine origin or authority; as when our Lord asks, "the baptism of John, was it *from heaven* or of men?" Matt. xxi. 25. The last clause in John iii. 13 is a continuation of the same figure, so that the true sense of the whole text may be expressed thus: No one has ever been admitted to a participation of the divine counsels, except the Son of man, Jesus of Nazareth, who has been commissioned to reveal the will of God to men, and who is perfectly instructed and qualified for this office.⁸⁴

Upon this scheme I submit some remarks :

with the right key. In like manner, when any phenomenon in nature is to be explained, such, for instance, as the aberration of the fixed stars; and we find that the hypothesis of the progressive motion of light, combined with that of the annual motion of the earth in its orbit, will completely solve that wonderful appearance, we rightly conclude that light is progressive: or, when we find that the colours, figure, position, and all the other appearances of the primary and secondary rainbows, can be solved from the different refrangibility of the rays of light passing through globular drops of rain, we rightly conclude that the rays of light are differently refrangible, and the drops of rain globular; why may we not argue in the same manner on other subjects?" *Bishop Watson's Anecdotes of his own Life*. 8vo ed. vol. ii. p. 222.

⁸³ Socini Opera, tom. ii. pp. 511, 610. *Enjedini Explic. Locorum*, p. 217. *Calm Inq.* p. 40.

⁸⁴ Abridged from the *Calm Inq.* pp. 45-55.

1. The idea of a local heaven runs through the whole tenor of the Old and New Testament, and may be held without involving any absurd or puerile conceptions, without at all derogating from the most exalted belief of the Divine immensity, and without any inconsistency with the facts of just science. That there are orders of intelligent creatures distinct from man, and inhabiting other parts of the universe than our planet, is rendered to the highest degree probable by "modern discoveries in astronomy,"⁸⁵ and is, in a variety of ways, asserted and implied in the volume of revelation. There is nothing incongruous with the most rigid philosophy in the supposition, that the very locality of perfectly holy and happy beings should be distinguished by peculiar, and even external, manifestations of that favour of the Deity, which is rich and diversified in its resources above all human conception. All known analogies countenance such a supposition. Neither is there improbability in the idea, that some part of the inconceivably extended universe may have been prepared by the wisdom of God, as a region above all others proper for the most sublime manifestations of that glorious favour. To such an idea, the language of the Scriptures is not merely favourable, but decidedly and constantly proceeds on its admission. To affirm that the Omnipresence of the Divine Nature renders impossible any such peculiar manifestation, is a gratuitous assertion, and could not be maintained without virtually denying the attribute of Omnipotence. The question does not refer to the essential presence of the Deity, but to special manifestations of his attributes, and communications of the highest blessings from him. And what, after all that can be said or imagined, is the scriptural heaven, but *the relation to space* which is possessed by the most perfect creatures?

2. The statement is not correct, that "*to ascend to heaven* is a Hebrew form of expression, to denote the knowledge of things mysterious and remote from common apprehension." The four passages referred to by Mr B. and other writers, evidently signify a real and local ascent, with a view to obtain the knowledge, or other blessing, adverted to in the connexion of each. Let the reader impartially examine them. That the sacred writers believed in the possibility of such a corporal ascent, no more derogates from their inspiration, than does their being ignorant

⁸⁵ Mr Belsham asserts that "modern discoveries in astronomy amply refute this puerile hypothesis." P. 55.

of the true construction of the solar system. It was no part of the design of revelation to teach men natural philosophy. In their using the phrase, *ascending into heaven*, the writers evidently conceived of a real penetration into the regions of celestial light and happiness, *in order to the acquisition of the knowledge which is peculiar to the Divine Being*. When Jesus, in the case before us, employs the expression, he neither affirms nor denies the hypothetical possibility of such ascending into heaven; but he states the fact to be that no human being ever had actually so ascended.

Other examples which occur in Scripture of this phrase, clearly refer to a real ascent. The following are all that I have been able to discover, which can affect the present inquiry.

“It is not in the heavens, that [ye should have] to say, Who “will ascend for us into the heavens, and bring it to us, and “cause us to hear it? And [then] we will do it.” Deut. xxx. 12. That is, as Le Clerc paraphrases it, “God hath not expressed in an obscure and perplexing manner the rites of worship and practice of religion, by which ye may obtain his favour; so that it should be in your power to say that it is concealed from you, as if it were known only in heaven.” The succeeding sentence, which in the same manner affirms that the Israelites needed not to make long journeys or perilous voyages, to acquire the knowledge of the Divine will, proves that the words of the former question intend an actual ascent to some celestial region.

“Who hath ascended into the heavens, and hath descended? “Who hath gathered the winds in his fists? Who hath established all the ends of the earth? Who hath tied up the “waters in a garment? What is his name? And what the “name of his Son? For knowest thou?” Prov. xxx. 4. That the ascending and descending are here assumed to be the undoubted properties of the Most High, is manifest from the succeeding questions: and, as they respect his supreme power as the Lord of nature, this clause may probably refer to his universal presence and agency. I would here, in passing, observe that the concluding clauses of this energetic passage are rationally and easily interpreted, if we admit that the ancient Jews had some obscure ideas of a plurality in the Divine nature.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ See pp. 8, 322.

This was the opinion of the late J. D. Michaelis.⁸⁷ Döderlein and Dathe conceive the expression to be merely the Hebraism for a *pupil*, as Elijah was a father to Elisha and other *sons* of the prophets.⁸⁸ But this seems far-fetched, and foreign to the design of the passage.

"If I mount the heavens, there art Thou!" Psa. cxxxix. 8. "Thou hast said in thy heart, Into the heavens I will ascend, above the stars of God I will exalt my throne;—I will be like the Most High." Isaiah xiv. 13, 14. "David hath not ascended into the heavens." Acts ii. 34. These instances need no comment. They plainly show that the expression was commonly understood among the Jews to signify a real translation to heaven as to a place. This is not contradicted but confirmed, by the hyperboles and metaphors, which are derived from this phrase, and applied to lofty towers, the waves in a storm, splendid prosperity, exalted privileges, and prodigious sins.⁸⁹

Mr Belsham, on the authority of Dr Whitby, affirms that "the Jews in the Targum say, in honour of Moses, that 'he ascended into the high heavens,' by which they could mean no more than his admission to the divine counsels."⁹⁰ Whitby, perhaps copying from some author, has not understood the passage, nor even referred to it rightly. It is evident that neither he nor Mr B., who borrows it from him, took the pains to consult the Targum. The place is in the paraphrase on Canticles iii. 3, and it very plainly refers to Moses going up to the top of Mount Sinai, to intercede for the people on their having made the golden calf. Some antecedent passages will give light to it. "The righteous of that generation said, Lord of the whole world,—bring us near to the acclivity of Mount Sinai, and give us thy law from the house of thy treasury, which is in the firmament.—Moses their leader ascended to the firmament, and made peace between them and their king.—

⁸⁷ "I will not anticipate the judgment of my reader, by presuming to determine whether an Only-Begotten Son is here ascribed to God; though I must candidly acknowledge that, without this doctrine of the New Testament, I cannot explain the words, especially considering their connexion." *Anmerkung in loc.*

⁸⁸ *Dathe Vers. et Not. in Prov.* p. 346.

⁸⁹ See Deut. ix. 1. Ps. cvii. 26. Job xx. 6. Matt. xi. 23. Rev. xviii. 5.

⁹⁰ P. 47. Whitby's words are, "The Jews say, for the honour of their prophet Moses, that he ascended לשמי מרימה into the high heavens; Targ. in Cant. i. 5, 11, 12." *Paraph. and Notes*, John iii. 1.

Then was it said to Moses, Ascend to the firmament, and I will give to thee the two tables of stone carved from the sapphire of the throne of my preciousness.—And, while Moses their leader was in the firmament, to receive the two tables of stone and the law and the commandments, the wicked of that generation arose and made a golden calf. Then Moses came down, and the two tables of stone in his hands: and on account of the offences of Israel his hands became heavy; and they fell, and were broken.—And he ascended the second time to the firmament and prayed before Jah, and propitiated for the children of Israel.—Moses the chief scribe of Israel answered and spoke thus, *I will ascend to the heavens on high*, and I will pray before Jah, if perhaps he may be propitiated on account of your offences.”⁹¹ According to the frequent acceptation of the Hebrew word for *heaven* or *the heavens*, to denote a moderate elevation in the atmosphere,⁹² it is easy to conceive that the summits of lofty mountains might be said to be *on high* and *in the heavens*. The expression would appear still more appropriate in application to Sinai at the giving of the law, on account of the awful darkness, the thick clouds, the lightnings, and the miraculous phenomena. But all doubt is set at rest by the occurrence of the very phrase in the writings of Moses. “Jehovah said to Moses, thus “thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Ye are beholders that “from the heavens I have spoken with you.”⁹³

However, better authorities⁹⁴ than Whitby have maintained that *to ascend into heaven* is a Hebrew metaphorical idiom to denote *the diligent application of the mind to the investigation and attainment of abstruse knowledge, especially that of God and sacred things*.⁹⁵ Of these critics Schöttgen may be, without injustice, reckoned the chief, for the extent of his acquaintance with the Hebraized idioms and the Talmudical writings. His annotation on John iii. 13, is as follows: “*No mortal knows the will of my heavenly Father*, so as to be able to advance any thing from his own knowledge on this doctrine of regeneration. That this is

⁹¹ *Targum in Cant. Salom.* i. 4, 5, 11, 12; iii. 3. ap. *Waltoni Polygl.* tom. iii. pp. 428, 430, 434.

⁹² See Gen. i. 20; Ps. civ. 12, and many other places.

⁹³ Exod. xx. 22.

⁹⁴ Vatablus, Cameron, Grotius, etc. as cited by the younger Raphelius in his Preface to his father's *Annotiones* in SS. ed. 1747. tom. i. Mr B. refers to this Preface, and has made considerable use of it.

⁹⁵ “*Μεταφορικῶς* verò et improprie denotat *scrutationem atque pervestigationem rerum absconditarum.*” *Raphel. præf.* p. 5.

the sense of our Lord's words, appears from Deut. xxx. 12, and Rom. x. 6. It is a Jewish expression: for the Rabbinical writers often say of Moses that he ascended into heaven, and there received a revelation on the institutions of divine worship. 'At the time when Moses ascended into heaven, he heard the voice of the holy and blessed God.' (*Bammidbar Rabba*, sect. 19, fol. 238, 1. and *Tanchuma*, fol. 70, 1.) 'It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, O that we had one like Moses the servant of the Lord, to ascend into heaven and bring it down to us!' (*Jerusalem Targum* on Deut. xxx. 12.) So also the Commentators on Psalm lxviii. 18, generally explain the words *Thou hast ascended on high*, as referring to Moses, when he received the revelation of the divine law."⁹⁶

The passages before cited from the Targum on Canticles render it highly probable, at least, that these Rabbinical writers intended nothing more than the ascent to the top of Sinai. But, whatever was their meaning, as to the nature and manner of this ascent to heaven, it is very evident from their phraseology that they understood it to have been a literal fact.

It is still more remarkable that Schöttgen and the other learned persons should not have perceived that they were putting the result for the operation, the consequent for the antecedent, the end for the means to which that end was attributed. This seems to me to have been the point of their error. The Jews used a phrase, not improbably derived from the history of Moses, to express what they considered as a *way* or *means* of obtaining the highest divine knowledge; and these authors have transferred it to signify the *acquisition* itself.

3. The correlate expression, *to descend from heaven*, is repeatedly used in Scripture in reference to the Divine Being.⁹⁷ Yet it cannot be supposed that a local motion of the Infinite Spirit is intended. The design of such passages undoubtedly is to describe any remarkable *manifestation* to men of the power, intelligence, mercy, or other attributes of Him, "who inhabiteth eternity."

4. By a natural and easy figure, arising from the phraseology just mentioned, any revealed doctrine, precept, or prediction, or any signal interposition of the divine government, is in Scripture

⁹⁶ Schöttgen. *Horæ Hebr.* tom. i. p. 330.

⁹⁷ For instance, Gen. xlv. 4. Exod. iii. 8. Ps. xviii. 9; cxliv. 5. Isa. lxiv. 1. Nehem. ix. 13. Micah i. 2, 3. "Ex sensu omnino humano, maximeque poetico, sæpissime Deus in libris V. T. dicitur descendisse de cælo." *Koppe in Eph.* iv. 8.

said to *be*, or to *come*, from heaven. So it was predicted that, in the constitution of the Gospel, "righteousness should look down "from heaven:" "the baptism of John was from heaven:" "every "good and perfect gift is from above:" "the wrath of God is "revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteous "ness of men:"⁹⁸ and, in the Apocalyptic visions, special acts of the divine dispensations, respecting either the present state or the retributions of the future, are described as "coming down from heaven;" and, in those passages, it is evident that the imagery requires the idea to be maintained of a real and local descent.⁹⁹ It is also observable that, in every instance in which a *person* is said to be, or to come, from heaven, a *real and literal presence* of the person is manifestly in the design of the sacred writer; and that the improper or figurative use is applied to *things*, such as doctrines and messages, promises, threatenings, and providential dispensations.¹⁰⁰

5. Though this figurative use of the expression, in application to signal benefits conferred by God, is of frequent occurrence in Scripture, and it would have been scarcely less natural to have employed the same in relation to eminent persons raised up by providence for peculiar services to mankind; yet no instance of such application exists, excepting to the Saviour of the world. Upon the notion of the Unitarians, that the expression is synonymous with bearing a divine commission, we might well have expected to find it often used in such a sense. Yet we find not this phrase, or any one like it, ever applied to any illustrious *deliverer* of the Hebrew nation, though commissioned and miraculously supported by God, such as Moses the greatest of political benefactors, or any of the Israelitish judges, or David, or Cyrus, or Zerubbabel; nor to any *prophet*, though divinely inspired to bring glad tidings from the Fountain of mercy, as Elijah, Isaiah, or Malachi; nor to any of the inspired *teachers*, who "received not their doctrine from man, nor were taught "it"¹⁰¹ by any human means, as Peter, John, or Paul.¹⁰² On

⁹⁸ Ps. lxxxv. 11. Matt. xxi. 25. James i. 17. Rom. i. 18.

⁹⁹ Rev. iii. 12; xviii. 1; xxi. 2.

¹⁰⁰ The reader can judge of this by the use of a Concordance.

¹⁰¹ Gal. i. 12.

¹⁰² Yet, even without any suggestion from an established phraseology, such a figure was very likely to occur, in drawing the character of a singularly beneficent person in some high station of authority. Cicero uses it to his brother. "Græci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quendam ex annalium memoriâ, aut etiam de cœlo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum, putent." "Thus

the contrary, in the sequel of the passage before us, this is made the very ground of distinction between John the Baptist and Christ. "He who cometh from above is over all: he who is from the earth, is from the earth, and from the earth he speaketh: he who cometh from heaven is over all."¹⁰³

6. From a careful examination of the scriptural use of the expressions, *from heaven*, and *being, coming, or descending from heaven*, it appears to me that the idea intended is A DIVINE ORIGIN, which is, of course, applied variously according to the nature of the subject. Now, if we compare the passages in which such language is employed, in relation to Christ, with those which are acknowledged to refer simply to the peculiar manifestation or energy of God, we shall find that the former are fully as express and definite as the latter, for denoting an ACTUAL and PERSONAL PRESENCE in distinction from any merely figurative idea.

Of the one class we have such passages as these. "I am God, the God of thy father; I will *go down* with thee.—I know their sorrows, and I am *come down* to deliver them.—I will *come* to thee, and I will bless thee.—I will *come down*, and speak with thee there.—Upon mount Sinai thou didst *descend*, and speak with them from heaven!—Arouse thy strength and *come* for our salvation!—O that thou wouldest bow the heavens, that thou wouldest *come down*!—The Lord Jehovah will be a witness against you, the Lord from the temple of his holiness: for behold! Jehovah will *come forth* from his own place and will *descend*, and tread upon the lofty places of the earth."¹⁰⁴

On the other hand we have the passage under consideration, and similar declarations concerning the Messiah made by himself or by his inspired servants. We shall proceed to the examination of these in detail. In the mean time, the weight of philological and scriptural evidence appears to me to determine the passage at present before us to this signification:

"If ye are so averse from apprehending and embracing my testimony with respect to those subjects of religion which refer to your own reason and conscience in the present state, how will ye be capable of understanding those more sublime truths, the

the Greeks will see you acting in such a manner as to fancy that one of their ancient heroes, or even a son of some deity, has descended from heaven to govern the province." *Ep. ad Quint. frat. lib. i. ep. i. sect. 2.*

¹⁰³ Ver. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. xlv. 4. Exod. iii. 7, 8; xx. 24. Numb. xi. 17. Nehem. ix. 13. Ps. lxxx. 2. Is. lxiv. 1. Micah i. 2, 3.

knowledge of which is entirely dependent on a revelation from the Deity himself? Yet doubt not my ability to give you correct information, even on those exalted themes. No human being, indeed, has ever been, or could be, admitted to that most immediate and perfect manifestation of the Divine Presence which would communicate to him that knowledge. But the Messiah, whose superior nature is Eternal, Omniscient, and in every respect Divine, has assumed the nature of man for the express purpose of bringing this knowledge and all other divine blessings to your enjoyment.”¹⁰⁵

Perhaps it will be objected that Nicodemus was not likely to understand our Lord's words as including all this. I reply, that it is not so supposed. It is sufficient if we have evidence, from the subsequent lights of the New Testament doctrine, to assist *our* understanding the comprehensive meaning of the Divine Teacher. The general purport, however, Nicodemus might easily comprehend, notwithstanding his prejudices; and subsequent events and information would gradually enlighten his mind.¹⁰⁶ It is also to be observed, and it is of great importance

¹⁰⁵ *Kai*, the first word in this passage, may be rendered *for, because*. See *Schleusner* in voc. signif. 8. *Borger de Constanti Jesu Christi Indole*, p. 179. Semler paraphrases vers. 12 and 13, thus:—“But if ye refuse to give me credit, though I have as yet spoken only of things which are beginning to be transacted now upon earth among men; how will ye believe if I set before you those greater and more divine subjects on which ye have formed the most erroneous prejudices? For example, no one before me hath ascended into heaven, and taught you heavenly things; however ye are wont to boast of Moses and others. He alone knows heavenly things, who hath come down from heaven, that Son of man who was in heaven before, with God. My abode on this earth will not be permanent, nor will any place be found in my kingdom for those sensual pleasures of which the Jews are forming their imaginations.” In his Annotations he says, “This passage intimates that Jesus was that Only-begotten, the Existing One (*ὁ ὢν*) who was before with God, and who knows all things. He *descended*, when he lived a man among men; and only he could teach us *heavenly things*. ‘*ὁ ὢν*’ is put for *ὁ*; *ἦν*, both here and in chap. i. 18.” *Paraph. et Notæ in Johann.* vol. i. p. 97–100. The last remark cannot be absolutely disproved, as the participle is of both tenses; but I see no evidence to *determine* it to the imperfect, and without some such evidence the proper construction must be in the present.

¹⁰⁶ “He here explicitly declares himself to Nicodemus, as more than a mere man; as one descended from heaven, yea, as in heaven when Nicodemus beheld him present before his own eyes. I know not how to understand this but of a superior nature, which is united with the visible human nature; the same that is declared in chap. i. 14.” *J. D. Michaelis Anmerk.* “It is not the Saviour's object to show whence heavenly mysteries may and must be learned. Nicodemus knew that already, as he acknowledged Jesus to be a special Divine Teacher sent from heaven. But it was our Lord's design to lead Nicodemus to the knowledge of two heavenly doctrines, as examples” [for the further direction of his mind in divine things]: “his coming forth from God and his divine

to be always kept in mind, that it was an essential feature in the plan of our Lord's personal ministry, to deliver some of the chief truths of his dispensation in terms of designed obscurity and reserve. This method of procedure was necessary till after his death and resurrection. Then "he opened the understandings of his disciples;" he "showed them plainly of the Father;" and he gave to them his Holy Spirit, "to lead them into all truth." A great part of our Lord's personal teachings was the sowing of seed, which, though to all appearance buried in the earth, was destined to spring up at a future day, and bear an abundant harvest of knowledge and holiness.

SECTION II.—ON CHRIST'S COMING FROM ABOVE, AND FROM HEAVEN.

The Calm Inquirer's interpretations stated and examined.—Signification of the terms.—Connexion and Design.

"He who COMETH FROM ABOVE IS OVER ALL: he who is from the earth, is from the earth, and from the earth he speaketh: he who COMETH FROM HEAVEN IS OVER ALL." John iii. 31.

IN these words, the forerunner of Christ draws an *express contrast* between his own origin, as merely human, and the entrance of his Lord among men. Bengelius, Wetstein, Kuinöl, and others, suppose that this sentence and those following to the end of ver. 36, are the reflections of the Evangelist. But, the absence of any intimation, even the slightest, of a change of speaker; the violence of such a transition; the want of any apparent reason for interposing a comment of the historian; the incongruity of such interpositions with the ordinary manner of the evangelical historians; and the suitability of the whole passage to the obvious design of John the Baptist, which was to repress the exaggerated sentiments of his own adherents; are strong reasons against such an opinion.

Mr Belsham proposes two interpretations. The first, and which he seems to prefer, is also that of Semler. It supposes

birth; and his intimate communion with God, in both his natures. The conjunction *and*, introducing the sentence, may be taken as explanatory of the immediately preceding declaration. So καὶ is used by the best Greek writers; see *Devarius de Particulis* L. Gr. p. 177." *Brucker*, in the Leipzig Variorum Bible. This exegetical use of καὶ is confirmed and well illustrated by Schleusner, Wahl, and Bretschneider, in their Lexicons.

that the contrast is not between Christ and John, but between Christ and the pretenders to religious knowledge and authority, "the priests and Levites, who instructed the people and expounded the law." This appears to me to be not only a forced construction, and altogether destitute of any countenance from any terms or allusions in the context, but to be at manifest variance with the continuity of the argument and the design of the whole passage.

His other comment, agreeing with those of Grotius¹⁰⁷ and Mr Lindsey, is, that the Baptist "may mean to speak modestly and disparagingly of his own authority and commission from God, in comparison with that of Jesus, which was indeed far more illustrious and divine."¹⁰⁸

This interpretation is not destitute of plausibility; for it suits the design of the connexion, and it is not unusual with the sacred writers to express in absolute terms what is to be understood comparatively. But it is at variance with the undeniable use of scripture phraseology: as we have before observed that no deliverer, benefactor, or prophet, however attended by the most striking evidences of a divine mission, is ever said to have *come from heaven*, or *from above*. To no person are these attributes given, except to the Messiah. It is also to be observed, that the passage before us treats the *persons* and the *doctrine* of the parties compared as distinct objects of consideration. With regard to the doctrine, it says that the one teacher "speaketh from the earth," but the other "witnesseth what he had seen and heard." The remaining clauses, therefore, rationally fall under the former head of consideration, with which the fair and literal meaning of the terms more justly agrees. John was "a man sent from God"¹⁰⁹ as well as Jesus: and the simple fact of a divine mission admits not of degrees: it must either be or be not. One divine mission may from its circumstances be "more illustrious" than another; but it cannot, without absurdity, be called "more divine." It is, further, a circumstance of some

¹⁰⁷ Grotius, though his predilections lay that way, cannot be adduced as consistently supporting this interpretation: for he explains the *being from the earth*, as referring to the human origin of John, in opposition to that of which he speaks indeed ambiguously, as his words may apply either to the miraculous conception of Jesus, or to a union with the divine indwelling energy. "Ὁ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ γῆς natus secundum Adami legem; in quo non est illa verè divina potestas."

¹⁰⁸ Page 57. So also the Impr. Vers. on the passage.

¹⁰⁹ John i. 6.

weight in the determining of this question, that the expressions, *being from above, being from heaven, and being over all*, coincide with other instances of phraseology in the Gospel of John: as, when the Messiah is declared to have been "with God, and "upon the bosom of the Father;" and in other passages which will be particularly considered in the following pages. The first of these phrases is also illustrated by Col. iii. 1. "Seek the "things above ($\tauὰ \ ᄡνω$) where Christ is, seated at the right "hand of God;" clearly denoting a region, or, which is for the present purpose equivalent, a state of supreme blessedness and dignity. The Messiah, in parallel with Adam, and considered as a new head of mercy and happiness to mankind, is called "the Second Man, from heaven,"¹¹⁰ in opposition to the origin of "the first man," who was "of the earth, earthly." So, likewise, the apostle says that Christ "descended into the lower "parts of the earth," and afterwards "ascended above all the "heavens."¹¹¹

From the whole, it appears to me clearly established that, in this passage, the forerunner of Christ expressly puts his own personal origin in contrast with that of his Lord; the one earthly and human, the other heavenly and divine.¹¹²

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO SECT. II.

Note A, page 478.

1 Cor. xv. 47. The words $\delta \ \text{Κύριος}$, *the Lord*, are wanting in many of the best authorities. Knapp, Tittmann, and Scholz retain them; Dr Bloomfield is in doubt. The Calm Inquirer says, "The Vulgate renders the text, 'The first man was of the earth, earthy: the second man will be from heaven, heavenly.'—This is not improbably the true reading; and the sense is, 'The first man, taken from the earth, was frail and mortal; the second man will descend from heaven in a heavenly form, and with immortal radiance and vigour.'" P. 121. Upon this I submit these remarks:

1. The addition, *celestis, ὁ οὐράνιος, the heavenly One*, is found in other good authorities besides the Vulgate (see Wetstein and Griesbach), but I doubt whether the evidence in its favour is sufficient to warrant its reception. It is wanting in the *most* ancient and the best manuscripts, and in all the ancient

¹¹⁰ Note A.

¹¹¹ Eph. iv. 9. The phrase, "the lower parts of the earth," is probably put for the earth merely, by a Hebraism, as opposed to *the skies*, "the height of heaven." Job xxii. 12. See Prov. xxv. 3. Isa. xlv. 23. Joshua ii. 11. "The expression *to descend into the lower parts of the earth*, applied to Christ, signifies that *he came down to this world*, i. e. that he became man, lived on earth, died, was buried, and rose from the dead. John xii. 46; xvi. 28. κατώτερα has the sense of the positive, not of the superlative." Rosenmüller in Eph. iv. 9.

¹¹² Note B.

versions except the Vulgate and the Æthiopic, and the margin of some copies of the Armenian, which is known to have been retouched after the Vulgate. The addition was probably made from an idea that it was necessary to complete the antithesis. It is, however, of no importance to the sense, either way. Scholz (though a Roman catholic) rejects it.

2. It is unfaithful in the Inquirer to insert *was* and *will be*, without notice to his unlearned readers that those words are not in the Vulgate. The Latin idiom, and the structure of vers. 46 and 48, plainly show that *is* is the proper supplement in both clauses: "Primus homo de terrâ, terrenus: secundus homo de cœlo, cœlestis." These unwarrantable insertions give a turn to the passage in favour of the writer's doctrines.

3. Is not his paraphrase of the second clause, "the second man will descend from heaven," exposed to his own contemptuous censure "of the Jewish notion of a local heaven?"

Note B, page 478.

The paraphrase of Nonnus shows, in a striking manner, how ancient and native Greeks understood the words:

Οὐποτε δὲ βροτὸς ἄλλος, ὑπνέμιον πόδα πάλλων,
Οὐρανίων ἐπάτησεν ἀνέμβατον ἄντυγα κύκλων,
Εἰ μὴ Θεσκελὸς οὗτος, ὃς ἀθανάτην ἔο μορφὴν
Οὐρανόθεν κατέβαινεν ἀθήεα σαρκὶ συνάπτων·
Ἀνθρώπου μόνος υἱὸς, ὃς, ἀστερόεντι μελάθρῳ
Πάτριον οὐδας ἔχων, αἰώνιος, αἰθέρα ναίει.

"Never did mortal, walking swifter than the winds, tread the inaccessible summit of the heavenly orbs, except that Divine Person who descended from heaven, to unite, in unwonted manner, his own immortal form to flesh; that only Son of man who, possessing his paternal dwelling in the starry palace, eternal inhabits the sky."

"*He who cometh from above*, i. e. the Son of God; chap. i. 34. This expression of the Baptist, and the declaration of Christ himself, ver. 13, that the Son of man, before his coming into the world as actually a man, was *in heaven*, i. e. *with God*, is parallel to the expressions in chap. i. 1, 18." Semler *in loc.*

"In this passage, Jesus is placed in contradistinction from other prophets, who received the Spirit in a limited measure; and even the greatest of them all, John the Baptist. Therefore the clause, 'He who cometh from heaven,' does not signify, 'He who is sent from God,' for the other prophets were that; but its meaning is, 'He who pre-existed in heaven, and has really come down from heaven:' the same truth which Jesus affirms of himself in ver. 13. Thus John not only proclaims him to be the Messiah, but also ascribes to him a superior nature." *J. D. Michaelis in loc.*

SECTION III.—ON CHRIST'S DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN, AS THE BREAD OF LIFE.

Occasion of this discourse.—Its design.—Manner of pursuing that design,—Involving a prediction of our Lord's expiatory death.—The reference not to the doctrine of Christ, but to his Person.—Meaning and application of the discourse.

"My Father giveth you the real bread, that from heaven. The bread of God is "that which descendeth from heaven, and giveth life to the world.—I am that bread "of life.—I have descended from heaven, that I might perform, not mine own will, but the will of him who sent me.—The Jews then murmured concerning him, be-

"cause he had said, I am the bread which descended from heaven. And they said, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then doth he say, I descended from heaven? Jesus answered, Murmur not among each other.—Every one who hath heard from the Father, and hath learned, cometh to me. Not that any one hath beheld the Father; excepting he who is from God; he hath beheld the Father. This is the bread which descendeth from heaven.—I am that living bread which descendeth from heaven. If any one eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and this bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.—As the Father who liveth hath sent me, and I live by means of the Father; so he who feedeth on me, he also shall live by means of me. This is the bread which hath descended from heaven.—Jesus knowing in himself that his disciples murmured about this, said to them, Is this revolting to you? If, then, ye should see the Son of Man ascending where he was at the first! The spirit is that which giveth life; the flesh availeth nothing. The words which I speak unto you are spirit, and are life." John vi. 32, 35, 38, 41–43, 45, 46, 50, 51, 57, 58, 61–63.

It must be allowed by all, that the discourse of our Lord, from which the preceding extracts are taken, presents great difficulties to any one who desires to be an unbiassed and faithful interpreter. I cannot, however, persuade myself that it was intended for the single and temporary purpose, as the Calm Inquirer represents, of getting rid of some pretended disciples of Jesus, "who had followed him from mercenary and political motives only." Had this been the object, it was a very transient one, it was immediately answered, and the discourse was not necessary or even proper to be preserved. I trust it is not irreverent to say this: for upon the hypothesis of the discourse having been contrived to be obscure, incomprehensible, and repulsive, only to answer a purpose of momentary exigency; it cannot but appear unfit for general use, more likely to perplex than to instruct future generations, who would have neither the prejudices nor the vices of our Lord's immediate hearers, and upon the whole calculated to lead into serious error. Yet it is recorded at great length, and with extraordinary minuteness. Surely, then, it is but reasonable to assume that, besides whatever immediate effect it was intended to produce, it contains instructions interesting and momentous to men of all times and countries.

The *Occasion*, indeed, of the discourse was furnished by the mercenary professions and pertinacious adherence of a multitude, who were moved by the hope of his gratifying their national ambition, and still more by the expectation of being fed, without their own care or toil, by his miraculous power. They sought Jesus, only "because they had eaten of the loaves and were filled;" and they showed what was principal in their hearts, by artfully insinuating that the most eligible kind of miracle

would be one to give them plenty of food: vers. 31, 34. The more politic of them probably extended their designs much farther; and contemplated his being able to support armies, for the establishment of their expected dominion over all other nations. From the appetite of hunger, therefore, Jesus, who could with dignity employ any object or any circumstance as a vehicle of divine instruction, derived the occasion of this address; and taught them that they were labouring under a much deeper necessity, and that God had graciously provided a suitable relief: "Work not [only] for the food which perisheth, but for the food which endureth to eternal life, which the Son of man will give to you: for him hath the Father, even God, sealed;" that is, hath sanctioned and set him apart for this great purpose of heavenly mercy.

Hence arose the discourse which, notwithstanding repeated interruptions, our Divine Teacher continued to a clear and perfect close, so as to afford the idea of having embraced all the parts of his design. That *Design*, as a careful attention will perceive, was to break the charm of destructive ambition, to wean his hearers from their low voluptuousness, to produce a conviction in their minds of that all-important, but neglected, spiritual necessity under which they laboured, and to excite them to seek the supplies of divine grace by humble and earnest supplication: "I am the bread of life; he who cometh to me shall not hunger: him who cometh to me I will in no wise cast out: I will give my flesh for the life of the world." Vers. 35, 37, 51. Such a design of kindness to the most unworthy was in harmony with the whole conduct of the meek and patient Saviour, who "bore the contradiction of sinners against himself," and always showed the tenderest compassion for his most malignant enemies. The Calm Inquirer appears to have paid but a superficial attention to the spirit of this discourse and the affections which it indicates, when he says that its "design was to shock their prejudices, to disgust their feelings, and to alienate them from his society."¹¹³

The *Manner* of pursuing this design is by declaring, that *his own death*¹¹⁴ must intervene as the means of procuring for men

¹¹³ Page 57.

¹¹⁴ Mr Belsham admits it to be "not improbable that our Lord here has an allusion to his own death." *Impr. V. in loc.* But critics of the greatest name, and those who were far from being favourable to the doctrines usually called evangelical, have thought the allusion to be certain. "Not only my doctrine is food

those blessings which they so needed; that a *participation* of those benefits, analogous in its effects on the mind to the use of nutriment for corporal sustenance, was necessary to the desired deliverance from evil and possession of immortal happiness; and that a *preparatory discipline*, by a gracious and divine influence, was requisite for the understanding of his doctrine and the enjoyment of his benefits. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, "ye have not life in yourselves.—For my flesh is truly food, and "my blood is truly drink. He who feedeth on me shall live by "means of me: he abideth in me, and I in him.—No one can "come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him. "—Every one who hath heard from the Father, and learneth, "cometh unto me." Vers. 53, 55, 56; and 44, 45.

The declaration which is the basis of the discourse, is, therefore, a *Prediction*; and may be expected to partake of the essential characters of scripture-prophecy. Now we find these two characters, in particular, actually belonging to it.

(1.) The mixture of literal and figurative diction, which every studious reader must have noticed to be so observable a feature in the style of the Old Testament Prophets. Thus, when Christ says that he came down from heaven, that he was from God, that he performed the will of God, that he would give himself to a violent and bloody death for the salvation of mankind, that he would then return to his previous state of dignity (ver. 62), and that divine teaching was necessary to a right and efficient compliance with his will, I conceive that he uses language in its

unto eternal life, but also my death will so be.—He uses the separate terms, *flesh* and *blood*, to intimate, not death in any way, but a violent and bloody death." *Grot. in vers. 51, 53.* "Unless I die for you (meaning a violent death, by which the blood is separated from the body), and unless ye believe my words, and consequently in me: for by faith we derive to ourselves the power and efficacy of the death of Christ." *Schlichting. in ver. 53.* "The blood is mentioned in distinction from the flesh, to denote the suffering by a violent death. My death is equally useful and necessary to the obtaining of eternal life, as food and drink are to the sustenance of the present." *Wetst. in ver. 53.* "My death, which I shall suffer for the salvation of mankind, is bread: *i. e.* it will furnish your minds with motives to virtue, and with the glad hope and consolation of eternal life. It is evident that Christ speaks of his body, in reference to his intention of yielding it to be slain. Any one is said to *give his body*, who yields it to be tortured and put to death: see 1 Cor. xiii. 3. To *eat the flesh and drink the blood* of Christ denotes to receive and appropriate the blessings resulting from his bloody death; pardon of sin, and peace of mind." *Rosenmüller in vers. 51, 53.* In the Hebrew idiom, *blood* is applied to denote death by violence. See *Vorstius de Hebraismis N. T.* ed. Fischeri, p. 413. Leipz. 1778.

plain and ordinary sense, and in which his hearers would readily understand him : but, when he calls himself the bread of life, and his flesh and blood food and drink, and declares that men must accordingly feed upon them, he uses figurative, but not unintelligible or very obscure language, to express that the fact of his dying for the salvation of men was necessary to be cordially believed, and to be acted upon as a principle of religious obedience, in order to the acquisition of true happiness.

(2.) The envelope of obscurity, which was necessary to guard the *public* prediction of any future event, and which was to continue till it should be taken off by the event itself. That event, in this case, was the extreme sufferings and cruel death of the Saviour. Of this catastrophe it was his manner to speak "obscurely and darkly," as Archbishop Newcome observes,¹¹⁵ to his public and promiscuous auditories;¹¹⁶ and it was only to his disciples in private that he, greatly to their surprise, foretold it in plain terms.¹¹⁷

From thus considering the Occasion, the Design, the Tenor, and the Manner, of this important discourse, we may obtain some light for the satisfactory interpreting of its terms and clauses. But that which alone concerns our present investigation, is to determine WHAT that is which is repeatedly said, "to have descended from heaven."

Dr Priestley, and others before him, conceive that our Lord "means, by his flesh and blood, his *doctrine*, which may be called the food of the soul:"¹¹⁸ and the Calm Inquirer adopts the same hypothesis.

Of the doctrine of Christ it may, indeed, be truly said, that it "came down from heaven," as being the revelation of God, and that, as the instrument, "it giveth life to the world."

But the subject described by our Lord is something which could "*give itself for*"¹¹⁹ the life of the world," and which, in so doing, was to suffer a violent and cruel death, as the text ex-

¹¹⁵ *On our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Instructor*, p. 179.

¹¹⁶ For example, John ii. 20, 21; iii. 14; viii. 28. Matt. xxi. 33-40.

¹¹⁷ Matt. xvii. 12, 22. Mark viii. 31, etc. ¹¹⁸ *Notes on Script.* vol. iii. p. 232.

¹¹⁹ ἵνα with the genitive, denoting *substitution*, or acting *on the behalf* of another. So we read, "Christ died *for* the ungodly." Rom. v. 6. "My body *given for* you; my blood, poured out *for* you." Luke xxii. 19, 20. "Christ *gave himself* a ransom *for* all." 1 Tim. ii. 6. "Who gave himself *for* us." Titus ii. 14. "If God be *for* us." Rom. viii. 31. "The Spirit maketh *intercession for* us." Ib. ver. 26, etc.

presses in the Hebraized idiom. Could this be said of a doctrine, or a system of doctrines?

It was something which had *intelligence*, capacity of *design*, and *voluntary action*. "I have descended from heaven, that I might perform, not mine own will, but the will of him who sent me." Can this be a doctrine?

It was something which "the Father who liveth had sent, and which lived by means of the Father:" evidently signifying the same kind of real and active (not figurative) life which belongs to the Parent and Fountain of existence. Was this a doctrine?

Further: if we maintain that, in all these explicit declarations of personal acts performed by the speaker himself, nothing was intended but to describe a doctrine given by revelation to Jesus, and by him communicated to the rest of mankind, I do not see that we can avoid to deem our Lord's discourse, not merely (as Mr B. admits) "extravagant, offensive, and disgusting," and calculated to "confound and perplex the understanding;"¹²⁰ but absolutely irreconcilable with any just ideas of wisdom, benevolence, and integrity in the Teacher himself.

These appear to me solid and decisive reasons for concluding that it was, not of his doctrine, but of HIS PERSON, that our Lord, in this memorable passage, says that "it came down from heaven," and was given to a violent and cruel death "for the life of the world."

But it may be said, that this argument overthrows itself by proving too much. If the conclusion be that "the flesh and blood," which suffered on the cross, had a pre-existent and celestial dignity, and "descended from heaven;" it is palpably erroneous: on no hypothesis is this supposed; therefore the premises must be false, or the illation incorrect, and the argument is reduced to an absurdity.

I reply, that this conclusion is neither asserted nor implied; that the description *Son of man* is a *formula* equivalent to the term *Messiah*, and is to be construed according to its conventional, not its etymological, signification; and that the premises do not contain what the objection imputes to them, but only this, that the Pre-existent and Divine Nature which "descended from heaven," and, when its object was accomplished, "ascended where it was before" (in the sense of those phrases as they

¹²⁰ Pages 59, 62, etc.

occur in the Old Testament), united itself to human flesh and blood for the most wise and gracious purposes; among which purposes it was, that suffering and death should be endured for the redemption of sinful mankind. This method of conceiving the case is both authorized and exemplified by the declaration, "The WORD became flesh:" chap. i. 14.¹²¹

The pretended admirers of Jesus were now convinced, that he would never countenance their views, nor promote their ambitious and worldly objects; and were especially displeased at the prediction of his sufferings and death, so repugnant to their prepossessions on the nature and enjoyments of the Messiah's reign, and their expectations of grandeur and voluptuous pleasures from his conquests. They, therefore, manifested strong feelings of disappointment and irritation. But "Jesus said to them, Is this revolting to you? If, then, ye should see the Son of Man ascending where he was at the first! The spirit is that which giveth life; the flesh availeth nothing. The words which I speak unto you are spirit and are life."

The last sentence is regarded by Mr B. as a "key to the whole preceding discourse."¹²² I have no objection to accept it as such; and it seems to me to substantiate the view above given of the design and meaning of the whole. I therefore propose the following as a fair paraphrase of our Lord's words: "If your prejudices are so shocked by my assurance that the Messiah must pass through the lowest degradation and an excruciating death, how will your disappointment be increased when you find that, on his reassuming his pristine dignity, and ascending to the throne of his glory, in the exercise of all power in heaven and on earth, he will confer on his disciples no such happiness as you desire! He will give no provinces nor estates;

¹²¹ "The Jews were peculiarly indignant at Jesus's representing himself as coming down from heaven; by which expression he ascribes to himself a nature superior to the human which they beheld. The design of the Evangelist in the introduction of this discourse, is easily perceived by comparing it with chap. i. 1-14. The doctrines there delivered, John here designs to confirm by Jesus's own declarations." *J. D. Mich.* on v. 40, 41.

¹²² He thus paraphrases ver. 63. "It is the hidden meaning of my enigmatical discourse which alone is useful. If you could actually eat my flesh, it would do you no good. The doctrine which I teach is that heavenly bread, that flesh and blood, which if received, digested, and reduced to a living principle of action, will lead to everlasting life." P. 69.—"What would my flesh avail you to eternal life, even if ye were carnally to eat it?" *Schlicting*. "Eating my flesh, in the gross and literal sense, would be of no manner of advantage to the life of souls." *Guyse*.

no titles, nor riches, nor carnal gratifications. The blessings of his reign are not those of sense, but are of an intellectual and holy kind. The divine energy, which accompanies the truth taught by me, is the only cause of the enjoyment of those immortal blessings: while every profession, observance, or privilege, that is merely external, can be of no avail to your real and eternal happiness; nor could even the actual feeding on my flesh and blood, if so horrid an attempt were made. My doctrine teaches, and when sincerely believed communicates, that divine energy and that real happiness."

SECTION IV.—ON CHRIST'S COMING FROM ABOVE, AND FROM GOD.

Scope and terms of the passage.—Pre-existence implied.—Our Lord's argument resting on the fact of his superior nature.

"I know whence I came and whither I go; but ye know not whence I come, or whither I go.—Ye are of the things below, I am of those above: ye are of this world, I am not of this world.—If ye believe not that I am [that which I have now been declaring], ye shall die in your sins.—I proceeded forth from God, and I am come: for I have not come of myself, but he hath sent me." John viii. 14, 23, 24, 42.

THIS passage is attended with considerable difficulty. On the one hand, the address of our Lord to the Jews, "Ye are of the things below, ye are of this world," undoubtedly describes moral qualities: *q. d.* "Your principles and motives are selfish, base, and worldly." Of course, the opposed clauses must be understood of moral qualities also; and are an avowal of the pure, holy, and elevated character of the Blessed Jesus, in contradiction to the calumnies of his adversaries.

But, on the other hand, philological justice is not done to the expressions of Christ, unless we take them in a more extended sense. The phrases *ἀνω* and *παρὰ ἄνω*, in the New Testament and in the Septuagint, are scarcely, if ever, used in relation to sacred things, except when there is a manifest reference to the heavenly state: and in their common use they always relate to local elevation.¹²³ I am, therefore, disposed to think that an impartial regard to the fair meaning of the words would lead to some such paraphrase as the following:

¹²³ See Gal. iv. 26. Col. iii. 1, 2. Phil. iii. 14, and in the LXX. Exod. xx. 4. 3 Kings viii. 23. Ps. l. (LXX. xlix.) 4, and other places.

“As ye are earthly in your origin, so are ye low, mean, and carnal in your sentiments and desires. This lower world gave you birth, and ye accordingly show yourselves to have no taste for any enjoyments but the pleasures and pursuits of this transitory and degenerate state. But I am of a higher nature and character. I have come into this humbled condition from the immediate manifestation of the presence and glory of God. My principles, doctrines, and objects are, therefore, pure and holy, spiritual and heavenly.”

But the other parts of the passage are less capable of being bent from their plain and obvious meaning. “I know whence I came; ye know not whence I come: I proceed forth from God, and I am come,” or, as would be perhaps a more exact rendering, “I am arrived.” Let the reader examine, by the help of Trommius’s and Schmidt’s Concordances, the very numerous instances, in which these common words occur: and he will not, I think, find an instance in which a real transition of place or of state is not manifestly intended. These “expressions,” says Mr B., “very naturally indicate that Jesus was the chosen messenger of God to the human race.”¹²⁴ Of this there is no question: but do they not as naturally, and even necessarily, bear the indication of a *pre-existent* state, in relation to a change from which the Divine Messiah could say, “Behold I *am come* to do thy will, O God! I proceeded forth from the Father, and I have come into the world?”¹²⁵ A similar objection lies against the Inquirer’s gloss on the 14th verse,¹²⁶ and on the third verse of chap. xiii., as in each case not answering to the grammatical and honest construction of the words.

From the very remarkable kind of argument contained in this

¹²⁴ Page 70.

¹²⁵ Heb. x. 7, *ἤκαμ*, the last of the verbs used in our text. John xvi. 28: this passage Mr Belsham considers to denote only that Jesus “appeared in public as a messenger from God.” (P. 104.) But this interpretation is plainly inconsistent with the meaning of the words, and can be sustained only on the principle of *quidlibet ex quolibet*. The reply of the disciples, ver. 30, “By this we believe that thou hast proceeded forth from God;”—is connected with a declaration of the omniscience of Christ: and we have seen evidence (pp. 348, 380, 383, 391), that the ancient Jews had notions, however obscure and imperfect, of the superior nature and pre-existence of the Messiah. As for the mere construction of the words, on all the principles of grammar and usage, it is incapable of being questioned. We have the phrase in John iv. 30, “They came out from the city, and came to him.”

¹²⁶ “I know from whom I received my authority, and to whom I am accountable; but you are wilfully ignorant of both.” P. 153.

verse, another important consideration arises. The words which have been cited contain the premises of our Lord's conclusion, that his own testimony in his own favour had a claim of right to be admitted as valid. The Mosaic law required two witnesses, at the least, for the establishment of a litigated matter.¹²⁷ To this law Jesus refers in ver. 17; and, in allusion to it, he had said, on a previous occasion, that his own testimony could not be admitted on his own behalf: "If I were to bear witness concerning myself, my testimony would not be worthy of credit."¹²⁸ But now he declares what is apparently a contradiction in terms! "If I even bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is worthy of credit. In your law it is written, that the testimony of two persons is worthy of credit. I am he that beareth witness concerning myself; and the Father who hath sent me beareth witness concerning me."¹²⁹ Was it ever known, under any system of law, in any court of judicature, that when the written law had prescribed *two* witnesses as the lowest number admissible, a party in a cause¹³⁰ should step forward and demand, upon the footing of that very law, to be accepted as himself the second witness in his own favour? Would such a composition of "two witnesses" be for a moment listened to? It is useless to say, as commentators have generally done, to solve the difficulty, that the blamelessness of our Lord's life and manners entitled him to have his veracity unquestioned: for it is of the very essence of juridical testimony that it should be from other persons than the parties to a suit, and the very design of admitting witnesses is to take the facts of a case out of the hands of parties.

I must confess that I can discover no mode of freeing the Blessed Jesus from the charge of employing a low and disingenuous sophistry (*horresco reputans!*),—except the supposition that his mind referred to THAT HEAVENLY AND DIVINE NATURE

¹²⁷ Dent. xix. 15, and other places.

¹²⁸ Chap. v. 31. "Ἀληθής· vim juris habens;—quod in dubium vocari non potest;—fidem habens publicam." *Schleusn.* "Certæ fidei;—fide dignissimum." *Kuinöl.*

¹²⁹ Vers. 14, 17, 18.

¹³⁰ The Jewish Rabbinical law says, "A person is not a credible witness on his own account." *Mischna, Surenhusii*, tom. iii. p. 63. "More majorum comparatum est, ut in minimis rebus homines amplissimi testimonium de sua re non dicerent. It has been established by the practice of our ancestors, that men, even of the highest respectability, should never be witnesses in their own cause, even on the most trivial occasions." *Cicer. Or. pro Roscio Am.* sect. 36.

which, upon our hypothesis, *he was conscious dwelt within him*. If this be admitted, we have a ground on which to rest the truth and honour of our Lord's assertions, and the justness of his argument: we have the distinct testimony of the Father, at the baptism and transfiguration of Jesus and on other occasions; and we have that of the Son, the Eternal Word, in the miracles which he performed: two witnesses above all exception, bearing distinct yet united testimony to the words of the man of Nazareth. Thus, also, the *argument* of our Lord is put in an intelligible position. "If I even bear witness concerning myself, my testimony is worthy of credit:"—Why?—"Because I know whence I came and whither I go;" *q. d.* "My consciousness of that Superior and Divine Nature, which has manifested itself in this real and proper human existence, and which will shine forth in that glorified state to which this humanity will shortly be advanced, is the ground of my alleging that this second testimony, additional to that of my Father, is independent and certain."

SECTION V.—ON CHRIST'S POSSESSING GLORY WITH THE FATHER, BEFORE THE WORLD.

Import of the Glory belonging to Christ.—Reciprocal to the Father and the Son.—Its progression.—How conferred upon the Apostles and other Christians.—How possessed by the Messiah before the existence of the created universe.—How given in his mediatorial exaltation.—Unitarian interpretation stated and examined.—Classification of passages appealed to, and investigation of their sense.—The *Calm Inquirer's* criticism examined.—Rabbinical phraseology not applicable to this case.

"And now, Thou, O Father, glorify me, with thyself, by the glory which I had before the world was, with thee!" John xvii. 5.

MR BELSHAM concludes, from his investigation of this passage, "that the true interpretation of this celebrated clause in our Lord's valedictory prayer,—that which best suits the connexion, and which is most consistent with the dignity and disinterestedness of his character,—contains no proof of his pre-existence, but is perfectly compatible with his proper humanity; *viz.* 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thy own self;' *q. d.* allow me to participate in that which is thy own greatest glory, 'with the glory which I had with thee before the world 'was;' the glory of recovering lost mankind to virtue and hap-

piness, a glory which was intended and reserved for me in the eternal immutable counsels of infinite wisdom and benevolence.”¹³¹

The principal grounds on which he rests this interpretation are, the position which, he says, few, if any, before Mr Lindsey, had perceived, that the *glory* of Christ consisted in the success of his doctrine as the means of recovering mankind from sin and death to virtue and happiness; and that this glory, “having been the object of the divine, eternal, and immutable purpose, and the subject of the divine promise, is represented by our Lord as what he possessed with the Father before the world was.”

We must, therefore, endeavour to ascertain the real import of the *glory* spoken of by our Lord, and to determine whether his language can be rationally understood as merely anticipative.

(1.) I agree with Mr Lindsey and the Inquirer, that the GLORY desired by Jesus Christ was not any “personal benefit,” or “high distinction,” or any other “selfish” object; and that the “fulfilling the purposes of his divine mission” was associated with that object, or, more properly speaking, included in it: but I do not think that they have discovered the just idea of the term.

The words in question are in continuity with others which clearly refer to the same object. “I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have completed the work which thou hast given me to perform:—I have manifested Thy Name to the men whom thou hast given me.” Thus the MANIFESTATION of the DIVINE NAME, to the selected objects of divine grace, is that “glorifying the Father” which the Lord Jesus has perfectly accomplished.

The Scripture uses THE NAME OF GOD as a compendious formula to denote His Infinite and Absolute Perfection, His Fulness of all possible Excellences, the Total of Jehovah’s Awful and Lovely Attributes, so far as they can be known by finite intelligences. The presenting of this great object to the accountable universe, in order to excite and direct the love and admiration, homage and obedience, of every rational creature to HIM whom this name represents, is declared to be the supreme purpose of the Most High in the creation and government of the world: and this *display*, or *emanation* of the Divine Excellency, is called in Scripture *the GLORY of God*. Passages to this effect,

of which the following is a selection, are extremely numerous. —“ And what wilt thou do for thy great name? Jehovah, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! He led them by the right hand of Moses,—to make to himself an everlasting name. And in very deed for this purpose I have raised thee up, to display in thee my power, and to declare my name in all the earth. I wrought for the sake of my name, that it might not be profaned in the eyes of the nations. For the sake of my name,—for mine own sake, for mine own sake, I will work; for how shall it be profaned? And my glory to another I will not give. As truly as I live, the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of Jehovah.”¹³²

To make known this NAME and GLORY to mortals, in all the efficacious methods which eternal wisdom has deemed fit, was a chief object of our Lord's labours and instructions. We have “ the illumination of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: No one hath beheld God at any time: the Only-begotten Son, who is on the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” Hence the Lord Jesus Christ is “ the Image of the Invisible God,” and “ the Effulgence of his glory.”¹³³ This is the display of *moral* and *spiritual* Excellency, “ the manifestation of the Name of God, the glorifying of the Father,” which the Lord Jesus declares himself to have accomplished.

Now, it is evident that our Lord represents the glorifying of himself by the Father, as *reciprocal* to that which he had rendered to the Father. This idea of reciprocity is clearly and strongly expressed in his words; “ Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee:—I have glorified thee;—and now do thou, O Father, glorify me!”

It therefore follows that the “ glorifying of Christ,” or the “ giving to him of glory,” by the Divine Father, is the MANIFESTATION OF HIS NAME, the unveiling of THE SAME moral and spiritual Excellence, THE SAME Absolute and Infinite Perfection, in the person and character of the Son of God. This was to be effected, so far as the present imperfect state will admit, by the extension and success of the Christian religion, according to the suggestion of Mr Lindsey, but with a purity and power to which

¹³² Josh. vii. 9. Ps. viii. 1. Isa. lxiii. 12. Exod. ix. 16. Ezek. xx. 9. Isa. xlviii. 9, 11. Numb. xiv. 21.

¹³³ 2 Cor. iv. 6. John i. 18. Col. i. 15. Heb. i. 3.

I fear his ideas did not extend. Of this interpretation, however, he was not the discoverer. Greater and better divines maintained it before him. President Edwards has considered the subject at length, and places it in a clear and strong light.¹³⁴— Yet this is not all, “The whole earth must indeed be filled with “the glory” of the Messiah; and “all people, nations, and languages, shall serve him.” His GLORY, by the eventual triumphs of knowledge, holiness, and happiness in the present state of mankind, will be divinely great: but every blessing which earth can enjoy, will be no more than the dawn of a celestial and immortal day. The communication of all that constitutes supreme felicity, will for ever flow to the occupants of the heavenly state, from the unspeakable fulness of the Redeemer. They, partakers of his holiness and his joy, “shall be with him “where he is, and shall BEHOLD HIS GLORY,” his unrivalled and infinite perfection of all natural and moral excellence. They “shall see Him AS HE IS.”——“They sing a new song, saying, “Thou art worthy to take the book and to open its seals, for “thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, “from every tribe and tongue and people and nation: and hast “made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign “upon the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many “angels round about the throne, and the living beings, and the “elders: and their number was ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, saying with a loud voice, “Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and “riches and wisdom and strength and honour and glory and “blessing! And every creature which is in the heaven and “upon the earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, and all “things in them, I heard saying, To HIM who sitteth upon the “throne, and to THE LAMB, be blessing and honour and glory “and power, for ever and ever!”¹³⁵

It is in accordance with this truth that the New Testament attributes THE SAME *importance* and *dignity* to the Name of

¹³⁴ *Dissertation on the Chief End of God in the Creation of the World*; in his *Works*, vol. i. p. 515, etc. “It appears,” says that penetrating writer, “that the expressions of divine grace, in the sanctification and happiness of the redeemed, are especially that GLORY of Christ, and of his Father, which was ‘the joy that was set before him,’ for which he ‘endured the cross and despised the shame;’ and, that this glory was especially the end of ‘the travail of his soul,’ in obtaining which end he was ‘satisfied.’” P. 522.

¹³⁵ 1 John iii. 2. Rev. v. 9–12.

Christ, which the current style of the Old Testament does to the Name of Jehovah. To "bear the Name" of Christ was the great honour of the Apostolic ministry.¹³⁶ "In his Name" the miracles were wrought.¹³⁷ "Believing in his Name" is uniformly represented as of absolute necessity to salvation.¹³⁸ "In his Name the nations shall hope."¹³⁹ "In his Name," religious instruction, baptism, ecclesiastical discipline, and other divine institutions were to be administered.¹⁴⁰ Christian obedience to moral precepts is to be rendered "all in his Name."¹⁴¹ It was the very designation of his primitive disciples, that "they called upon his Name."¹⁴² Pardon of sin, and all the blessings of salvation and eternal life, are conferred upon mankind "in his Name" alone, and "on account of his Name."¹⁴³ In fine, his Name is INSCRUTABLE: "no one knoweth it, except HIMSELF."¹⁴⁴

Under the Old Testament, God had declared, "I am Jehovah, that is my Name, and my Glory I will not give to another."¹⁴⁵ But in this exalted and diversified manner does the New Testament *give* GLORY to the NAME of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus "is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him." The sublime subject is, therefore, but ONE, though viewed under different aspects. As the glory, the manifestation of the name, of the Eternal Father, is the unveiling to created minds of His All-Perfect Majesty; so is the glory of the Son the manifestation of HIS Name, his Divine Nature and Perfections, to all holy and happy beings, for ever and ever.

The consummation of this manifested glory will be in the blessed discoveries of the heavenly state: but its commencement and progress are by the efficacy of the gospel now. It is the doctrine of Christ, as "revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit," that makes known to men His Name, his true character and glory, in relation to his person, his holy obedience, his sufferings and death, his exaltation and dominion, his

¹³⁶ Acts ix. 15.¹³⁷ Ib. iii. 16.¹³⁸ John iii. 18.¹³⁹ Matt. xii. 21.¹⁴⁰ Acts ix. 27; xix. 5. 1 Cor. v. 4. 3 John 7.¹⁴¹ Col. iii. 17.¹⁴² Acts ix. 13, 14. 1 Cor. i. 2. This branch of our subject will be more fully considered in a following chapter. It may be sufficient here to observe that the just construction of ἐπικαλεῖσθαι with the accusative case, is *active*, and denotes address, entreaty, or invocation.¹⁴³ Acts x. 43; iv. 12. 1 John v. 13; ii. 12.¹⁴⁴ Rev. xix. 12.¹⁴⁵ Isa. xlii. 8.

benevolence, and the blessings which he confers, his final exercise of judgment and its everlasting consequences. This doctrine presents to our view "the unsearchable riches of Christ, the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, the fulness of Christ whence all true believers receive grace for grace, the great mystery of godliness, the mystery of Christ;—that the NAME of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified, upon whose head are many crowns, and whose name is above every name."

Thus is apparent the propriety of our Lord's further declaration: "The glory, which thou hast given to me, I have given to them." The apostles were his instruments and agents in making known "the riches of his glory." They published his inspired truth, and conveyed through the earth the declaration of his Name: he manifested to them his glory, and, by their faithful and unerring promulgation of it, "he was glorified in them:" and they, with all who have believed their testimony, and trod in the steps of their obedience, shall be sharers in the glory of their Saviour's divine happiness. "They shall be with HIM, where He is, and shall behold His glory."¹⁴⁶

This then appears to have been the precise object of our Lord's prayer; that, as he had, by his mediation and doctrine, manifested the Name and Glory of his Divine Father, so his own Name and Glory might be manifested, by his word and his Spirit, in the ministry of his servants, in the knowledge, faith, and holiness of his people universally, in the triumphs of his truth on earth, and in the unclouded brightness of that state in which his faithful followers "shall see him AS HE IS."¹⁴⁷ Now, this is no other than, that his Original and Divine Excellency, which by his assumption of the human nature had been obscured, as the sun behind a dense cloud, might be unveiled, and might shine forth in its proper and unchangeable character.

(2.) If this view be correct, on the real import of the peculiar glory predicated of Christ, it shows at once the propriety of the remaining clause:—"the glory which I had, with Thee, before the world was." It is the *primeval perfection* of the Messiah, the Son of God, to whom, as we have before found satisfactory evidence, names, characters, and attributes were assigned in the prophetic writings, declaring HIM to be the Eternal and Immut-able Being, the Creator, God, the Mighty God, Adonai, Elohim, Jehovah; and whose comings forth are from eternity, from the

¹⁴⁶ Ver. 24.¹⁴⁷ 1 John iii. 2.

days of the everlasting period :¹⁴⁸ a perfection which had not been lost or diminished, but which was now to shine forth with a lustre never before beheld by created beings.¹⁴⁹

This interpretation, also, shows the irrelevancy of Dr Priestley's question: "What propriety could there be in Christ's praying, as the reward of his sufferings, for the same state of glory which he had enjoyed before them? This would be to make it no reward at all."¹⁵⁰ The answer to this query is that, though the glory, in itself considered, is the same, yet the object sought was a new and more advantageous manner of its manifestation. Exactly upon the same principle, the essential glory of Jehovah, which is infinite and immutable, and therefore can admit of no accession, is spoken of in Scripture as receiving great additions with respect to the modes of its various and higher display. "It shall be unto me for a name of joy, for praise, and for honour, to all nations of the earth. By those that approach unto me I will be sanctified, and in the presence of all the people I will be glorified. Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and in Israel he will honour himself. Unto the praise of the glory of his grace. The branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be honoured."¹⁵¹

Dr Priestley, Mr Lindsey, Mr Belsham, and Unitarian writers in general, from Socinus downwards, understand the words of Christ ("the glory which I had, before the world was, with thee"), as referring only to "the counsels and decrees" of God. Grotius, Le Clerc, and Wetstein adopted this interpretation. Their reasons are the following :

1. Admitting the doctrine of the divine and pre-existent nature in Christ, the glory of that nature could not be recovered, because it could never have been lost.

2. The same glory is said to be given to the disciples of Christ.—To both these arguments we have already replied.

3. "In the language of the sacred writers, a being, or a state of things is said to *exist*, when it is the *eternal immutable purpose* of GOD that it shall exist, at the time and in the circumstances which his infinite wisdom hath chosen and ordained."¹⁵²

That this anticipation of future events, by describing them in

¹⁴⁸ Vol. I. pp. 281, 332.

¹⁴⁹ Note A.

¹⁵⁰ *Notes on SS.* vol. iii. p. 476.

¹⁵¹ Jer. xxxiii. 9. Lev. x. 3. Isa. xlv. 23. Eph. i. 6. Isa. lx. 21.

¹⁵² *Calm Inq.* p. 88.

words of past or present time, is often found in Scripture, I readily allow : but it appears to me that a careful examination of the instances of this figure will show that it does not admit of an application to the present purpose. The passages which Faustus Socinus, and those who follow him in this opinion, have adduced in its support, are, so far as I have been able to collect them, reducible to the following classes.

Class 1. Passages describing actions of which the very nature consists in a purpose or intention.

Matt. xxv. 34. "The kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Eph. i. 4. "He hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." 2 Tim. i. 9. "His own purpose and grace, given to us in Christ Jesus before the ancient times." Titus i. 2. "Eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, hath promised before the ancient times."

These are manifestly irrelevant to the occasion. The actions which they designate are perfectly intelligible without any prolepsis. The very terms denote a mere design, or a preparatory arrangement, or an assurance of the design. Nothing is more common among men than gifts and devises to future posterity.

Class 2. Passages which point out an action begun, and in continuance, but not completed.

Ver. 4. "I have finished the work which thou hast given me to do." Our Lord's labours and sufferings were arrived nearly at their close: the objects of his teaching, his humiliation, and his example were on the very point of being attained. Ver. 11. "I am no more in the world :—I am coming to thee." His departure out of life might be considered as already begun : he had set out on the journey of death. Ver. 22. "The glory which thou hast given to me, I have given to them." Christ had already begun to instruct and qualify his apostles. Ver. 12. "Not one of them has perished except the son of perdition." Judas was lost, or had perished, already, as to his religious profession. Wicked men in general, those who reject the gospel, are described by the same word, evidently signifying their actually present state, in 1 Cor. i. 18, and 2 Cor. iv. 3. 1 Sam. xv. 28. "Jehovah hath cut off the kingdom of Israel from thee this day ; and he hath given it to thy companion, who is better than thou." The act of excision was past, and it was beginning to be put in execution : for the very next step in the history is the anointing of David by Samuel. The same solution applies to

chap. xxviii. 17, 18. Gen. xvii. 5. "I have given thee to be a "father of a crowd of nations:" or, as it is expressed by the apostle, Rom. iv. 17, "I have constituted [*or appointed*, τέθεικα] "thee a father of many nations." Rom. viii. 30, 31. "Whom "he foreordained, them he also called, and whom he called, "them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he "also glorified:" that is, *in purpose* glorified, say Archbishop Newcome and others. But there is no reason to have recourse to this solution. The verbs are all aoristic; which form, says Fischer, denotes uncertain, indefinite, and continuous time, and ought to be translated in Latin by either the present indicative, or by an infinitive with *soleo* prefixed.¹⁵³ Thus the text denotes that this is the *plan* and *established order* of divine grace: whom God "foreordains he calls, whom he calls he justifies, and "whom he justifies he glorifies:" *ita solet*, such is his constant course of proceeding. 2 Cor. v. 1. "When" [which is sometimes the sense of ἐν] "our earthly house of this tabernacle is "dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made "with hands, eternal in the heavens." There is no prolepsis here, any more than in the case of a person's being called the proprietor of an estate, who is embarking for a foreign country to take possession of it: he is not the less the actual owner, though he has not yet seen his domain. The same obvious remark applies to passages in which believers are said to have eternal life, to have treasure in heaven, to have for themselves in heaven a better and enduring substance.¹⁵⁴ In all these cases, persons are said *to have* that which is *destined* for them to possess, and of which they actually have the assurance, evidence, or commencement: but where is an instance to be found of a person being said *to have* a thing, when neither the person nor the possession are in existence?

¹⁵³ *Animadv. ad Welleri Gramm. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 260. "As a philosophical and practical grammarian, Professor Buttmann, of the University of Berlin, is allowed by his countrymen to hold the first rank." *Preface of the Cambridge Translator, to Buttmann's Greek Grammar*, 1824. He takes a considerably different view of the aorists. His leading idea is that both the first and the second (which he considers as not differing in meaning) express an action that *ceases immediately*, in contrast with some other more continued action. But he adds, "that this distinction is often very slight, conveying only a trifling modification of idea; and that, therefore, there is often no choice between the present and the aorist." Page 237. It is obvious that the "momentaneous" signification would ill suit the passage (Rom. viii. 30), but to render it as is proposed above is justified by Buttmann's doctrine, equally as by Fischer's or Hermann's.

¹⁵⁴ John iii. 16. Matt. xix. 21. Heb. x. 34.

All passages of this kind, therefore, make nothing to the purpose for which they are adduced.

Class 3. Passages in the descriptive style of prophecy. Mr B. justly observes, that “in the Old Testament nothing is more common than to express prophecy in the language of history, and to state future events as present or even past.”¹⁵⁵ But it is remarkable that those who apply this principle to the passage under consideration have overlooked a material point. They may find instances without end of events *future*, and even *remotely future*, described as being, at the time of the speaker’s utterance, in *actual existence*: but they bring forward no instance of an event which is *present*, or so *near* that, in the ordinary use of language, it may be fairly spoken of as present, being described as having taken place *ages before*.¹⁵⁶ Yet, till this is satisfactorily done, it appears to me that they have not brought the passage before us within the range of that peculiarity in the prophetic style to which they would refer it.

One instance, indeed, they have adduced which seems to promise them the aid desired. Christ’s “violent death constituting an essential part of the divine plan, he is represented, Rev. xiii. 8, as ‘the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.’”¹⁵⁷ How seducing a thing is an hypothesis! Do these acute critics need to be reminded that the clause, “from the foundation of the world,” ought to be construed with the preceding, “whose names were not written?” It was remarkable that the Editor of the Improved Version could forget the just translation published under his own hand:—“whose name was not written from ‘the foundation of the world, in the book of life of the Lamb ‘that was slain.’”¹⁵⁸

4. The Inquirer further labours to strengthen his scheme from the clauses, *with thyself*,—*with thee* (παρὰ σεαυτῶ, παρὰ σοί). “That is, in thy immutable purpose and decree.—It is not true that the preposition παρὰ with a dative case always has

¹⁵⁵ Page 88.—The examples which he adduces (and every student knows that they might be increased indefinitely), are Is. xlv. 1; ix. 6; xlii. 1; xlix. 5–10; liii. lxi. 1–3. Exod. xv. 14–17. (1 Sam. xv. 28; xxviii. 17, 18, noticed under Class 2.)

¹⁵⁶ Excepting Rev. xiii. 8, which will be immediately considered. Such passages as Matt. xxv. 34; John xvii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 20; Acts ii. 23; iv. 28; 1 John v. 11, need no observation. That the greatest Unitarian writers have adduced them, seems to be a symptom of anxiety and weakness.

¹⁵⁷ *Calm Inq.* p. 94.

¹⁵⁸ *Impr. Vers.* following ὡς τὸ ὄνομα, the reading preferred by Griesbach.

a local signification. When applied personally it sometimes signifies ‘in that person’s estimation or account;’ viz. 2 Pet. iii. 8. ‘One day is with the Lord (παρὰ Κυρίου, in the account or estimation of the Lord) as a thousand years.’”¹⁵⁹

If we were to grant the justness of this criticism, I doubt whether it would greatly serve the purpose of its patronizer. “The glory which I had *in thy account or estimation*,” would rather comport with the idea of a *supposition, conjecture, or opinion*, than with that of an “immutable purpose and decree.” But the writer overlooks the distinction between a paraphrase of a clause derived from the context, and the genuine and inherent meaning of a single word. If his explication of 2 Pet. iii. 8, be admitted, it is as a gloss upon the phrase, and not as the proper sense of the preposition. He is also mistaken in his grammatical assertion. The radical meaning of παρὰ is *contiguity*, and all its applications retain the idea: they all refer to some mode of closeness, intimate connexion, or union.¹⁶⁰ With the dative case applied to a person, it signifies, *in the presence, society, or abode*, of that person. In the passage under consideration, it is manifestly put in opposition to the state of being *on the earth*: “I have glorified thee on the earth;—now glorify me with thyself!”

In studying the speeches of Jesus Christ it is often an assistance to a correct apprehension of their import, if we can represent them to ourselves in the language of Judea, in which he

¹⁵⁹ *Calm Inq.* pp. 109, 113.

¹⁶⁰ “Παρὰ beside, may justly be set down as a noun signifying *side or flank*; and from the different aspects under which an object may be viewed, as occupying the *side* of another, the different applications of παρὰ take their rise.—Παρὰ then commonly signifies, (1.) With the genitive, *from beside*;—(2.) With the dative, *close beside*;—(3.) With the accusative, *motion to beside*.” *Dunbar on the Greek Prepositions*, 2d ed. p. 266. “Παρὰ with a dative, denotes communion.” *Hermann. de Emend. Ratione Græcæ Gramm.* Lips. 1801, p. 162. “Præpositionem παρὰ cum dativo personæ Græci fere ita conjunxerunt, ut indicaretur locus in quo versaretur is cujus nomen additum esset.—The Greeks usually used παρὰ joined to a dative of the person, to signify the place of abode of the person whose name is so governed: as *Æschin. Dial.* 3, 7, παρὰ Καλλίου, *in the house of Callias*; *Eurip. Alc.* 542, παρὰ πλαιοῦσι, *in the habitation of mourners*; *Lysias*, p. 34 of Taylor’s 8vo ed. παρ’ ἐμοί, *at home with me*; *Acts* x. 6, παρὰ τινὶ Σίμωνι, *with one Simon*.” *Welleri Gramm. Græca, cum Animadv. Fischeri et Kuinæli*, vol. v. p. 267. Lips. 1781–1791. Many examples might be added, as *1 Cor.* xvi. 2, παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ, *at his own home*. *John* xiv. 23, *we will make our abode* (παρ’ αὐτῷ) *with him*. *2 Pet.* ii. 11, *they bring not a railing accusation* (παρὰ Κυρίου) *in the presence of the Lord*. *Matt.* xix. 26, παρ’ ἀνθρώποις,—παρὰ Θεῷ, *with men, with God*, i.e. in their presence; in close contact, so to speak, with their power to effect the object. *2 Pet.* iii. 8, *one day is* (παρὰ Κυρίου) *in the presence of the Lord as a thousand years*, etc. *2 Tim.* iv. 13, παρὰ Κάρπου, *in the house, or under the care of Carpus*.

undoubtedly delivered his divine discourses. Our best aid, in making such attempts, is the Peshito Syriac version of the New Testament; whose language differs but little from that which was the vernacular tongue of our Lord and his disciples, and whose antiquity approaches, if it does not actually belong to, the apostolic age. Now the preposition in question, is rendered, in that venerable translation, by one whose radical idea is, *conjunction* or *close and intimate association*.¹⁶¹

Some of the advocates for the interpretation contended for by Unitarian writers endeavour further to sustain it, by affirming that, in the Rabbinical phraseology, certain things of great importance are said to have existed before the creation, meaning of course in the divine purpose. Thus the Bereshith Rabba, an ancient commentary on the book of Genesis, says: "Six things preceded the creation of the world. The Law, the Throne of glory, the Fathers, Israel, the House of holiness, and the Name of the Messiah, came up into the thought of God before the creation of the world." On this I remark:

1. There is no evidence without begging the question, that a phraseology of this character was made use of by Jesus Christ. His style, excepting when he borrows the proverbial hyperboles which were current among his countrymen,¹⁶² is always most simple and modest, and at the greatest distance from any semblance of exaggeration: and he would be the least likely to use any such expressions in a prayer to his heavenly Father. When Unitarian paraphrasts subjoin the clause, *in thy purpose and decree*, they are not only making their own arbitrary addition to our Lord's words, but they are imposing upon him a style of speaking altogether different from his characteristic manner.

2. The Rabbinical example does not apply to the case. It is universally admitted that the glory of the Messiah, in the present and in the future state, and all other beings and events that have existed, or that shall exist, were "in the thought" of the First Cause, from Eternity: so that, upon the hypothesis, Christ was praying for that which, in this respect, was no distinction to him above others. But what the case requires is proof, that the plain, unadorned, definite, expression, "*which I*

¹⁶¹ The verse is given in an almost literal translation from the Greek. As closely as I can represent it in English, it stands thus: "And now, glorify-me, thou Father, with-thee; by-that glory which-was-itself to-me with-thee, from before the-being of-the-world." Thus no distinction is made between *παρὰ σεαυτοῦ* and *παρὰ σοί*.

¹⁶² As in Matt. v. 29, 30, 39, 40; vi. 34.

had with thee," was likely or proper to be used, by such a speaker and on such an occasion, when he meant nothing more than "that which was destined for me to have."¹⁶³ The happy state of every good man is equally that which the divine purpose has destined that he should have.

I have thus endeavoured to examine, I trust with a candid disposition, all the pleadings of the Calm Inquirer and of other writers on the same side, with respect to this important text. It appears to me that their criticisms are destitute of grammatical truth, and their arguments of logical conclusiveness. The impartial and serious reader will form his own judgment.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO SECT. V.

Note A, page 495.

"Christ declare qu'il ne désire rien de nouveau, mais seulement qu'il apparaisse tel en chair qu'il étoit devant la création du monde; ou, pour parler plus clairement, que la Majesté Divine qu'il avoit toujours eue, réluise en la personne du Médiateur, et en la chair humaine qu'il avoit vêtue."—"Christ declares that he desires nothing new, but only that he may appear in the flesh such as he was before the creation of the world; or, to speak more clearly, that the Divine Majesty which he had always possessed, might shine forth in the person of the Mediator and in the human flesh which he had assumed."—*Calvin in loc.*

Having quoted this from the illustrious author's own French edition of his *Commentary*, an extremely rare book, rather than from the Latin copy, it will not be unwelcome to the candid reader to see a testimony to the literary character of JOHN CALVIN, from a quarter which was far indeed from being prejudiced in his favour.—"Calvin, qui jouissait avec justice d'une grande réputation, homme de lettres du premier ordre, écrivant en Latin aussi bien qu'on le peut faire dans une langue morte, et en Français avec une pureté singulière pour son

¹⁶³ "Παρὰ σεαυτῶν, *with thyself*, is opposed to *the earth*, on which there was no more need of Christ's being present: he was, therefore, to return to heaven as to his former residence. Τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον, *with the glory which I had*, etc. This glory, his peculiar property, was now beginning to be manifested, and to be more clearly laid open to mankind. Those who explain this clause by, *I had in purpose or destination*, put force, not upon this passage only, but upon others which are neither few nor obscure, both in this book and the other Scriptures. The verb εἶχον cannot, without violence, be explained in any other way than as in the frequent declarations of Chap. i. 'he was with God: he was God; we beheld his glory,' which he had as 'the Only-begotten,' before he took a human life. If it be understood of *destination*, that is equally true of all men.—Christ clearly intimates, *that this his glory had been hitherto unknown to men*; and therefore he prays that it may now break forth into manifestation. This is very clear from what follows: *I have manifested thy glory, therefore do thou now manifest my glory to men*. All this is very evident, unless a man have surrendered himself to other opinions." *Semler in loc.* Even *De Wette*, with all his unhappy unbelief, yet feeling as an honourable translator, seems to have been anxious to convey the strength and definiteness of the original;—"the glory "which I, before the world was, with thee [bey dir] had."

tems; cette pureté, que nos habiles grammairiens admirent encore aujourd'hui, rend ses écrits bien supérieurs à presque tous ceux du même siècle; comme les ouvrages de MM. de Port-Royal se distinguent encore aujourd'hui, par la même raison, des rhapsodies barbares de leurs adversaires et de leurs contemporains. Calvin, jurisconsulte habile, et théologien aussi éclairé qu'un hérétique le peut être, dressa de concert avec les magistrats un recueil des lois,—” etc. ‘Calvin, who with justice enjoyed a high reputation, was a scholar of the first order. He wrote in Latin, as well as is possible in a dead language, and in French with a purity which was extraordinary for his time. This purity, which is to the present day admired by our skilful critics, renders his writings greatly superior to almost all of the same age; as the works of Messieurs de Port-Royal are still distinguished on the same account, from the barbarous rhapsodies of their opponents and contemporaries. Calvin, being a skilful lawyer, and as enlightened a divine as a heretic can be, drew up in concert with the magistrates a code of laws,’ etc.—*Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert*; Art. GENEVE. The author of this article was d'Alembert.

Apart from the dire and indelible stain on Calvin's memory, the persecution to death of Servetus (with respect to which, however, it is but just to recollect the almost universal ignorance, and the deep yet criminal prejudices, of that age, on the religious rights of mankind,¹ and in which not only Calvin and Beza, but Melancthon, Cranmer, and Socinus were partakers), history scarcely furnishes a more illustrious character for piety, integrity, and labours almost incredible. Such was the man, that to traduce his name has been found by many a short road to celebrity; according to the epigram, which I read I know not where many years ago:

“Sis fur, sis nebulo, sycophanta, et turpis adulter;
Calvinum ferias fulmine, magnus eris.”

“I know no man,” says the acute and holy RICHARD BAXTER, “since the apostles' days, whom I value and honour more than CALVIN; and whose judgment in all things, one with another, I more esteem and come nearer to.” *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, Part III. chap. xiv. sect. 10.

CAPITULE III.—ON OUR LORD'S DECLARATION OF AN EXISTENCE BEFORE ABRAHAM.

The occasion of the assertion made by Jesus Christ.—The question directly refers to co-existence.—The signification of the terms.—Their just construction will admit no other sense than that of pre-existence.—Objections of Mr Lindsey and the Calm Inquirer examined and answered.—The Unitarian interpretation examined:—and shown to be destitute of satisfactory proof;—contrary to the reason of the occasion, —to the circumstances of the narrative,—and to our Lord's ordinary course of proceeding;—attended with other difficulties;—inconsistent with the scripture idiom;—inefficient for its purpose;—not supported, but contradicted, by the phraseology of the prophets;—productive of a nugatory sense.—Observations on other assertions of the Calm Inquirer.—The interpretation invented by Lælius Socinus, and represented by his nephew as probably given by a special revelation.—Reasons against it.

“Jesus said to them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham existed, I “am.” John viii. 58.

THE general body of Christians have understood this passage as plainly declaring the pre-existence of Christ, in a nature of

¹ A very pleasing exception occurs in the name and writings of an amiable but very unfortunate scholar, Sebastian Castelleo, once the protégé of Calvin, but afterwards cast off and unkindly treated by him.

course superior to the human, two thousand years before he was born of Mary.

Unitarians interpret it as affirming that Jesus might be said to have existed, as the Messiah, in the purpose and decree of God; that is, "that he was designated to his office, before Abraham was born."¹⁶⁴

To judge between these opposite interpretations we must attend to the *occasion* of our Lord's assertion, and to the proper meaning of the *terms* in which he expresses it.

The opponents of Jesus, in their virulent cavils against him, had mentioned Abraham their national ancestor; a man so signally favoured of God that his name served as a proverbial example of dignity and honour. They understood our Lord's declarations as involving such assumptions of superiority, that they demanded, "Art thou greater than our father Abraham? Whom makest thou thyself?" With his characteristic calmness, he assured them that Abraham had indeed regarded him as a superior; that, guided by supernatural revelation, the patriarch had really enjoyed such a mental prospect of the time when the Messiah should appear, and of the blessings of his reign, as filled him with pleasure and exultation! "Your father Abraham earnestly desired that he might see my day; and he did see it, and rejoiced." This turned the conversation. The Jews, not understanding, or affecting not to understand, that Jesus spoke of an anticipative vision, exclaimed, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" Now, therefore, the question was brought to the *single point* of CO-EXISTENCE. It was necessary for Jesus either to deny the assumption, or to admit and confirm it. He did not do the former: but he gave an answer which his opponents viewed as being either directly or constructively impious and blasphemous, that is, as admitting their imputation.¹⁶⁵ He "said to them, Verily,

¹⁶⁴ *Impr. Ver.* Note on the place. More fully expressed in the Inquirer's paraphrase: "Before that eminent patriarch was brought into being, my existence and appearance under the character of the Messiah, at this period and in these circumstances, was so completely arranged, and so irrevocably fixed in the immutable counsels and purposes of God, that in this sense I may be said even then to have existed." P. 85.

¹⁶⁵ "Hoc enim postulat series orationis. In objectione Judæorum sermo erat de existentia; ergo etiam in responsione de existentia sermo esse debet. Objectio erat, 'Non potes vidisse Abrahamum, quia nondum es quinquagenarius, nec tum natus eras.' Respondet Jesus, 'Ego fui, antequam ille fuit.' Sic sensu pari respondetur objectioni."—"This interpretation is required by the tenor of

"verily, I say unto you, before Abraham existed, I was."—Is it not manifest that he did not take the former part of the alternative, but that he did take the latter; that he admitted himself to have been actually *contemporary with* Abraham; also that he went farther, and affirmed that he had possessed existence even *before* Abraham?

Such is the bearing of the argument, as deduced from the occasion. Let us see whether the honest construction of the words will permit us to draw any different conclusion. The precise meaning of *γίνεσθαι* and its synonymous form *γενέσθαι* is *to be brought into existence*. Whether, therefore, we prefer the received translation, "before Abraham was;" or that here proposed, "before Abraham existed;" or, that of many translators, both ancient and modern,¹⁶⁷ "before Abraham was born;" the effect is the same.

The remaining clause is however attended with some difficulty.

1. Some suppose that, in using the expression, "I am," our Lord intended a reference to the divine appellation announced to Moses, "I am that which I am." But it is to be remarked that the words of that passage are in the future tense, "I will be that which I will be;"¹⁶⁸ and most probably it was not intended as a name, but as a declaration of the certain fulfilment of all the promises of God, especially those which related to the deliverance of the Israelites. There does not appear, therefore, sufficient ground to sustain the idea of an allusion to this.

the discussion. The objection turned upon existence: therefore the reply must refer to existence also. The objection was, 'Thou canst not have seen Abraham, for thou art not yet fifty years old; thou wast not then born.' Jesus answered, 'I was before he was.' Thus the reply corresponds to the objection." *Rosenmüller in loc.*

¹⁶⁷ Erasmus, Vatablus, Diodati, Doddridge, Campbell, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, the Improved Version, Stolz, Van Ess. De Wette retains Luther's *Ehe denn Abraham war, bin ich*; thus showing that, in his judgment, that was the just version. Scholz gives essentially the same.

¹⁶⁸ Exod. iii. 14. אֲנִי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי "By which words God signifies that what he from eternity had been, he for ever would be; the same, in deed and effect, as in his promises." *Rosenm.* The LXX. renders it 'Εγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὢν, *I am the existing one*. I do not see why the suppressed predicate might not be supplied from this passage, and the tacit allusion rationally maintained, if all other reasons concurred: but they do not. To show, however, the fallaciousness of arguing from the mere identity of words, let us observe that, in both the Greek and the Latin idiom, the answer to such a question as, *Who has done that? Who is there?* (which we make in our language by the third person, 'tis I, *c'est moi*;) is by this very phrase, *I am*, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, *ego sum*. For examples in the N. T. see Matt. xiv. 27; xxvi. 22, 25. Mark vi. 50; xiv. 62. Luke xxiv. 39. John iv. 26; ix. 9.

2. It may be thought that, in this instance, as in several others of the same form, our Lord purposely suppressed the predicate of his proposition; leaving it to be supplied by the minds of his hearers, under the impression of that evidence by which they might all have been convinced of the justness of his claims, had their dispositions been candid and upright. So, in this very discussion with his opponents, Jesus says, "Except ye believe that I AM;—Ye shall know that I AM;"—and to his disciples, "that ye may believe that I AM." In his prediction of false Messiahs, as given by the Evangelist Mark, the same use of the phrase occurs: "Many will come in my name, saying, I AM;" the parallel place to which, in Matthew, supplies the omitted predicate, "the Christ."¹⁶⁹

According to this interpretation, the passage is read, "Before Abraham existed, I am [the Messiah]." But every one must perceive that, if the notion of the present tense be rigorously insisted on, a solœcism is involved: a *present* event cannot be prior to one *past*.

3. The present, *I am*, may be taken in the sense of the past, *I was*. This is not unusual in the Greek idiom, especially when the action or state of the verb is understood as *continued to the present time*.¹⁷⁰ This renders the construction plain and the sense evident: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was brought into existence, I was."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ John viii. 24, 28; xiii. 19. Mark xiii. 6. Matt. xxiv. 5.

¹⁷⁰ "This tense is often put for the preterperfect: especially when it is signified that the action is continued." *Joh. Frid. Fischeri Animadv. ad Welleri Gramm. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 256. Lips. 1798; who has adduced many examples from Xenophon and other authors. "The present tense is very often put so as to have the force of the imperfect: especially when the thing which is said to have been at any past time, continues still to be.—*E. g.* Luke xv. 31. John i. 9, and in the LXX. Ps. lxxxix. (xc.) 2. Prov. viii. 25. Jerem. i. 5." *Kuinöl in Libros N. T. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 437. Tittmann adds these rather feeble instances from the Gospel of John; i. 19; ix. 8; xiv. 9; xv. 27. *Meletemata Sacra*, p. 353. "The use of the verb in the present tense denotes *continuation*, as chap. xiv. 9, 'Am I so long with you,' *i. e.* have been and still am, which could not have been both expressed by a past tense. Thus in Latin we say, *jam quatuor dies ægrotat*." *Castellio in loc.* "Εγὼ εἰμι may indeed be rendered, *I was*. The present for the imperfect, or even for the preterperfect, is no unusual figure with this writer. However, as an uninterrupted duration from the time spoken of to the time then present, seems to have been suggested, I thought it better to follow the common method [I am]." *Campbell*. The excellent French Version of De Sacy, and the Genevese of 1805, have *I was*.

¹⁷¹ "Præter hanc corpoream naturam, est mihi φύσις antiquior." 'Besides this material nature, I have another of higher dignity and origin.' *Semler in loc.* "Etenim verbum utrumque, et γενέσθαι et εἶναι, in promptu est denotare *esse, existere*.—Jam Judæi, quando quærunť quomodo Abrahamum videre potuerit non-

But there seems to be little reason for debate about the tense of the verb, when it is considered that Jesus, speaking in the dialect of his country, most probably used no verb at all. The idiom of the Hebraic languages would have required, I HE, as it occurs in several passages of the Old Testament, which contain a peculiar and most solemn declaration of the supremacy and eternity of Jehovah;¹⁷² or as the clause before us is translated in the venerable Syriac version, whose antiquity is nearly apostolic, and whose language differs by very slight shades from that which was spoken by Jesus and his countrymen, "I, I MYSELF."¹⁷³

From these considerations, it plainly follows that an unexceptionable translation of the clause would be this, "Before Abraham existed, I myself existed."

dam quinquagenarius, intelligere aliud quid non poterant, nisi hoc, quomodo esse potuerit tempore Abrahami. Ut verò objiciunt illi, ita respondet Dominus. Illi negant eum esse potuisse Abrahami tempore: Dominus affirmat; neque tantum affirmat, sed addit etiam aliquid amplius, scilicet, se fuisse non tantum tempore Abrahami, sed adeò etiam ante Abrahamum." 'Each of these verbs, *γενεσθαι* and *ἵνα*, manifestly denotes *being, existence*. When the Jews inquired how it was possible for a person, who was not yet fifty years old, to have seen Abraham; their meaning could be no other than this, How could he have been in the time of Abraham? To their objection, our Lord's answer corresponds. That he could have been in the time of Abraham, they deny, and he affirms; nor does he merely affirm it, but he adds something more, namely, that he had existed not only in the time of Abraham, but even before Abraham.' *Tittmanni Melet. Sacra*, p. 352.

¹⁷² אֲנִי הוּא Deut. xxxii. 39; Isa. xli. 4; xliii. 10, 13; xlv. 4; xlviii. 12. In these passages the translation of the LXX. is the very phrase under consideration, ἐγὼ εἰμι, I am. See also the instance of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 18.

¹⁷³ אֲנִי אֲנִי exactly the same as the Chaldee אֲנִי אֲנִי. The indeclinable word joined to the suffixed pronoun is the same, differing only in dialect, with the Hebrew אֲנִי "It is a noun, whose root remains in the Arabic *aasa* (for *ayasa*)—and its radical meaning is *strength, ability, firmness, efficiency, existence*." *Körberi Lexicon Nominum et Verborum Hebr. vulgò pro Particulis habitorum*, p. 21, subjoined to Tympe's ed. of *Noldii Partic. Hebr.* Jenæ, 1734. "Solidum et reale quid; res consistens et subsistens. Propriè nomen est, sed pro verbo substantivo adhiberi solet." *Simonis et Eichhorn. Lex.* p. 755. The same is maintained in *Schröderi Instit. Ling. Hebr.* Ulm. 1792, p. 272. The work on Hebrew Grammar which, with very probable reason, may be considered as the most perfect that the world has ever seen, says; "The frequently occurring particle אֲנִי is a peculiar adverb, or it may be considered as an impersonal verb. It is in Aramæan אֲנִי, and in Arabic *aysa*. The radical idea is, that an object is *present, close at hand*; and thus it serves to express the idea of *being* or *existing*, in all the relations of time and person." *GESENIUS Ausführliches Gramm. Krit. Lehrgebäude*, etc. i. e. *A Full and Minute System of the Grammar and Criticism of the Hebrew Language, compared with its Cognate Dialects*; p. 829. Leipzig, 1817.

Yet the Inquirer complacently quotes Grotius for the affirmation that the Syriac Version uses a verb in the imperfect tense, p. 96.

Thus we are led, both by the facts of the case and by the phraseology, to the conclusion that our Lord *certainly affirmed himself to have a superior and PRE-EXISTENT nature.*

To this interpretation Mr Belsham makes the following objections:¹⁷⁴—

(1.) “That the word εἰμι, even when used absolutely, very rarely, if ever, expresses simple existence.”

Reply. Mr B. and his guide, the late Mr Simpson of Bath, are greatly mistaken. In a note on the preceding page several passages are referred to, in which the Septuagint uses the phrase in question to denote the “simple existence” of the Deity: “I, even I, am:” and other instances are not wanting. ‘Ο ὢν, “the Existing One.” Exod. iii. 14. ‘Ο ὢν, Κύρις, “O Lord, the “Existing One,” where it stands as the translation of JEHOVAH. Jerem. xiv. 13. Ἴδού οὐκ ἦν, “Behold, he was not.” Ps. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 36. Οὐκ ἔτι εἰμι, “I am no more in being.” Job vii. 8. Also in the New Testament: “He that cometh unto God must “believe that he existeth,” ὅτι ἐστί. Heb. xi. 6. And the very memorable description of the Deity, which is repeated five times in the Apocalypse; ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, “He who is, “and who was, and who is to come.”

Examples of the same use of the verb might be collected from Plato, Philo, Plutarch, and other Greek writers: but the foregoing passages are more to our purpose, and I conceive they are sufficient to show that the application to simple existence is not very unusual in the New Testament and the Hellenistic Version of the Old.

(2.) “That it is not probable that our Lord would have been so very open and explicit upon this high and mysterious subject to his enemies, when he was so reserved to his friends, and does not appear to have hinted it even to his disciples.”

Reply. Whatever might have been the meaning of our Lord’s declarations on this and other occasions, it is altogether an unwarrantable assumption that Jesus communicated any information to his enemies which he withheld from his friends. It is, to say the least, highly probable that some of his disciples were present at all the public discourses and conversations which he held. If this, in any rare instance, were not the case, we cannot reasonably doubt that he would say similar things to his intimate followers, on suitable occasions. It is recorded that “he ex-

¹⁷⁴ *Calm Inq.* p. 79.

“pounded all things to his disciples when they were alone :”¹⁷⁵ and with respect to the doctrine which he taught, or the intimations which he gave, with any supposed reference to a superior and pre-existent nature, we have already examined other passages which it cannot be pretended were unknown to our Lord’s familiar attendants. But every one must perceive how extremely fallacious are objections of this kind, who considers how small a portion of the discourses of Jesus Christ are preserved to us in the evangelical records. Had Mr Lindsey possessed the moderation and candour for which it has been the fashion to laud him, he would have spared his scornful surprise “that any could ever suppose our Lord to be so very open and familiar with—his most bitter enemies, as to tell them such a wonderful secret concerning himself—at the same time that he kept his disciples quite in the dark about things so prodigious and extraordinary.”¹⁷⁶ This attempt at wit, on a question so serious, is not the offspring of either reason or piety.

(3.) “That if he had intended in this instance to announce his own pre-existence so very explicitly as many believe, he would have taught this extraordinary doctrine more frequently, in a greater variety of phrase, and would have laid greater stress upon it.”

Reply. [1.] This objection is, in a great measure, begging the question; for we conceive, and the grounds of our opinion are before the reader, that Christ did teach this doctrine, not infrequently, and in a considerable “variety of phrase.”

[2.] As to the *explicitness* of the declaration, let a candid Unitarian say whether he would have discerned any want of explicitness, had the same phraseology occurred with respect to any point now undisputed. Let it be imagined, for instance, that a question had been raised, and that some results of consequence depended upon it, whether Jesus or the son of Germanicus were the elder person; and that the former had said, “I most assuredly declare to you, before Caligula existed, I was.” Let the terms have been the very same as in the case before us :¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Mark iv. 34.

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in the *Calm Inq.* p. 79.

¹⁷⁷ The useful industry of Wetstein has furnished us with several instances of this expression, from which I select the following: *Εἰς τὸ ὁμοίως εἶναι τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἡμῶν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς*, “Even to this point, that our souls likewise existed before we were born.” *Plato, Phæd.* sect. 22, *ed. Forster*, Ox. 1745, p. 206, and repeatedly in that dialogue. *Τὸ γὰρ χωρίον τοῦτο περιεγκοδόμησεν ὁ πατὴρ μου, μικροῦ δέιν, πρὶν ἐμὲ γενέσθαι.* “My father walled this field round within a little, before I was

and would any one have said that the assertion was not “explicit?” Or will he find any want of explicitness in the language of Moses, “Before the mountains were brought into existence—“thou art?”¹⁷⁸

[3.] To demand that this doctrine, supposing it to be true, should have been taught by our Lord himself in the most clear and decisive manner, is not reasonable: for it was of the very genius and character of his ministry, that by it the *peculiar* doctrines of the Christian dispensation should not be fully unfolded. That complete manifestation was reserved for the ministration of the Spirit, who was to take of the things of Christ, and show them to the apostles, and to *glorify Him* by leading them into *all the truth*. Jesus himself appears to have plainly insisted, in his own teachings, upon no doctrines but those which were generally admitted by his countrymen as resting on the authority of Moses and the prophets. Other truths, though deducible from the Old Testament by consequences less obvious or less generally recognised, he taught by allusions, assumptions, parables, and implications; or sometimes by a direct, but abrupt and insulated assertion, the import of which would become the more apparent by being afterwards reflected upon, with the advantage of the subsequent developments by the Holy Spirit, according to our Lord’s promises. Of the last kind the instance before us seems to have been.

(4.) “And finally that this fact, so solemnly declared, would have been more attended to, and would have made a more permanent and vivid impression. It would have been a subject of general conversation and scrutiny, of admiration or offence. Whereas the idea of such a claim on the part of our Lord vanished immediately. The disciples did not notice it. The Jews did not repeat it. And it is not alleged as a charge against our Saviour that he arrogated this extraordinary attribute.”

Reply. I acknowledge that this is a great difficulty: but that it is not of the decisive nature which the Inquirer apprehends, and that, on a close examination, it is considerably diminished, if not entirely removed, I submit these reasons:

[1.] It is contrary to sound principles of reasoning, to make

born.” *Demosth. Or. adv. Callic. ed. Wolf. Francof. 1604, p. 1116.* “Ἐλεγεν ὕγιεινόν τι καὶ νοσερὸν, πρὶν Ἰπποκράτη γενέσθαι. “He described the symptoms of health and disease, before Hippocrates was born.” *Arrian in Epict. lib. ii. cap. 17.*

¹⁷⁸ Psalm lxxxix. (xc.) 2. LXX. Πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη γενηθῆναι—σὺ εἶ.

hypothetical objections outweigh positive evidence. Every studious person knows, often to his disappointment and pain, that, in relation to many objects of human knowledge, the most perplexing difficulties occur on a theoretical view of the case, but which the commanding evidence of facts obliges us to subdue: and we do not charge ourselves with acting an irrational part in so disposing of those difficulties; because we are aware of the imperfection of all human knowledge; and because we are assured that indubitable experiments, or facts clearly ascertained, are entitled to a decisive weight, as affirmative evidence, in opposition to a thousand objections invented by reasoning on our own suppositions, suppositions which we have probably made too soon, and in which some material error is latent. In the present case, we have direct evidence, from the plain meaning and construction of the words, and from the tenor of the occasion, that an actual pre-existence is affirmed: we are bound, then, to regard abstract difficulties as superseded.

[2.] We are, in fact, but incompetent judges of the manner in which such a declaration would have operated on the minds of our Lord's countrymen and contemporaries; but we may be assured that it would have made an impression very different from that which we should receive, under our circumstances of education and life. Their habits of thinking and feeling were of a character extremely remote from ours. They generally believed (whether rightly or wrongly, is immaterial to our argument) in the existence and frequent occurrence among themselves of supernatural influence, both from the Divine Being and from inferior, but spiritual and powerful, agents.¹⁷⁹ The doctrines and history of their scriptures were understood by them so as to keep alive the constant expectation of miraculous intercourse with the Deity: and there is reason to suppose, that a belief in the pre-existence of souls had been derived by them from the Persian or from the Judeo-Alexandrian theology, and prevailed among them to a considerable extent.¹⁸⁰ The influence of such opinions could not but operate powerfully to prevent those strong impressions of surprise, "admiration or offence," which the Inquirer too readily assumes to have been necessary.

¹⁷⁹ On this subject, so deeply interesting to every one who cultivates accuracy of acquaintance with scripture-theology, I beg permission to recommend the *Considerations on Miracles* of a most judicious, elegant, and pious author, Professor *Le Bas*.

¹⁸⁰ See *Lightfoot's Horæ Hebr. et Talm.* on John ix. 2.

[3.] I venture to think that some evidence has been adduced that, amidst the perplexity and discordance of opinions which existed among the Jews in this degenerate period, there were many persons who did hold the superior nature and pre-existence of the Messiah. Consequently this declaration of our Lord might be received as simply equivalent to an avowal of his being the Messiah. As to the allegation that "the disciples did not notice it, and the Jews did not repeat it;" we have already observed how extremely uncertain and fallacious such negative assertions must be.

[4.] "It is not alleged as a charge against our Saviour that he arrogated this extraordinary attribute." I conceive that it was included in the general charge of having claimed to be the Messiah: and it is remarkable that this accusation itself, of claiming to be the Messiah, though it was the most obvious and the most subservient to the purpose of our Lord's prosecutors, was not brought forwards by them at all. They seem to have been afraid to touch it, and to have contented themselves with vamping up frivolous defamations, till the high-priest proposed the interrogatory which Jesus met by a direct declaration: a declaration which was instantly seized as the ground of a charge of *blasphemy*, the same charge, be it observed, which the conduct of the Jews shows that they attached to the words of Christ, now under consideration: "they took up stones to cast at him."

The impartial and judicious reader will now review what has been advanced; and will consider whether our interpretation be sufficiently supported by *proper* and *direct* evidence, and whether the objections to it are candidly met and satisfactorily answered.

We proceed to consider the arguments in support of the usual Unitarian interpretation, that of applying to the words the meaning, "not of real existence, but of existence in the divine *purpose*."

(1.) "This interpretation well accords with the connexion and context. Our Lord declares, ver. 56, 'Your father Abraham longed to see my day, and he did see it.' The Jews, foolishly or perversely misrepresenting his language, ask, 'Hast thou seen Abraham?' Our Lord never pretended that he had seen him: and, not deigning to rectify this silly mistake, he goes on to establish the reasonableness of his assertion: *q. d.* Abraham did foresee my appearance, and the blessings of my kingdom.

And this was possible ; because though I was not then born, yet my appearance under the character of the Messiah, and all the happy consequences which flow from it, had been determined in the divine counsels long before that eminent patriarch was in existence."

Reply. [1.] The whole of this allegation rests upon the assumption that our Lord's words were merely a continuation of his discourse, "not deigning" to notice the question or "silly mistake" of the Jews, but going on with his subject as if he had not been at all interrupted. But to this assumption we demur, as destitute of proof; and as also contrary to the reason of the case, to the order of the narrative, and to our Lord's ordinary practice.

It is *destitute of proof*. None is even attempted to be shown. The recommendation of it can be only that of its suiting the hypothesis which it is brought to help.

It is *contrary to the reason of the case*. If the interjected query of the Jews were of that "silly" and irrelevant kind which the Inquirer pronounces it, there seems no rational motive for its having been preserved in the recital; unless the writer had gone upon the principle of introducing every thing that was said on the occasions narrated, pertinent or impertinent. But it is certain that neither John nor any other of the Evangelical historians, adopted such a principle: their plan is professedly that of selection. Besides, upon the assumption, the interlocution is not only impertinent and useless, but it is pernicious: it perplexes and misleads the reader, without answering any good purpose to compensate for the disadvantage.

It is *contrary to the order of the narrative*. The objection of the Jews is introduced by the usual formula, "Then said the Jews unto him:" and our Lord's rejoinder is also brought in with the correspondent phrase, "Jesus said to them." It is impossible, without doing violence to the common use of language, and the common sense of mankind, not to regard the latter as a designed and direct answer to the former.

It is *contrary to our Lord's ordinary practice*. We never find him, except on one occasion when his very silence was eloquent,¹⁸¹ refusing to answer with the meekness of wisdom, the questions, objections, and even cavils of his enemies. Neither was it his manner to evade the point of difficult and severe remarks made

¹⁸¹ Matt. xxvi. 63; xxvii. 14.

against himself. Often, indeed, he spoke to the motives and concealed intentions of those who accosted him, as well as to their outward professions; but his replies and defences were always sincere and pertinent.

[2.] If we were to grant the assumption, we should not be relieved from difficulty. Let it be supposed that the Inquirer's paraphrase truly represents the meaning of our Lord: and we are compelled to ask, Why did he convey it in so strange a style? Why did he not speak intelligibly? Why did he use language, of which the genuine and direct signification was calculated to convey, *not the thing* which he *intended* to say, but *another thing*, widely and dangerously different from it?—There was no want of words and phrases, proper for his purpose, and in current use among his countrymen and by himself. He could have employed one of the expressions which he has used on other occasions, or which afterwards his followers used. He could have said, for example, "Before Abraham existed, I was foreordained; my day was appointed: my kingdom was prepared, in the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God: and God showed it, by his Spirit, unto Abraham." Such as this is the language of the New Testament; and I cannot but think it most reasonable to believe that our Lord would have used one of these phrases, or some other analogous to them, had his meaning been what is imputed to him.

(2.) "The words *I am* (*ἐγώ εἰμι*) must be understood to mean, and should be translated, *I was*."

(3.) "The ellipsis must be supplied by the word *he*, i. e. 'he who cometh,' or 'the Christ.'—(See vers. 24 and 28.)—The same phrase in this instance also ought to have been translated in the same form: 'Before Abraham was born, I was *he*,' i. e. the prophet who was to come, the Messiah."

We have before observed that arguments about the tense of the verb are nugatory, for we have reason to believe that our Lord used no verb at all, but said in his native language, *I HE*, the emphatic formula which most usually denotes simple existence, in *whatever relation to time* the nature of the case may suggest. For example: "Behold now, that I, I HE, and no god with me!—I Jehovah, the beginning, and with the last things, I HE.—That ye may know, and believe me, and understand that I HE;—before me no god is formed, nor after me shall be.—Even before the day, I HE!—Even to old age, I HE.—I

“HE, I the beginning, also I the ending!”¹⁸² Whether therefore we supply the verb or not, the proper and emphatic meaning of the formula is *actual existence* at the time spoken of, whenever that might be.

But if, neglecting the proper point of attention, the Hebraic idiom, an opponent were to insist on the Greek usage, he would be met by another difficulty. The examples in which *I am* is to be supplied by the predicate, *the Christ*, are all of the present tense. Such examples will not warrant the supposition of the same ellipsis when the present tense is put for the past: because the very ground and reason of the enallage of time lies in the *action or state expressed by the verb*, which precludes any other predicate from being understood, than the concrete idea derived from that action or state. This rule will, I think, bear the closest examination. But, if we decline to press it, we have still a right to demand clear instances of the enallage of the time combined with the ellipsis of the predicate: but they have not been given to us.

Yet should we, in the face of these reasons, consent to his rendering, “Before Abraham was born, I was the Messiah:” what does the opponent gain? Could any reader or hearer, not preoccupied by hypothesis, imagine otherwise than that the person speaking thus certainly existed when Abraham was born? And do not the words, as thus amplified, plainly express that he had such existence?—We arrive at the last and palmary argument.

(4.) “In the language of the sacred writers, a being, or a state of things, is said to EXIST, when it is the ETERNAL IMMUTABLE PURPOSE OF GOD THAT IT SHALL EXIST, at the time and in the circumstances which his infinite wisdom hath chosen and ordained.”

This notion, therefore, is the sheet-anchor of the Unitarian interpretation. We have, in a preceding Section,¹⁸³ examined it and the pleadings in its favour; and, I trust, have satisfactorily shown that it is weak and incompetent, proceeding upon a mistaken view of scripture-language, and quite inapplicable to the purpose of those who use it. By an egregious kind of blunder, they gravely bring forward the *prolepsis* of the prophetic style, as if it made for their case: whereas that which they want is a

¹⁸² Referred to in a note on page 506.

¹⁸³ Of this volume, pp. 496–499.

figure of the *opposite* effect, a *metalepsis*. Because, in the language of prophecy, *future* persons and events are described as if they were present, or had already taken place; it is sagaciously inferred that a present person or event may, by the same figure, be said to have existed in long *past* time!

Mr B. proceeds to argue: "If the prophets describe the Messiah as contemporary with them, Christ might with propriety speak of himself under that character, as their contemporary. If Isaiah writes as having seen the Messiah, having heard his complaints, and having been witness to his labours, his miracles, and his sufferings; our Lord might with equal propriety represent himself under his official character, as having existed in the days of Isaiah. If Abraham saw his day; he, as the Messiah, must have co-existed with the patriarch, and by parity of reason, before Abraham's birth. But all allow that the prophetic representations of the Messiah's existence are figurative; they only express what existed in the divine purpose, and imply nothing more than certainty of event. Let it then be granted, that when our Lord speaks of himself as the Messiah before Abraham was born, he means the same thing: that his language only implies that he was the Messiah in the divine purpose. No reasoning, I think, can be more conclusive."

Reply [1.] The prophets did not "describe the Messiah as contemporary with" themselves. In their most vivid descriptions, though, to increase the poetic force and beauty of the representation, the present tense, or rather the Hebrew perfect, be frequently employed, enough exists of marked circumstances to have prevented any from imagining that the prophets designed to exhibit any mortal contemporary as the sovereign and Saviour to whom they bore testimony. There is no evidence that any of the Jews ever understood their prophets as representing the Messiah to be their own contemporary: but there is all the proof which the nature of the case admits of, that both the prophets themselves, and their countrymen through successive generations, looked forwards to ONE who was yet TO COME, as the ultimate object of those sublime representations. Let the reader examine the instances selected by the Inquirer as the basis of his theory,¹⁸⁴ or any other prophetic descriptions of the Messiah; and he will find, either in the very phraseology of the context, or in the association of the parts of the description, sufficient to

¹⁸⁴ Recited in a note at p. 498 of this volume.

designate that the persons introduced and the events depicted were as yet in the womb of futurity.

[2.] The frequent use of the picturesque mode of representation, in the works of the ancient prophets, was not the result of a sacred or theological principle, but of the character of their composition. It was not as prophets, but as poets, that they employed this figure of speech, so suitable to their energetic conceptions, and which is indeed all but essential to the very soul of poetry. But the style which was eminently proper for poetry, or for sublime description in oratory, would have been out of place, ridiculous, and even pernicious, in a plain, calm, grave conversation. Cyrus, John the Baptist, and probably other individuals, were graphically pointed out in the prophecies of Isaiah, long before they were born; and that by expressions in the past or present tense. Would it, then, have been proper for either of them to have said, "I was contemporary with the prophet: I co-existed with him, for he in prophetic vision saw my day, and described me, my actions, my character, my office, as if I were then actually existing and executing my commission: yea, by parity of reason, I may say that I existed before the prophet's birth: *before Isaiah was, I was*: I was the deliverer of the captives, I was the messenger of heaven."—Yet such low trifling, such absolute folly, is, by these interpreters, to help their theory out of a fatal difficulty, attributed without misgivings of taste or conscience, to the Lowly, Wise, and Holy JESUS!

[3.] If it were conceded, that the existence, which our Lord attributes to himself, was an existence only in the divine purpose, justness of criticism would require us likewise to take the existence ascribed to Abraham in the same acceptation: "Before Abraham existed in the purpose of God, I was the Messiah in the same purpose and decree." The use of the two verbs *γενέσθαι* and *εἶναι* does not destroy the ground of this observation: for the difference between them is, that the one denotes *to be brought into existence*, and the other *to be in existence*; a difference not at all affecting the argument. Thus it appears that, to concede the principle of the Unitarian interpretation, would convert the passage into a puerile absurdity.

On Mr B.'s closing remark, "No reasoning, I think, can be more conclusive;" I hope it will not be deemed a want of courtesy in me, to ask the candid and attentive reader, whether we

may not justly reverse the declaration, and say, No reasoning can be more *inconclusive*.

He evidently bestowed great labour upon his disquisition on this text, "because," he observes, "it is in a great measure decisive of the whole controversy: for, if this declaration does not establish the pre-existence of Christ, no other passage can."¹⁸⁵ It may, then, be taken as admitted that, if the interpretation for which he so earnestly pleads cannot be maintained on grounds of fair and sound criticism, the pre-existence of Christ is established, and the Unitarian scheme is exploded. The serious and candid reader will bring to the examination his closest attention, his critical attainments, his strict impartiality, and his solemn devotion. Thus let him judge for himself, in the sight of God: and may that Gracious Being direct his decision!

But if the assertion be taken conversely, to intimate that, if this text were given up to the Unitarian interpretation, the controversy would be decided, I must protest against it, as uncandid and untrue; as one of those bold, but gratuitous and unfounded, dogmatical assertions, which too frequently appear in the pages of the *Calm Inquiry*. Admit the supposition, and what would be the effect? This particular passage would be taken out of the field; it would make nothing in favour of the pre-existence of Christ: but it would make nothing against it. The principle of the interpretation might also go to the neutralizing of some other declarations of our Lord; but this would be all. The general body of argument, from many particular passages, and from the universal tenor of revelation, in favour of the pre-existence and the Deity of Christ, would remain untouched, and standing in its full independence. Yet unfair, both logically and morally, as the Inquirer's observation is, it will not be without its effect. Such dogmatical assertions often pass without examination, and are apt to sink deeply into hasty and half-thinking minds.

In one sense, however, I will not contest that there may be truth in the assertion: "If this declaration does not establish the pre-existence of Christ, no other passage can." If the assertor thereby mean that, *upon the principles of interpretation which he adopts*, no language, within the compass of the characteristic style and manner of the New Testament, could declare that doctrine so as not to be set aside by some of those ma-

nœuvrings; let him keep possession of his opinion. It is, I fear, too well founded. But let us consider whether, on the admission of those principles, we should not be obliged to abandon ourselves to a hopeless incapacity of ever acquiring satisfaction, upon any controverted point whatever of revealed theology, or of any other knowledge depending on the use of words.¹⁸⁶

There is another interpretation of this celebrated passage, which it will not be improper to notice; for not only was it enthusiastically admired by Faustus Socinus and some of his immediate followers, but it is preferred by some Unitarians of the present day.

This interpretation rests upon the supposition, that our Lord did not intend to answer the question proposed to him, or to speak in a way that could at the time be understood by the Jews; but that his object was to denounce the divine displeasure against them, and to foretell their rejection, and the admission of the gentile world to the blessings of the gospel state; and that he clothed this meaning in a species of enigma, derived from the signification of the name *Abraham*, denoting *father of a numerous multitude*, which was given to Abram as a prediction of the calling of the Gentiles. Upon this foundation, the passage is paraphrased to the following purport:—

“Ye boast of being the posterity of Abraham: but ye know neither what Abraham is, nor what are his posterity. Ye are not Abraham’s seed: for by your deeds ye prove that ye are of your father the devil, and God is able from these stones (the

¹⁸⁶ With Mr B.’s assertions, let the reader contrast the observations of Michaelis. “Jesus had not said that *he had seen Abraham*. This was another perverse construction, by which the Jews endeavoured to hold up his discourse to ridicule. Jesus might very properly have replied accordingly: but he allows the inference which they had drawn from his words; and he accepts it, in order to say of himself something still greater.—*Before Abraham was born, I AM*. Thus he proclaims himself to be more than a mere man, even one in whom dwells a superior and celestial nature. I AM, sounds somewhat harsh in our language: but I have retained it, as Luther did; for in the Greek itself this is not the usual form of expression, but it intimates something emphatical, something resembling the style in which the unchangeable God speaks of himself. The Jews well understood what Jesus meant: they regarded it as a blasphemy, and they wished to stone him. They considered the guilt of blasphemy as so indubitable, that they were desirous of putting him instantly to death, in an extra-judicial manner. Yet I do not maintain that these words are of themselves a complete proof of the eternal deity of Christ; for he might have been before Abraham, yea, before the creation of the world, without being in THE BEGINNING, as is said of the Word in chap. i. 1, 2. Nevertheless, considering that passage with this, I believe that Christ here speaks of his eternal Divine Nature.” *Anmerkung*.

Gentiles) to raise up a posterity to Abraham. Neither do ye know who is Abraham. He who can truly claim that prophetic title, must be the father, not of one nation only, but of many. But your great ancestor is as yet only your father; and not the father of many nations, as his name imports. He is not yet, in this eminent and final sense, *Abraham*; though he will soon become so, if ye continue to act as ye have hitherto done, proving yourselves unworthy of the kingdom of God. For your privilege shall be taken from you, and given to nations who will act more worthily of it. Of them Abraham will be truly the father: then will he answer to his name, and be in reality what he has been hitherto only in promise. But I now am, the promised Messiah, plainly before your eyes. Therefore, *verily, verily, I say unto you*, at this very moment, *before Abraham becomes* what his name imports, and what he is on the point of becoming, that *I am* the Messiah whom Abraham desired to see, and in whom all nations shall be blessed.”¹⁸⁷

With this view of the passage Faustus Socinus was so delighted that he goes near to declare his persuasion of its having been communicated to his uncle Lælius by a special revelation, and in answer to many prayers offered to Christ himself.¹⁸⁸

This interpretation may claim the praise of ingenuity: and it would not be a sufficient refutation of it to say that such a meaning could never be penetrated by those to whom it was addressed, and that it was quite foreign to the purpose of the

¹⁸⁷ Abridged from *Enjedini Explic. Loc. p. 227.*

¹⁸⁸ “*Erasm. Joh.* Fateor me per omnem vitam meam non magis contortam scripturæ interpretationem audivisse; ideoque eam penitus improbo. *Faust. Socin.* Cùm primum fatendi verbum in tuis verbis animadverti, sperabam te potius fassurum nullam in vitâ tuâ scripturæ interpretationem te audivisse, quæ hæc sit aut acutior aut verior, quæve magis divinum quid sapiat, et à Deo ipso patefactam fuisse præ se ferat. Ego quidem certè non leves conjecturas habeo, illum, qui primus ætate nostrâ eam in lucem protulit (hic autem is fuit qui primus quoque sententiam de Christi origine quam ego constanter defendo, hæc ætate renovavit), precibus multis ab ipso CHRISTO impetravit.” *F. Socini Opera*, vol. ii. p. 505.

“*Erasmus Johannis.* I confess that in all my life I never heard a more forced interpretation of Scripture. I absolutely disapprove it. *Faustus Socinus.* When I heard you begin to talk of confessing, I hoped that you were about to confess that you had never in your life heard an interpretation of Scripture more signalized by acumen and truth, or which has more of a kind of divine savour, and actually carries the marks of having been communicated by God himself. Indeed I have no slight grounds for thinking that the person who first in our time advanced it (the same who first in the present age revived the doctrine which I constantly maintain on the person of Christ), obtained it by many prayers from CHRIST HIMSELF.”

immediate conversation between them and our Lord : for its supporters readily acknowledge both these circumstances. But our objections to it are, that it represents Jesus Christ as condescending to a kind of childish punning, totally unworthy of his serious and elevated character ; that on no other occasion do we find him making use of such a method of expression ; that (borrowing Mr Belsham's words, in his rejection of this gloss), "if the proposed interpretation is just, the text ought to have stood thus ; 'before Abram shall become Abraham :' the present ellipsis is too harsh, and the mode of supplying it quite arbitrary ;" that "the word *Abraham* always in the New Testament occurs as a proper name, and is never used in a mystical sense ;" and that "it is a trifling proposition, and unworthy of the solemnity with which it is introduced, that Christ existed as the Messiah before an event which it was known was not to happen till many years or ages afterwards."¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ *Calm Inq.* pp. 83, 84.

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